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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

Part I - Letters written before Cicero's consulship, epp. 1-12

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LETTERS WRITTEN BEFORE CICERO'S CONSULSHIP.

EPP. 1-12.

A. U. C.,	686-690
B. C.,	68-64
AET. CIC.,	38-42

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PART I.

CICERO'S EXTANT CORRESPONDENCE COMMENCES

B. C. 68 ; A. U. C. 686.

CICERO was now 38 years of age. Eleven years before he had returned from his travels in Greece and Asia, where he had attended lectures in philosophy and rhetoric, and shortly after his return (aged about 29) had married Terentia. At the age of 17 he had served under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War. He had distinguished himself by his speech for P. Quinctius (673, b. c. 81), and by his daring defence of Sex. Roscius Amerinus and an Arretine woman (674, 675, b. c. 80, 79) against the power of Sulla, and had filled the quaestorship at the age of 31 (679, b. c. 75). He had afterwards, in his defence of Q. Roscius Comoedus (678, b. c. 76), more clearly shown his great qualifications for the Bar. But it was not until he was 36 years old (two years before the date of these letters) that his public life may be said to have begun with the prosecution of Verres (684, b. c. 70). The year after this famous prosecution he became curule aedile, and while holding that office made the speech for M. Fonteius, charged with misgovernment in Gaul, and defended A. Caecina. Except the treatise 'De Inventione Rhetorica' (668, b. c. 86), Cicero had contributed to literature only translations from the Greek, most of which he afterwards retouched, as, for instance, the 'Phaenomena' of Aratus. Of these translations only fragmentary remains are preserved.

LETTER OF THE FIRST YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 1.

A. U. C. 686 ; B. C. 68 ; AET. CIC. 38.

COSS. L. CAECILIUS METELLUS, Q. MARCIUS REX.

THE year of these letters was marked (in Cicero's private life) by the death of his cousin Lucius. It must have been a little before this time that his brother Quintus married Pomponia, the sister of Atticus.

CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

1. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 5).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 686; B. C. 68; AET. CIC. 38.

De L. Ciceronis fratris patruelis morte, de Q. fratris animo in uxorem suam, Attici sororem, et placando et regendo, de intermissione litterarum, de negotio Acutiliano, de Luceii offensione lenienda, de re Tadiana, de Epirotica emptione Attici, de ornando Tusculano, de Terentiae valetudine et humanitate.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantum dolorem acceperim et quanto fructu sim privatus et forensi et domestico Luci fratris nostri morte in primis pro nostra consuetudine tu existimare potes. Nam mihi omnia quae iucunda ex humanitate alterius et moribus homini accidere possunt ex illo accidebant. Qua re non dubito quin tibi quoque id molestum sit, cum et meo dolore moveare et ipse omni virtute officioque ornatissimum tuique et sua sponte et meo sermone amantem, adfinem,

1. *fructu*] *Fructus* is not enjoyment simply, but *enjoyment with profit*. The latter idea predominates here. 'What a loss I have sustained both in public and in private life.' Lucius was the *cousin* of Cicero. In *Fin.* v. 1 he expresses the relationship more accurately in calling him *fratrem cognatione patruelem, amore germanum*. Lucius, according to Asconius (p. 125, Or.), travelled in Sicily with Cicero, to aid him in collecting evidence against Verres. Cp. *Verr.* iv. 145. This explains *forensi*.

humanitate et moribus] 'his kindly disposition': a very mitigated specimen of the ἐν διὰ δυνάμιν so common in the poets

and in Tacitus. Cp. *pro Cluent.* 111, *mores eius et adrogantiam*. Dr. Reid translates *moribus* 'winning ways,' comparing *Prop.* iv. (v.) 11. 86.

omni . . . ornatissimum] 'graced by every charm of character and manner.' Cf. *virum . . . summo officio ac virtute praeditum*, 2 *Verr.* i. 135, 'a most obliging fellow.'

adfinem] Rather loosely used here; properly speaking, Q. Cicero only was the *adfinis* of Atticus, being the husband of Atticus's sister, Pomponia; not even Marcus, the brother of Quintus, still less Lucius the cousin, was *adfinis* to Atticus in strictness of speech.

amicumque amiseris. 2. Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit, ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse deberet. Quem cum esse offensorem arbitrarer, eas litteras ad eum misi quibus et placarem ut fratrem et monerem ut minorem et obiurgarem ut errantem. Itaque ex iis quae postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt confido ita esse omnia ut et oporteat et velimus. 3. De litterarum missione sine causa abs te accusor. Numquam enim a Pomponia nostra certior sum factus esse cui dare litteras possem, porro autem neque mihi accidit ut haberem qui in Epirum proficisceretur nequedum te Athenis esse audiebamus. 4. De Acutiliano autem negotio quod mihi mandaras, ut primum a tuo digressu Romam veni, confeceram, sed accidit ut et contentione nihil opus esset et ut ego qui in te satis consili statuerim esse malletm Peducaeam tibi consilium per litteras quam me dare. Etenim cum multos dies auris meas Acutilio dedissem, cuius sermonis genus tibi notum esse arbitror, non mihi grave duxi scribere ad te de illius querimoniis, cum eas audire, quod erat subdiosum, leve putassem.

2. *de sorore tua*] For an admirable account of the pettishness of Pomponia, see Att. v. 1, 2 (185). Cicero appears afterwards to completely absolve his brother from blame in his unhappy domestic relations.

minorem] Quintus was probably about four years younger than M. Cicero—about thirty-four years of age at the date of this letter.

3. *missione*] Bembus conjectures *intermissione*, and this is accepted by Baiter, who compares Fam. vii. 13, 1 (171), where Cic. uses the phrase *intermissionis epistularum*; but that supplies no reason why we should impugn here *missione* of the mss. The phrase may be rendered exactly, 'You have no right to complain of me as a correspondent': quite similarly in Att. iv. 16, 1 (144), Cicero says, *De epistularum frequentia te nihil accuso*, 'I bring no charge touching your regularity as a correspondent,' which is quite as natural a way of speaking as if he had said *infrequentia*, *irregularity*. So here he might have said *intermissione*, but did say (quite as correctly) *missione*: see C. F. W. Müller's learned note in Friedländer's Juvenal on 2. 39. Cf. Att. v. 10, 3 (198), *ut meum consilium saepe reprehendam quod non . . . emersem*,

where *consilium* really means 'my want of prudence.' Cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 85, *haec . . . reprehendi iustius illis*, where *haec* and *illis* are both pregnant, 'their absence can be more justly found fault with than the absence of those things which,' &c. This usage is common in Greek. Mr. Pretor compares Demosth. 1251. 2.

4. *De Acutiliano negotio*] See Att. i. 8, 1 (4), and Att. i. 4, 1 (9). As the latter letter was written in 687 (b. c. 67), the business must have been unfinished at the end of two years. Well might Cicero say *accidit ut contentione nihil opus esset*, 'it so happened that there was no need of any great haste.'

confeceram] Perhaps this may be best taken here as the *epistolary* pluperfect. If not writing a letter, Cic. would have used the imperf. *conficiebam*, 'I meant to finish the business, but,' &c. In a letter, *conficiebam* would mean, 'I am finishing,' so he is forced to use the pluperf., just as in Att. v. 14 (204), *Nunc iter conficiebamus pulverulenta via. Dederam Epheso pridie. Has dedi Trallibus*. See Roby, § 1468.

duxi] One would at first sight expect *duxissem*, which Corradus and Malaspina conjectured, and Bosius pretended to have

Sed abs te ipso qui me accusas unas mihi scito litteras redditas esse, cum et oti ad scribendum plus et facultatem dandi maiorem habueris. 5. Quod scribis, etiam si cuius animus in te esset offensior, a me recolligi oportere, *teneo* quid dicas neque id neglexi, sed est miro quodam modo adfectus. Ego autem quae dicenda fuerunt de te non praeterii: quid autem contendendum esset ex tua putabam voluntate me statuere oportere: quam si ad me perscripseris, intelleges me neque diligentiores esse voluisse quam tu esses neque negligentiores fore quam tu velis. 6. De Tadiana re, mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse, nihil esse iam quod laboraretur, quoniam hereditas usu capta esset. Id mirabamur te ignorare, de tutela legitima in qua dicitur esse puella nihil usu capi posse. 7. Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere. Quae tibi mandavi et quae tu intelleges convenire nostro

found in one of his fabricated mss. But *duxi* is quite right. Cicero is defending himself from the charge that he neglected to write, so as to escape the trouble of it. 'Seeing that I endured to listen to Acutius for several days, I did not think it a great task to write you an account of his complaints, when I made so light of listening to them, which was somewhat a bore.' We should rather have expected a word enhancing the meaning of *odiosum*, than the addition of a prefix like *sub*, which mitigates. Cicero affects words compounded of *sub* in this sense.

unas] *unas litteras*, 'one letter,' there being no ambiguity; but *duae litterae* would be 'two letters of the alphabet.' Two, three letters (epistles), &c., must be expressed by the distributive numeral *binæ, trinæ*, &c.

5. *Quod scribis . . . velis*] 'You write that even if somebody is a little offended with you, my part ought to be to bring about a better feeling: I see what you mean; and I did my best to that end; but he feels the matter very deeply. I did not fail to say all that was needful about your case; but how far I should go in my efforts, I thought I should regulate by your wishes, and when you have communicated these to me, you will see that I did not care to be more busy than you were yourself, and that, on the other hand, I shall not be more remiss than you would wish me to be.'

The reference is to Lucceius, cp. Fam. v. 12-15. He mentions the name plainly afterwards (Ep. 7. 1: 20. 7). It is,

however, possible that *cuius animus* might be explained as a reference to some general proposition in Att.'s letter. 'I have a right to look to you to mitigate any offence that may be taken.' See Ep. xiii. 8. *Teneo* was inserted by Orelli. It might well have fallen out after *-tere*, the last syllable of *oportere*; and it is idle to suppose that the want of a verb here could be accounted for as a justifiable ellipse. The old commentators defended the ellipse as a *loquendi genus comicum*; and this would have great weight if it could be proved, for we shall find many coincidences between Cicero's letters and the comic drama. It is natural that there should be close resemblances between the language of familiar letter-writing and the language of familiar dialogue. See Introduction, ii. 2.

6. *De Tadiana re*] Tadius had somehow got into his hands the property of an heiress who was still a ward. He had held her property for two or more years which would give a right to prescriptive ownership. When the property was claimed for the girl by her lawful guardians, Tadius, by the advice of Atticus, pleaded his prescriptive right. Cicero expresses his surprise that Atticus should not know that no prescriptive right can be acquired to the property of a ward under the care of her statutory guardians; cp. Roby, *Roman Private Law*, 227, 474.

7. *Epiroticam*] Near Buthrotum, often mentioned afterwards.

Tusculano, velim, ut scribis, cures, quod sine molestia tua facere poteris. Nam nos ex omnibus molestiis et laboribus uno illo in loco conquiescimus. 8. Q. fratrem cotidie exspectamus. Terentia magnos articularum dolores habet. Et te et sororem tuam et matrem maxime diligit; salutemque tibi plurimam ascribit et Tulliola, deliciae nostrae. Cura ut valeas et nos ames et tibi persuadeas te a me fraterne amari.

8. *articularum dolores*] 'rheumatism.'

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LETTERS OF THE SECOND YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 2-8.

A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

COSS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO, M'. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

THIS was the year in which the tribune L. Roscius Otho assigned special seats in the theatre to the equites, and in which the Lex Gabinia gave such large powers to Pompey to act against the pirates. In this year Cicero's daughter Tullia was betrothed to C. Piso. She cannot have been more than ten years of age at this time.

2. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 6.).

ROME; JANUARY (TOWARDS END); A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De mutuo litterarum commercio, de domo Rabiriana Neapoli a M'. Fonteio empta, de animo Q. fratris in Pomponiam, de patris morte, de Tusculano ornando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non committam posthac ut me accusare de epistularum neglegentia possis. Tu modo videto in tanto otio ut par in hoc mihi sis. Domum Rabirianam Neapoli quam tu iam dimensam et exaedificatam animo habebas M'. Fonteius emit HS CCCIOOOXXX. Id te scire volui, si quid forte ea res ad cogitationes tuas pertineret.
2. Q. frater, ut mihi videtur, quo volumus animo est in Pomponiam et cum ea nunc in Arpinatibus praediis erat et secum habebat hominem *χρηστομαθῆν*, D. Turranius. Pater nobis decessit

1. *Domum Rab.*] 'Rabirius' seat at Neapolis, which you had already laid out and completed in your mind's eye, M'. Fonteius has bought for 130,000 sesterces (£1100). *Domum Rabirianam* implies that it was the family mansion; *domum Rabiri* would merely express that it was his dwelling.

2. *Arpinatibus*] The names of the estates of Quintus in Arpinum were *Laternum* and *Arcanum*, the latter named apparently from a pagus or castle called *Arx*, now *Rocca d'Arce*.

χρηστομαθῆν] 'an adept in *belles lettres*,' 'a man of excellent polite learning.'

Pater nobis d.] This is a *locus vexatissimus*. Madvig, Boot, and others read *decessit* on the ground that Cicero would not have been so unfeeling as to announce his father's death in such curt terms. Boot urges that he is deeply moved at the death of his slave, *Sositheus* (Ep. 17. 4): he might also have noticed Cicero's almost exaggerated expressions of grief for *Lentulus* (Att. iv. 6, ep. 110). But if we read *decessit*, we must also read *pater noster decessit*, 'my father left,' instead of *pater nobis decessit*, the ethical dative implying serious loss to oneself. Unless, indeed, we make a

further change, and read *a nobis decessit*; and even then it is not probable that Cicero would write, 'my father has left' without mentioning whither he went, or why he thought the fact worth recording. But the chief argument against *decessit* is the alleged evidence of Asconius that Cicero's father did not die till the year 690 (b. c. 64). The passage of Asc. is, however, highly suspicious. In enumerating the competitors of Cicero for the consulship, Asc., in his commentary on the *Or. in Toga Cand.*, p. 82, writes:—'*Duos patricios P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, atque in petitione patrem amisit.*' Could anything be more abrupt or irrelevant than the words in italics? I believe the passage of Asc. is unsound. Very possibly Asc. wrote *omisit*, as Mr. Harrison, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has suggested. It may have been customary in the *profectio* to give the father's name with one's own. Cicero may have excited

a. d. IIII. Kal. Decembris. Haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem. Tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδη reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas. Nos Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsis tum denique cum illo venimus placeamus. Quid agas omnibus de rebus et quid acturus sis fac nos quam diligentissime certiores.

3. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 7).

ROME; FEBRUARY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De matre Attici Caecilia, de pecunia L. Cincio constituta, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca ab Attico conficienda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud matrem recte est eaque nobis curae est. L. Cincio HS xxcd constitui me curaturum Idibus Februariis. Tu velim ea quae nobis emisse te et parasse scribis des operam ut quam

comment by omitting this customary formality. If then we may dismiss the testimony of Asconius, there is no urgent reason for doubting that *decessit* is right, and means 'died.' Yet we may acquit Cicero of want of feeling; thus: let us suppose that he had already communicated the death of his father, in a letter to Atticus, now lost; that Atticus in a subsequent letter asked Cicero, 'What did you say was the precise date of your father's death?' and that Cicero here replies *pater nobis decessit a.d. iv. Kal. Dec.*, 'The date of my poor (*nobis*) father's death was the fourth day before the kalends.' *Nobis* is itself a tender expression. Cp. ure *mihi*, Prop. iv. 7, 78. Editors do not sufficiently keep before their minds the fact that much that is difficult in these letters arises from the loss of the replies of Atticus. Prof. A. Palmer acutely suggested a difficulty which besets this attempt to explain *decessit*, 'died,' in a way compatible with Cicero's filial affection. If Cicero writes 'four days before the kalends of Dec.' he is, of course, referring to Nov. 26 of the year 686 (68). Now, it is impossible that a letter could have come from Att. between that date and the end of the year. Either, therefore, our explanation is impossible, or this letter should be referred to the year

687 (67). We do not see any reason against adopting the latter course. The question between *discesserat* and *decesserat* arises again in Fam. v. 14, 1 (585), but there *discesserat* has M on its side.

γυμνασιώδη] '*objets d'art*,' 'articles of vertu.' γυμνάσιον was the name given by the Greeks originally to the places where bodily exercises were performed; but such places were afterwards used by philosophers for lecturing in. Cicero loved to lay out in the neighbourhood of his villas such places for philosophic discussion or for general conversation. These *gymnasia* consisted of a hall with seats called *exedrae*, and a covered colonnade (*stytus*), or a walk planted with trees for those who preferred to walk during the disquisition or conversation. For Cicero's villa at Tusculum ep. O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen*, p. 30 ff.

1. *Apud matrem*] 'Your mother and her household are getting on very well.' *constitui*] This word seems to indicate a definite arrangement to pay, and if not paid, the debt could be enforced by an *actio pecuniae constitutae*; cp. Att. xvi. 15-5 (807) and Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii, p. 86, note.

HS xxcd] This very sun, 20,400

primum habeamus, et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis. Omnem spem delectationis nostrae, quam cum in otium venerimus habere volumus, in tua humanitate positam habemus.

4. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 8).

ROME; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De matre Caecilia, de controversia Acutiliana, de negotio Tadiano, de Luceio Attico etiam nunc irato, de pecunia L. Cincio curata, de signis quibus maximo opere delectetur mittendis, de Tullioli munusculum flagitante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud te est ut volumus. Mater tua et soror a me Quintoque fratre diligitur. Cum Acutilio sum locutus. Is sibi negat a suo procuratore quidquam scriptum esse et miratur istam controversiam fuisse quod ille recusarit satis dare **AMPLIUS ABS TE NON PETI**. Quod te de Tadiano negotio decidisse scribis, id ego

sesterces (£173 8s.), is expressed by quite different symbols in Att. i. 8 (4). It should not surprise us to find such latitude in letters. So the horizontal stroke indicating thousands of sesterces has often to be supplied or not, according to the context. Thus in an English letter if we met the expression 'I gave 100 for a horse,' we should guess it meant £100, not 100 shillings; but if we found 'I gave 1000 for a horse, we might not feel quite sure whether the word written was *house* or *horse*. This being so, we follow the practice of those editors who do not supply in the text the horizontal stroke (which is not found in the mss), but leave the symbol as it is found in the mss, adding an explanation, if requisite, in the foot-notes.

conficere] 'secure.'

1. *Apud te est*] 'With your people all is as we wish': Cic. refers to the household of Quintus, where Pomponia was the ruling spirit.

Is sibi negat] 'He says he has received no communication from his agent, and expresses his astonishment that that quarrel between you should have arisen from his refusing to give you a guaranty that there would be no further claim on that head.'

PETI] The present **PETI** is used technically in legal transactions: see Fam. xiii. 28, 2 (523), and Verr. ii. 60, *iudicatum solvi satis datorios esse dicebant*. But *petiturum* is found, when the accusative before the verb is expressed; cp. Rosc. Com. 35, *Quid ita satis non dedit AMPLIUS A SE NEMINEM PETITURUM*, and Brut. 18, *non solvam nisi prius a te cavero amplius eo nomine neminem, cuius petitio sit, petiturum*; cp. also Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. 383. In Fam. xiii. 28, 2 (523), Klotz gives the whole passage thus: *sunt duo quae te nominatim rogo: primum ut, si quid satis dandum erit, AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI cures, ut satis detur fide mea, deinde, &c.* Thus it would seem that *cures* is made to govern *peti*. We would read *primum ut, si quid satis dandum erit AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI, cures ut satis detur fide mea*: 'I beg, first, if any security is to be given guaranteeing the party sued from any further claim on the part of the present claimant, that you will make me responsible for that security.' The words are printed in small capitals to draw attention to the fact that the phrase is a legal formula. The low Latin word for a receipt is *apocha*.

decidisse] 'to settle a matter out of court.' Cp. *transigere*. Both words are found in Verr. ii. 79.

Tadio et gratum esse intellexi et magno opere iucundum. Ille noster amicus, vir mehercule optimus et mihi amicissimus, sane tibi iratus est. Hoc si quanti tu aestimes sciam, tum quid mihi elaborandum sit scire possim. 2. L. Cincio HS CCIOO CCIOO CCCC pro signis Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi. Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aëneis de quibus ad me scripsisti iam nunc me admodum delectant. Qua re velim et eos et signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique videbuntur esse. Nam in eo genere sic studio efferimur ut abs te adiuvandi, ab aliis prope reprehendendi simus. Si Lentuli navis non erit, quo tibi placebit imposito. Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat. Mihi autem abiurare certius est quam dependere.

amicus] sc. Luceius.

2. HS CCIOO CCIOO CCCC] See Ep. 3, 1, note.

curavi] 'paid.'

Pentelici] Of marble from Pentelicus (Mendeli).

iam nunc] 'already, even before I have seen them.'

eius loci] 'any articles of *vertu* which may seem suitable to my Academy, my enthusiasm for such things, and your own taste.'

gymnasi xystique] See on Att. i. 6, 2 (2). A *xystus* (ξυστός) was originally the part of a gymnasium wherein the athletes used to scrape (ἐβένω) the oil and dust off with strigils. It was afterwards used for any covered place for walking. Vanicek derives it from the polished floor usually found therein (p. 1117).

quo tibi placebit] 'put them on board any vessel you please.'

Tulliola] 'My darling little Tullia is eager for the gift you promised her, and duns me as your representative. I am determined rather to repudiate than to

pay for you.' *Dependere* is a *vox propria* for paying as a representative of another, as is shown by Boot, who compares Fam. i. 9, 9 (153), *dependendum tibi est quod mihi pro illo spondidisti*. Tullia was at this time probably not more than nine years of age. In a letter written the next year (Ep. 7), Cicero tells of her betrothal; but the matter may have been in prospect now, and this may have been a gift promised by Atticus as a betrothal present. Pliny (Epp. v. 10, 1), in a passage, perhaps copied from this letter, writes to a friend: *libera tandem hendecasyllaborum meorum fidem qui scripta tua communibus amicis spondederunt: appellantur cotidie et flagitantur: ac iam periculum est ne cogantur ad exhibendum formulam accipere* ('receive a summons to produce'). Pliny, in some hendecasyllabic verses, had pledged himself that certain compositions of his friend should appear. There was a special action called *actio depensi* granted to *sponsores* who had paid money against those for whom they had paid it.—Sandars' *Justinian*, p. 354.

5. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 9).

ROME; MARCH OR APRIL; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De litteris crebrius ab Attico ad se dandis, de signis sibi mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nimium raro nobis abs te litterae adferuntur, cum et multo tu facilius reperias qui Romam proficiscantur quam ego qui Athenas et certius tibi sit me esse Romae quam mihi te Athenis. Itaque propter hanc dubitationem meam brevior haec ipsa epistula est, quod, cum incertus essem ubi esses, nolebam illum nostrum familiarem sermonem in alienas manus devenire. 2. Signa Megarica et Hermas de quibus ad me scripsisti vehementer exspecto. Quidquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. Genus hoc est voluptatis meae: quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt ea quaero. Lentulus navis suas pollicetur. Peto abs te ut haec diligenter cures. Thyillus te rogat et ego eius rogatu Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια.

1. *devenire*] 'find its way by chance'; cp. Brut. 157, *consideranti ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint*.

2. *Signa Megarica*] of the Megarian marble called κογχίτης λίθος.

Hermas] see note on Ep. 9, 3.

Academia] this is the name given by Cicero to the gymnasium in his Tusculan villa.

arcae] *Ex arca solvere* means to pay in money, not by a draft on a banker; but there is no evidence that *arca* implies a ready-money payment. In Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 5 (133), Cicero says, *nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret*, 'it will be his own fault if he should fail through any reliance on my purse,' where there is surely no allusion to ready money. The real *antitheton* to

arca is *sacculus* or *loculi*. *Arca* is the rich man's purse, or perhaps rather safe, or strongbox; while *sacculus* is the poor man's money-bag: Juv. xi. 26, *Ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca Sacculus*. The words *sacculus* and *loculi* are combined in Mart. v. 39, 7, *excussi loculosque sacculumque*. The word for paying by draft is *scribere nummos*: see on Ep. 66, 7.

Genus, &c.] 'This is the line my fancy takes' (Pretor).

Thyillus] Thyillus, a poet, who afterwards thought of making Cicero's consulship the subject of a poem (Ep. 22, 15). He now asks Atticus for a description of the 'ritual of the Eumolpidae,' priests of the Eleusinian Demeter at Athens. Doubtless Thyillus wished to introduce into some poem an account of the ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 10.)

TUSCULANUM; MAY; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De tempore litterarum dandarum angusto, de Luceio iam a se placando, de signis aliisque ornamentis ab Attico sibi curandis, de bibliotheca Attici a se emenda, de Q. fratris animo, de comitiis suis, de Tulliola de munusculo diem dante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum essem in Tusculano—erit hoc tibi pro illo tuo 'Cum essem in Ceramico,'—verum tamen cum ibi essem, Roma puer a sorore tua missus epistulam mihi abs te adlatam dedit nuntiavitque eo ipso die post meridiem iturum eum qui ad te proficisceretur. Eo factum est ut epistolae tuae rescriberem aliquid, brevitate temporis tam pauca cogerer scribere. 2. Primum tibi de nostro amico placando aut etiam plane restituendo polliceor. Quod ego etsi mea sponte ante faciebam, eo nunc tamen et agam studiosius et contendam ab illo vehementius, quod tantam ex epistula voluntatem eius rei tuam perspicere videor. Hoc te intellegere volo, pergraviter illum esse offensum, sed quia nullam video gravem subesse causam, magno opere confido illum fore in officio et in nostra potestate. 3. Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas et si quod aliud οἰκίον eius loci quem non ignoras reperies et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasique videbuntur esse. Etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse admoneret. Praeterea typos tibi mando quos in tectorio atrioli possim inclu-

1. *Cum essem*] 'Being in Tusculanum—there you have a beginning to correspond with your being in Ceramicius—being there, however, I received a letter.'

verum tamen] resumes after the parentheses as δ' οὖν and δὲ in Greek, as well as γὰρ (for which Shilleto has so brilliantly vindicated this resumptive force in a note on the *De Fals. Leg.* 371. 4. § 94). *Sed, igitur* are also resumptive particles in Cicero, as *equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam (facilius enim . . . didicerunt) sed eam sic audio*, de Or. iii. 45; *recta effectio* (κατὰθωσι enim ita appello,

&c.), *recta igitur effectio*, Fin. iii. 45. Boot shows that *tamen* has this force in Brut. 101—where *tamen* introduces the parenthesis as well as resumes the narrative. So *ergo, autem*.

2. *amico*] Lucecius.

fore in officio et in nostra potestate] 'that he will be complaisant, and will put himself in my hands.'

3. *Hermeraclas*] See note to Ep. 9, 3. *scribebam*] 'I am writing,' epistolary imperf. See Roby, § 1468.

typos] 'bas-reliefs for insertion in the plaster walls of my antechamber' (Pretor).

dere et putealia sigillata duo. 4. Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnis meas vindemiolas eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem. 5. De fratre confido ita esse ut semper volui et elaboravi. Multa signa sunt eius rei, non minimum quod soror praegnans est. 6. De comitiis meis et tibi me permisisse memini et ego iam pridem hoc communibus amicis qui te exspectant praedico, te non modo non arcessi a me sed prohiberi, quod intellegam multo magis interesse tua te agere quod agendum est hoc tempore quam mea te adesse comitiis. Proinde eo animo te velim esse, quasi mei negoti causa in ista loca missus esses. Me autem eum et offendes erga te et audies quasi mihi si quae parta erunt non modo te praesente sed per te parta sint. Tulliola tibi diem dat, sponsorem *me* appellat.

7. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 11).

ROME; JULY OR AUGUST; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De Luceio praeter expectationem nondum placato, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca sibi conservanda, de ceteris rebus iam deterioribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Et mea sponte faciebam antea et post duabus epistulis tuis perdiligenter in eandem rationem scriptis magno opere sum commotus. Eo accedebat hortator adsiduus Sallustius ut agerem quam diligentissime cum Luceio de vestra vetere gratia reconcilianda. Sed, cum omnia fecissem, non modo eam voluntatem

putealia sigillata] 'embossed well-covers.'

4. *Bibliothecam*] 'Do not on any account betroth your library to anyone, no matter how eager a suitor for it you find. I am hoarding up all my gleanings (savings) to buy it as a support (resource) for my old age.'

6. *De comitiis meis*] For the praetorship, which he filled, A. U. C. 688, B. C. 66.

tibi me permisisse] 'I do not forget that I gave you free permission' (i.e. to stay away). Cf. *neque discessisset a me*

nisi ego ei permissem, Fam. xiii. 71 (510).

Proinde] 'I should wish you to feel in this matter just as if I had sent you on my own business to the place you are in. And you will find (and hear from our common friends) that my feelings towards you are the same as if any success I may attain (at the election) were attained not only in your presence but through your instrumentality.'

Tulliola] 'My little Tullia is for having the law of you, and is dunning me as your representative.'

eius quae fuerat erga te recuperare non potui, verum ne causam quidem elicere immutatae voluntatis. Tametsi iactat ille quidem illud suum arbitrium et ea quae iam tum cum aderas offendere eius animum intellegebam, tamen habet quiddam profecto quod magis in animo eius insederit, quod neque epistolae tuae neque nostra adlegatio tam potest facile delere quam tu praesens non modo oratione sed tuo vultu illo familiari tolles, si modo tanti putaris, id quod, si me audies et si humanitati tuae constare voles, certe putabis. Ac ne illud mirere cur, cum ego antea significarim tibi per litteras me sperare illum in nostra potestate fore, nunc idem videar diffidere, incredibile est quanto mihi videatur illius voluntas obstinatio et in hac iracundia obfirmatio: sed haec aut sanabuntur cum veneris aut ei molesta erunt in utro culpa erit. 2. Quod in epistula tua scriptum erat, me iam arbitrari designatum esse, scito nihil tam exercitum esse nunc Romae quam candidatos omnibus iniquitatibus, nec quando futura sint comitia sciri. Verum haec audies de Philadelpho. 3. Tu velim quae Academiae nostrae parasti quam primum mittas. Mire quam illius loci non modo usus sed etiam cogitatio delectat. Libros vero tuos cave cuiquam tradas. Nobis eos, quem ad modum scribis, conserva. Summum me eorum studium tenet, sicut odium iam ceterarum rerum: quas tu incredibile est quam brevi tempore quanto deteriores offensurus sis quam reliquisti.

1. *illud suum arbitrium*] 'that arbitration case (decided by you against him) which he is always harping on.' It is a very uncritical expedient to read *tuum* against the mss.

nostra adlegatio] 'the mission to him that I have undertaken.' *Adlegatio* is private; *legatio*, public.

idem] 'however,' the *nom. masc.*

ei molesta] 'he will smart for it who deserves it'—a rather unsympathising sentiment.

2. *arbitrari*] The subject of *arbitrari* is perhaps omitted by Cic., as it would no doubt be easily supplied by the reader. We are not forced to suppose, with Zumpt, that *arbitrari* is here passive. Yet the position of *me*, as well as the *sciri* following, would seem to point to a passive *arbitrari*. The dictionaries quote more than one instance of *arbitrari* passive in Cicero's orations, e.g. Verr. v. 106 (where, however, the reading is doubtful); and Mur. 34, where there is no ms variation:

cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 6. 3. *Arbitrari* is found passive in the comic drama, e.g. Plaut. Epid. 267, but there we meet the active form *arbitrare* more than once (cp. Neue-Wagener, iii³. 24).

nihil tam] 'let me tell you the candidates are harassed to an unprecedented degree with all sorts of unreasonable demands.' The reference is probably to the double postponement of the comitia, owing to the measures against bribery proposed by the tribune, C. Cornelius, and the riots which ensued in consequence of them (Dio Cass. xxxvi. 38, 39; Ascon. p. 58).

3. *Mire quam*] = θαυμάσιος ὥς. This is a usage common in the comic drama, as *admodum quam*, Pl. Amph. 541. We find *sane quam*, Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (105); *valde quam*, Fam. xi. 13, 3 (859). Livy xxxvi. 25, 3, has *oppido quam*.

quas tu . . . reliquisti] 'you can hardly believe what a great and sudden change for the worse from the state in which you

8. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 3.).

ROME; A. U. C. 687 (TOWARDS END); B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De morte aviae Attici, de Attico Romae exspectato, de signis ab eo missis, de Luceio nondum Attico placato, de Tullia C. Pisoni Frugi desponsa.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse et simul quod verita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Alba-

left them you will find in public affairs, and in such a short time too.' *Quam brevi tempore* is 'in how short a time'; *quam reliquisti (deteriores)* is 'worse than you left them.'

1. *Aviam*] Does Cicero here seriously announce to Atticus the death of his grandmother, and then pass to jest, and say that her death was due to regret for the long absence of Atticus, adding (in ridicule of the lady, whom we must, with Manutius, conjecture to have been 'too religious') that her death was hastened by a doubt whether the Latin festival would 'come up to time,' and have the due procession of the victims for sacrifice to the sacred mount? Or are we, with Mr. Pretor, to regard the whole statement as a piece of pleasantry—'let me tell you that regret for your prolonged absence has been the death of your grandmother'? We hold the former view for these reasons: (1). There is no objection to it. It conflicts with modern notions of good breeding to announce the death of a relative in such a tone: but would a modern letter-writer announce the betrothal of his daughter in the laconic fashion which Cicero adopts in this letter? Cicero knew that Atticus would not feel any real grief for her death, and there existed then no code of taste which ordained that he should affect to believe that Atticus would be grieved. (2). The jest would be rather poor on Mr. Pretor's hypothesis; and Cicero would have rather said, 'let me tell you your grandmother will not long survive your protracted absence,' *mortuam esse*, not *mortuam esse*. We must again differ from Mr. Pretor in his view that the word understood after *Latinae* is

civitates, not *feriae*. *Latinae* is used for *Latinae feriae* in Q. Fr. ii. 4, 4 (105), and twice in Cicero's poem on his Consulship, preserved in De Div. i. 18. It is a sort of joke to say of a superstitious and nervous old woman that her death was due to a doubt whether the Latin festival would come up to time, and duly perform its rites. The personification of the festival, and the attributing to it conscious action, is the matter of the joke such as it is. Make *Latinae* agree with *civitates*, and you will have a more regular subject for *manerent* and *adducerent*; but you will also have a serious statement, and not the joke, which lies in the incompatibility of the expression. One may, however, get the meaning which we prefer without personifying *feriae*: the adj. *Latinae* may agree with *mulieres*, the women who would celebrate the Latin festival. Then we should have a regular subject for *manerent*, *adducerent*. Mr. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College, Oxford, takes *Latinae* with *civitates*, and explains in a way which certainly saves the joke. The old lady, according to his view, must have been going back to her memory of the Social War, when the fear, *ne Latinae (civitates) in officio non manerent*, must have caused much anxiety. When Cicero wrote, it would be like an alarm 'that Bonaparte was coming' in (say) 1840.

The *Latinae* were celebrated at uncertain periods, as they belonged to the *feriae*, called *conceptivae* because the magistrate had to appoint (*concipere*) the time of their celebration. This was a powerful weapon in the hands of a magistrate, who could, by proclaiming the *feriae Latinae*, suspend public business for a week. See Introduction, i. § 1.

num hostias non adducerent. Eius rei consolationem ad te L. Saufeium missurum esse arbitror. 2. Nos hic te ad mensem Ianuarium exspectamus ex quodam rumore an ex litteris tuis ad alios missis: nam ad me de eo nihil scripsisti. Signa quae nobis curasti, ea sunt ad Caietam exposita. Nos ea non vidimus: neque enim exeundi Roma potestas nobis fuit: misimus qui pro vectura solveret. Te multum amamus quod ea abs te diligenter parvoque curata sunt. 3. Quod ad me saepe scripsisti de nostro amico placando, feci et expertus sum omnia, sed mirandum in modum est animo abalienato: quibus de suspicionibus, etsi audisse te arbitror, tamen ex me cum veneris cognosces. Sallustium praesentem restituere in eius veterem gratiam non potui. Hoc ad te scripsi, quod is me accusare de te solebat: at in se expertus est illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium nec sibi nec tibi defuisse. Tulliolam C. Pisoni L. F. Frugi despondimus.

Eius rei] 'Saufeius (a follower of the Epicurean school, which held that death was no evil) will, I suppose, send you the appropriate consolation for the event.' Saufeius (as we learn from Ep. 35, 1) was only too glad to preach a sermon on such a text. So Cicero says, 'I shall not deprive him of his theme; I shall leave to him the task of offering you consolation.' All this shows clearly that (as Boot says) Cicero knew very well that Atticus did not need much consolation.

This Saufeius was a close friend of Atticus, and Atticus saved his property from confiscation by the triumvirs (Nep. Att. 12-3).

2. *Nos hic te*] 'I am expecting your arrival here by January from some flying rumour, I suppose—or is it from some letter of yours to someone else, for you did not mention it in any letter to me?' Madvig on Fin. ii. 104, *Simonides an quis alius*, has an excellent note on this use of *an*. His conclusion is that comparison of places where it occurs, viz. Fam. vii. 9, 3 (145); Att. i. 3, 2 (8); ii. 7, 3 (34); vii. 1 (284), shows that the phrase is not used for a disjunctive question, *dubium Simonides an quis alius*, but for a direct statement, to which is appended an expression of hesitation about its truth.

3. *Nostro amico*] Luceceius.

Sallustium praesentem] 'I failed to

bring about their former friendship between him and Sallustius, though the latter was on the spot (not absent, as you are). I mention this because Sallustius used to upbraid me with my failure in your case. But he has now found in his own case how sullen Luceceius is, and that no good offices of mine were spared either in his own case or in yours.'

Nec sibi nec tibi] *Meum studium nec tibi defuisse* is the ms, 'that my good offices were not wanting to you either.' This is defensible; but it is a very slight change to read, with Klotz (2nd ed.), *nec sibi nec tibi*. This is much better than the reading of Graevius, *nec tibi nec sibi*, for it supplies a reason for the corruption: the copyist had written the first *nec*, then he raised his eyes and went on after the second *nec*. This is a common cause of error in mss—the next most common to dittography. The term *parablepsy* might conveniently be used to describe this particular case of it. Boot's suggestion for this passage is worth noticing: 'Hoc ad te scripsi quod is me accusare de te solebat; at in se expertus illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium negat tibi defuisse.' This sounds more like Cicero. Perhaps *negabit* would be still better; *nec tibi* might easily have taken the place of *negabit tibi*.

L. F.] Luci filio.

LETTER OF THE THIRD YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 9.

A. U. C. 688 ; B. C. 66 ; AET. CIC. 40.

COSS. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

THIS was the year of Cicero's praetorship. While holding that office he defended A. Cluentius Habitus in a very able speech. But the year of his praetorship is rendered memorable chiefly by his speech in favour of the Manilian Law, which gave to Pompey a commission to carry on the war against Mithridates, with the government of Pontus, Cilicia, and Bithynia. This was his first great political speech. In it he spoke the sentiments of the moderate Optimates, who thought that it was the true policy of the senate to endeavour to make Pompey the champion of their class.

9. TO ATTICUS AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 4).

ROME; A. U. C. 688 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 66; AET. CIC. 40.

De Attico ad comitia Q. fratris et ad Acutilianam controversiam transigendam expectato, de condemnatione C. Macri, de signis, ornamentis, libris aut emptis aut emendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Crebras expectationes nobis tui commoves. Nuper quidem, cum iam te adventare arbitraremur, repente abs te in mensem Quintilem reiecti sumus. Nunc vero sentio, quod commodum tuo facere poteris, venias ad id tempus quod scribis: obieris Q. fratris comitia, nos longo intervallo viseris, Acutilianam controversiam transegeris. Hoc me etiam Peducaeus ut ad te scriberem admonuit: putamus enim utile esse te aliquando iam rem transigere. Mea intercessio parata et est et fuit. 2. Nos hic incredibili ac singulari populi voluntate de C. Macro transegitur. Cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi estimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset,

1. in . . . reiecti] 'put off till.'
sentio] This is the ms reading, changed by Lambinus to *censeo*. Klotz, in ed. 2nd, rightly restores *sentio*.

Q. fratris comitia] For the curule aedileship to which he was elected the next year.

2. Nos hic] 'I have settled the case of C. Macer, and gained thereby such marked approbation as you would hardly have believed possible. Though I might have taken a lenient view of the case (might have let him down easily), I gave sentence against him, and have reaped much greater benefit from the popular approbation thereof, than I could have gained from his good offices had he been acquitted.'

This was the historian, C. Licinius Macer, who, as *repetundarum reus*, came before Cicero as praetor, and was condemned; cp. Val. Max. ix. 12, 7: Plut. Cic. 9. This discreditable sentiment has

been mitigated by the edd. from Manutius to Merivale, by a mistranslation of *aequus*. Merivale renders 'I have done him strict justice, yet,' &c., thus confounding *ius* and *aequum*. *Aequus* means *favourable*, *friendly*, as in 'uni *aequus* virtuti atque eius amicis,' 'aequa Venus Teucris Pallas *iniqua* fuit,' 'aequi boni facit,' and other places. Casaubon first corrected the mistranslation of *aequi*; but he took *fuisset* as if it were *fuimus*. The subjunctive *fuisset* is both concessive and (elliptically) conditional: 'though I might have taken a lenient view (had I so willed).' We shall have something to say about another form of elliptical conditional sentence on Ep. 27. The view of the passage here given was originated by Tunstall, and is accepted by Boot. But perhaps the subj. is only concessive, 'though I had been favourable to him.'

gratia cepissimus. 3. Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est. Est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi. Qua re velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. Quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi. In Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. Illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo. Caietam, si quando abundare coepero, ornabo. Libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos *me* meos facere posse. Quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.

3. *Est ornamentum*] 'It (the Hermathena) is an ornament appropriate to my Academy, because Hermes is the usual decoration of all such places, and Minerva is peculiarly suited to mine.'

A Hermathena is a bust of Athena, superposed on a quadrangular pillar; compare such combinations as Hermeracles (Ep. 6, 3), Hermares, Hermeros, Hermanubis. The prefix *ἑρμ-* signifies the quadrangular pillar (*ἡ τετραγώνος ἐργασία*, Thucyd. vi. 27) on which the bust rested. In Epp. 4 and 5 Cic. speaks of this and other similarly formed pieces of sculpture as *Hermæ*. A Hermes-pillar surmounted by the bust of a divinity is (says Cicero) a kind of ornament found in every gymnasium; such a pillar with a bust of Minerva is especially appropriate in my gymnasium, which was to be used solely for mental and not for bodily exercise. It is possible that Hermathena may have signified a double-headed bust of Hermes and Athena: but if so, it is strange that Cic. would not have used Mercurius for Hermes, or Athena for Minerva. But inasmuch as there was no Latin word to express the peculiar kind of ornament which the Greeks called a *Hermes*, Cic. was compelled to use the Greek term. See Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, 2, p. 2342, and Gurlitt (*Steg-litz Programm*, 1898, pp. 1-3). We have not followed Boot in omitting *insigne*,

as he is wrong in saying that it rests *only* on the authority of Bosius. It is not found in M, but is in Z, in the marg. of Lambinus' ed., and also in several members of the *Σ* class. See Lehmann, 'Att.', p. 134, and Introduction, iii., On the Sources of the Text.

ea nondum vidi] Merely because *nondum* occurs here, Baiter would read *nosea nondum vidimus* in the preceding letter—a vicious principle; as if because Cicero says 'I have not yet seen them' in one letter, he should not say 'I have not seen them' in another, more especially as *nondum* is quite necessary here, contrasted as it is with two other points of time, in the words 'quae mihi antea misisti,' and 'quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam.'

Caietam] This is the ms reading, usually changed to *Caietanum*; but Klotz justly observes that Cicero may have preferred rather to call his villa *Caieta* than *Caietanum*. It was the same as the *Formianum*; see O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Viten*, p. 27, especially Note 2.

Crassum] Crassus is the typical millionaire of Roman literature; see Fin. iii. 75; Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 134.

vicos et prata] 'I envy no man's manor and demesne.' For *vici* in this sense, see Horace, Ep. ii. 2, 177, and Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82). Others translate 'city and country property.'

LETTERS OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 10, 11.

A. U. C. 689 ; B. C. 65 ; AET. CIC. 41.

COSS. L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

THIS year Cicero devoted chiefly to his canvass for the attainment of the consulship two years thence, 691 (b. c. 63). He could not legally become consul till he was 43 years of age. He offered to defend Catiline, in hopes that Catiline might make common cause with him against the other candidates. He had set his heart on the consulate, and he neglected no means which might achieve success. He refused to defend the uncle of Atticus in a just cause against Caninius Satyrus, whose influence he thought might be useful in his candidature. His son Marcus was born this year. This was the year of the speeches for C. Cornelius.

10. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 1).

ROME; JULY, A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Cum M. Ciceronis tempus iustum petendi consulatus appropinquaret, primum Attico exponit rationem petitionis suae et ea ipsa petitionis causa sese excusat quod Caecilio, Attici avunculo, contra A. Caninium Satyrum in iudicio adesse noluerit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Petitionis nostrae quam tibi summae curae esse scio huius modi ratio est, quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensat unus P. Galba: sine fuco ac fallaciis, more maiorum, negatur. Ut opinio est hominum, non aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haece praepropera prensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, cum hoc precrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium prensandi facere cogitamus eo ipso tempore quo tuum puerum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo, comitiis tribuniciiis,

1. *Petitionis*] 'About the prospects of my candidature, in which I know you are deeply interested, the case stands thus, as far as surmises go—Galba is the only one who is actively making interest for himself. He receives for answer a plain, unvarnished, old-fashioned no. This premature canvass of his, as common report goes, has not been a bad thing for my interests; for their refusal generally takes the form of a statement that they owe their support to me. So I fancy my cause is being served, now that the report gets wind that my supporters are found to be in the majority.' In using the word *petitio* here, Cicero does not imply that he is now engaged in any *petitio*. He only says the prospects of his candidature (when he shall become a candidate) are improved by the *praepropera prensatio* of Galba, who should have waited for the *comitia tribunicia*, the first election in the year, and the time at which (as it would seem) etiquette prescribed that the *prensatio* should begin. Cicero had not yet begun *prensare*, 'to make interest,' much less *petere*, 'to stand,' for the consulship.

sine fuco ac fallaciis] The alliteration is doubtless fortuitous. If it were designed, the phrase might be rendered 'clean and clever.' Cp. for the sentiment, Plaut. Truc. prol. 6:

En mehercle in vobis resident mores pristini
Ad denegandum ut celeri lingua utamini.

ita . . . ut] These particles are used with great delicacy by Cicero: see *Introd.*, II. § 2 B. A paraphrase like that in the rendering given above is often necessary to bring out the force of the particles. Cp. Att. vi. 9, 1 (282), *ita se domi ex tuis audisse ut nihil esset incommodum*, 'that the account which he had from your people was incompatible with the idea of anything being wrong.' For *profici*, cp. Plin. Ep. ix. 40, 2, *memoriae . . . proficitur*.

cogitamus] is virtually an imperf., as *cogitavi* (ἐγνώκα) is virtually a present, 'I have made up my mind' = 'I purpose'; but here it is an epistolary tense: hence the pluperf. may here be fairly rendered by the English present, 'I was intending when I wrote,' that is, 'I intend.'

in campo] sc. Martio.

a.d. xvi. Kalend. Sext. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse. Ut frontem ferias, sunt qui etiam Caesonium putent. Aquilium non arbitrabamur qui denegavit et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et Palicano

qui certi esse videantur] 'to take only those who are certain to stand.' Cp. *quod exstet litteris*, Tusc. i. 38. *Qui modo* is more usual in this case, but *quod meminim*, *quod sciam* are common; cf. Roby, 1692, 1694. Boot, who apparently sees something in *qui . . . videantur* not parallel to *quod provideri possit* above, would (with Rom.) read *videbantur*, the epistolary imperf.

Puto] 'I can fancy your smile or sigh as you come to this piece of news. But here is something *à faire frémir*; some think Caesonius will actually stand.' *In hoc* refers to the whole sentence, 'you will smile or sigh (according to the point of view from which you regard the news) when you hear there are no candidates with stronger claims than these.' *Ingemere* really means to groan or growl; a modern English letter-writer would say, 'I fancy you will smile or else swear.' The 'groan' is essentially southern: still more, 'the smiting of the forehead.' None of the men had as yet achieved any such personal distinction as would warrant their standing. Q. Cicero, in the Comm. Pet. 7, says of these rivals of his brother, especially of Galba, *Vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi parvis non esse*.

Ut frontem] Cp. Brutus, 278, *nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis, frons non percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla supplotio*. Cp. also Apul. Met. i. 7, *imo de pectore cruciabilem suspirium ducens dextra saeviente frontem replaudens*.

Caesonium] He was a juror in the first trial of Cluentius, and also in the trial of Verres (1 Verr. 29). He was *curule aedile* with Cicero in 685 (69), and also praetor with him in 688 (66). He is perhaps the Caesonius mentioned in Att. xii. 11 (502).

iuravit] 'has excused himself on the plea of ill-health, and his unquestioned sway in the law courts.' For *iurare morbum* cp. Att. xii. 13, 2 (545). The position of Aquilius as a *iuris consultus*

was really deserving of the term *regnum*; see the eloquent eulogy of him in Caec. 77; he was the colleague of Cicero in the praetorship. It is to be noticed, then, that a distinguished Roman felt that he was bound to allege some excuse for his conduct, if he did not, having been praetor, aim at the consulship. For the expression *regnum iudiciale*, cp. *amisso regno forensi*, Fam. ix. 18, 1 (473). Cic. uses *excusare morbum* in the same sense in Phil. ix. 8, with which cp. *excusare laborem*, Hor. Ep. i. 7, 67.

Catilina] Catiline was charged by Clodius with misappropriation of public moneys. Therefore he could not stand for the consulship unless acquitted, that is only 'if the jury bring in a verdict that the sun does not shine at noonday.' The reference is to the trial of Catiline for extortion (*repetundae*) as propraetor in Africa: see the important passage in Asconius (p. 85. 8-16 Or.) and Reid, *pro Sulla*, Intro., §§ 7 and 12.

Aufidio] T. Aufidius, mentioned as a jurist in Brut. 179; he had been praetor in Asia, Flacc. 45. This is the view held by Borghesi and Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 40). Orelli, after Goveanus, has changed this reading to *Auli filio*, and has been almost universally followed by the editors; wrongly, as can be shown. *Aufidio* is the reading of all the mss, and there is no reason why he should not have aspired to the consulship, having been praetor, as well as Palicanus, who had only been tribune, and who was a man of bad character (Val. Max. iii. 8, 3). But Orelli observed that, in Att. ii. 3, 1 (29), the mss have *Atilio*, which should be, doubtless, corrected to *A. filio*, i.e. *Auli filio*, i.e. Afranio. Therefore, here he changes *Aufidio* to *Auli filio*. On Att. i. 4, 3 (8), attention has been already directed to the uncritical character of this method. But here is a far more serious case, for above *nondum* might have stood in both places; here *A. filio* cannot stand. For why should Afranius be here called 'the son of Aulus'? In Att. ii. 3, 1 (29),

non puto te exspectare dum scribam. 2. De iis qui nunc petunt Caesar certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur: qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur

the correction is right, for Cicero is purposely using covert language; he says, 'it is said that a certain acquittal is due to the influence of the son of Aulus, and that Pompey (whom also he covertly calls Epicrates) has been going it strong.' Afranius was well known as a *protégé* of Pompey, and Atticus would understand what he meant. Besides, at that time, Afranius was consul; and Cicero might think it dangerous to criticise him except in covert phrase. In Att. i. 16, 12 (22), he first calls Afranius *A. filius*, but then he is referring to a matter well known to Atticus. In Att. i. 18, 5 (24), where also he calls Afranius *A. filius* (a letter also written in 694, b.c. 60, the year of Afranius' consulship), the context *proclaims* who is meant by *Auli filius*. But here (1) there is no objection to *Aufidio* of the mss; (2) there is no occasion for any covert allusion to Afranius; (3) Atticus could not have understood what he meant by *A. filio*. Mr. Watson honestly says, 'Afranius is said to have been called *Auli filius* on account of his own insignificance; *quasi terrae filius*, says Drumann, but it seems a strange expression.' But if it referred to his insignificance, it *ought* to imply that any little lustre he had was reflected from his father Aulus; now Aulus was quite obscure. Moreover, there are more insignificant men mentioned here, e.g. Palicanus (cp. Ep. 24, 5). No: he is never called *Auli filius* until Cicero feared to criticise him unless covertly, and then the context leaves it unmistakable who is meant by the son of Aulus. In Att. i. 18, 5 (24), we have, 'Metellus is an excellent consul; not so Aulus' son'—of course the other consul. There is no reference to insignificance. Having once given him this name in Att. i. 16, 12 (22), Cicero afterwards frequently applies it to him.

2. *De iis qui*] 'Of those who are now canvassing [sc. for the year 690 (64)] Caesar is sure to be elected. It is thought the real struggle will be between Thermus and Silanus, who are so poor in friends and character that it seems to me on the cards to carry Curius against them.'

Caesar] i.e. Lucius Julius Caesar consul in 690 (64). He was loyal to the senate after the murder of the Dictator (see Index).

Thermus] Cicero wrote some letters to this Thermus when he was governor of Asia (Epp. 230–232; 253, 4).

Silano] Consul in 691 (63).

et existimatione] So the mss; Boot and Baiter insert *ab* before *existimatione*. Klotz rightly adheres to the mss: *inops ab amicis* is found in De Domo, 58, and *inops verbis*, Brut. 247. Each of these constructions finds a parallel here.

Curium] Boot suggests *Turium*, which is found in the margin of the Med. He thinks Curius was of too bad a character (cp. Sall. Cat. 23) to have had a chance; but this is hardly sufficient ground for abandoning the Med., which, in these letters, is, in the present case, the best guide we have.

Nostris . . . acciderim] The meaning of the passage is this: 'it would suit my interests best that Thermus should be elected with Caesar (who is certain), for Thermus would be the most formidable rival to me, if left over for my year, because he is commissioner for the repairing of the Flaminian road, and when that is completed his influence will be greatly strengthened' (though it is not great now, as we see above, *qui sic inopes*, &c.).

In the text we have given the unintelligible reading of Med. The best conjecture is perhaps that of Manutius, who gives *quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem addiderim*; which might be improved thus: *quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eo libenter Thermum Caesari consulem acciderim*. The last word is suggested by Boot, but is rejected as being found only in Plautus. But this is in its favour: see Introduction, II § 2 A. The chief objection to Manutius' reading is, that it is a mere repetition. Read, therefore, *eo accordingly*, which suits the repetition, 'and that is why I would wish to solder together Thermus and Caesar in the consulship.' For *eo*, without correlatives *quo*, *ut*, see Fam. vi. 20, 1 (645), *dederam triduo ante . . . litteras ad te*:

Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex iis qui nunc petunt qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae:† que cum erit absoluta sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim.† Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio. Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrikerit, excurremus mense Septembri

EO nunc ero brevior; and de Div. ii. 46, *frater es: EO vereor*. *Libenter* nunc for *libenter* Thermum is a case of lipography—*ther* was left out after *ter*, and this is confirmed by the reading of Z and M; for Z (*teste Lambino*) reads *libenter nunciteri concili acciderunt*, and the margin of M has *nuntiteri* for *nunc ceteri*. Bosius made a very ingenious guess (which of course he fortified by fabricated mss), that there is here a play on the word *Thermum*, which in Greek is *θερμὸν*, a lupine, and the word *cicer*, a vetch. The way in which he works out his idea is bad, for it conflicts with the context: but the suggestion recommends itself to those who remember that Cicero can hardly resist a play on a name. Could Cicero have written *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem obduzerint*, therefore (when the Flaminian way is finished) they will gladly enough run Thermus against Cicero, the lupine against the vetch? Or better, if we suppose that *ciceri* could be meant as a pun on *Caesari*, not *Ciceroni*, one might read *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem acciderim*, 'therefore I would be glad to pound up together (Thermus and Caesar) the lupine and the vetch in the consulship.' In favour of making *ciceri* a pun on *Caesari*, it may be mentioned that there is a play on *Sosia* and *socius* in Plaut. Amph. 383-4. However, against this theory it is a strong objection that *ciceri* would more naturally be a play on *Ciceroni*. Bosius says he found *libenter nun ciceri* in XY, which he changes to *libenter Thermum ciceri*: but he might have spared himself here his appeal to his non-existent *codices*, for we may almost say that Z and M have this very reading, so very frequent is the confusion between *c* and *t*, so that *nunciteri* and *nuntiteri* would very probably have been written by a copyist who found *nunciceri*. Koch's and Kayser's reading, suggested by Corradus originally, *libenter*

municipia consulem accipient (*acceperint*), is decidedly attractive, though somewhat wide of the mss. Wesenberg reads *quae tum erit absoluta: sane facile eum Caesari consulem accedere viderim*, a reading chiefly founded on the conjecture of I. F. Gronovius, which Boot (Obs. p. 40) thinks might be improved by reading *addi* for *accedere*. Dr. Reid thinks that *renuntiarum* is concealed under *nunciteri*, and suggests *quae tum erit absoluta; sane facile eum ac libenter renuntiarum consulem acceperim*; and Mr. Pretor proposes *quae tunc erit absoluta. Sane factum eum libenter cum Caesare consulem viderim*.

The great Roman roads, such as the Appia, Flaminia, &c., were called *viae praetoriae* or *consulares*, and were overseen by *curatores*; the smaller roads which intersected them were called *viae vicinales*, and were under the charge of *magistri pagorum*.—Momm. St. R. ii. 650.

informata] 'in outline, *ἐσκιαγραφημένη* (Plato); *δπογεγραμμένη, δποτετυπωμένη* (Aristotle).

Gallia] Gaul, i.e. Gallia Cispadana, had great influence on elections at Rome. Cicero says of Gaul, cp. *a qua nos . . . tum petere consulatum solebamus*, Phil. ii. 76.

cum Romae] 'when the heat of business begins to cool down in the courts I shall take a run to Piso, not returning later than January.'

Piso was consul 687 (67), and since had been governor of Gallia Narbonensis (cp. Ep. 19, 2). He was afterwards defended by Cicero on a charge of *repetundae*, and acquitted in 691 (63). The *legatio libera* is here referred to. It was a sort of unofficial embassy, which enabled a senator to leave Rome on his own private affairs at the expense of the State. Cicero speaks strongly against the institution: de Legg. iii. 18. The last four months of the year were so occupied by holidays

legati ad Pisonem ut Ianuario revertamur. Cum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa esse, his dumtaxat urbanis competitoribus. Illam manum tu mihi cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompei, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huius modi sunt. 3. Sed est quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Caecilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario cum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre A. Caninio Satyro de iis rebus quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat L. Lucullus et P. Scipio et is quem putabant magistrum fore si bona venirent, L. Pontius. Verum hoc ridiculum est de magistro. Nunc cognosce rem. Rogavit me

and festivals that there was hardly any law business then in Rome.

Cetera spero] 'The rest I hope will be plain sailing, provided I have only to deal with the candidates who are now in the city,' or 'with my civilian rivals.' In Mur. 19, the profession of the jurists is called *urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi, cavendi*, which, perhaps, rather favours the latter view.

Illam manum] 'You, as you are nearer, must guarantee me the support of the following of P.' Some of those who were now with Pompey in Asia might have returned to Rome before Cicero's election, or, if absent, they might write to their friends in his favour. But perhaps he only means 'you must see that they do not stand against me.'

3. *Sed est quod*] 'But there is a matter for which I am very anxious to bespeak your kind indulgence. Caecilius, your uncle, having been defrauded of a large sum of money by Varius, has taken an action against A. Caninius Satyrus, the cousin of Varius, for some property which he says was fraudulently made over to him by Varius. All the other creditors made common cause with Caecilius, among whom were Lucullus, Scipio, and Pontius, who, they expect, will act as salesmaster if there is an auction of the goods of Varius. However, it is absurd to talk about who will be salesmaster at present. Now, perpend (*i.e.* mark the matter for which I want your pardon):—Caecilius has asked me to appear for him against Satyrus. Hardly a day passes without Satyrus coming to my house. He is most attentive to Domitius, and next, to me.'

This seems to have been what is called the *Actio Pauliana*, a suit granted to effect the restoration of anything belonging to a bankrupt's estate which had been wrongfully alienated. (Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. p. 273).

diceret] 'By a carelessness of expression, the verb of saying or thinking is sometimes put in the subjunctive instead of the thing said. So especially *diceret*,' Roby, 1746. See also Roby, 1722, 1742, and *cp. cum . . . diceret*, Att. i. 16, 2 (22). This is what Dr. Kennedy calls the 'virtual oblique.' *Cp.* also Fam. vii. 16, 3 (157), *quod negent te respondere = quod, ut dicunt, non respondeas*; Att. iv. 1, 6 (90), *quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere = quod, ut dicebant, non possent*: see also note on *reliquisset*, Ep. 27, 12. Mayor on Phil. ii. 7 compares the negligent expression in English, 'he went away because he said it was late,' = 'because it was late, as he said.'

magistrum] 'After possession [by the creditors of a bankrupt's estate] further proceedings could be taken with a view to a sale. The thirty days gave an opportunity for the debtor or his friends or representatives to settle the affair or to apply to the praetor with suitable objections, and the creditors would then be better able to estimate the financial position of the estate. The creditors then met, and one of their number was elected to arrange the sale and settle its conditions. He was called *magister*' (Roby, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 434-5); for *magistri* *cp.* Pro Quinctio 50; Att. vi. 1, 15 (252); Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899) and note on that passage.

Caecilius ut adessem contra Satyrum. Dies fere nullus est quin hic Satyrus domum meam ventitet. Observat L. Domitium maxime: me habet proximum. Fuit et mihi et Q. fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus. 4. Sane sum perturbatus cum ipsius Satyri familiaritate tum Domiti in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio: simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis facturum fuisse: nunc in causa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet facile causam communem sustinerent, aequum esse eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam vellem et quam homines belli solent et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit. Abs te peto ut mihi hoc ignoscas et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum *ne contra* amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, cum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quod si voles in me esse durior, ambitionem putabis mihi obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiam si id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse: *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ βούλην*. Vides enim in quo cursu simus et quam omnis gratias non modo retinendas verum etiam acquirendas putemus. Spero tibi me causam probasse, cupio quidem certe. 5. Hermathena tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est ut totum gymnasium † *ἑλίου ἀνάθημα* † esse videatur. Multum te amamus.

4. *perhiberet*] 'without the aid of a lawyer specially retained by Caecilius on his own account.' The word *perhiberet* here bears a very unusual sense. Perhaps Cic. wrote *praehiberet*; or *adhiberet*, as Dr. Reid suggests. Archaic terms are often found in connexion with legal transactions.

aequum esse] 'it was fair that Caecilius should consider my obligations (to Satyrus) and my position' (as candidate for consulship). For *tempori*, see Ep. 30, 15, note.

quam homines belli] 'than is usual in polite society.' Caecilius was a man of such harshness of manner (*asperitatem*) that no one could tolerate him except Atticus (cp. Nepos Att. 5, 1).

et postea] 'and afterwards completely dropped our intimacy, which was only a few days' standing.'

ne contra amici] 'from appearing

against a friend in a matter involving his political existence, and in the hour of his greatest need.' A conviction for *dolus malus* would have been followed by *infamia*.

putabis] 'pray, regard it as'; this is the polite future, like opt. with *av* in Greek, e. g., *χαρὸς ἂν εἶσω*. *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον*] See II. xxii. 159, 'It is for no paltry prize I am striving.' Cp. Virg. Aen. xii. 764.

5. *Hermathena*] 'I am wonderfully charmed with the statue you have sent me; and it is so happily placed that you would fancy my school to be an offering at its feet.' Thus has Mr. Pretor, with his usual elegance (and with a skill which so far as it is possible conceals the absurdity of the words here ascribed to Cicero), rendered Klotz' correction of the obelized words, viz.: *ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur*. If anyone can believe

11. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. 1. 2.).

ROME; AFTER JULY 17TH; A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Exponit M. Cicero de filio sibi nato, de Catilina defendendo, de Attici adventu ad hominum nobilium voluntatem sibi conciliandam a se exspectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. L. Iulio Caesare C. Marcio Figulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito salva Terentia. Abs te tam diu nihil litterarum?

that Cicero wrote these words, let him not read the rest of this note. I believe what Cicero wrote to be ἡλίου ἀνάμμα, 'the sun's upkindled orb.' The reading of M is *eliu anathma*. Here, as often, the Greek words are written in Latin characters. But it is singular that M is here reported to have a Greek θ, while the other characters are Roman. How does this happen? I have little doubt that this is a case of misreading of the ms. The Roman M in mss was very like a θ lying on its side. The word should therefore be read *anamma*, not *anathma*; ἀνάθημα has no ms authority, but it was supposed that the writer of *anathma* must have meant ἀνάθημα. *Anamma*, if I am right in my theory, has actually the authority of the only ms of whose evidence record is preserved. Cicero says, 'the Hermathena is so happily placed, that the whole gymnasium (looks most brilliant) seems to have got new life and light.' The ἀνάμμα is common in the Stoic philosophy, with which Cicero was very familiar. The sun was described by the Stoics as ἀνάμμα νοερὸν ἐκ θαλάττης. This phrase is used by Stobaeus to describe Heraclitus' theory of the sun; cp. οἱ δ' ἀστέρες ἐκ θαλάσσης μετὰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνάπτονται, Chrys. ap. Plut. *Stoic. rep.* 41. For the words ἀνάμμα and ἔξαμμα as common Stoic words, see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 206 (Eng. Trans.). Cicero might have expressed quite the same idea if he had said *ut toti gymnasio sol additus esse videatur*, just as in Att. iv. 8a, 2 (112), he writes *postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros deposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus*. [I confess to thinking that *eius ἀνάθημα* is defensible. ἀνάθημα is an 'appendage' 'adjunct' to a thing, cp. Hom. Od. i. 152: *μολπή τ' ὀρχηστὴς τε τὰ γάρ*

τ' ἀναθήματα δαυτός. What Cic. says is that the Hermathena is such a striking object in the gymnasium that the latter seems as if it were but an adjunct to it, as (say) a frame might be to a picture.—L. C. P.] Light and brilliancy were regarded by the Romans as the best qualities in a house. In Plaut. *Most.* 636 ff., Tranio tells Theopropides that Philolaches has bought a house; Theopropides asks, what kind of a house? Tranio replies (644), *speculicelaras, clarorem merum*, 'mirror-bright, brilliancy itself,' to which the answer is *bene hercle factum*. Cp. also *algentem rapiat cenatio solem*, Juv. vii. 183; To me, *claror merus* applied to a house seems a very similar expression to ἡλίου ἀνάμμα as used here. The vulg. ἡλίου ἀνάθημα can hardly mean 'a shrine of the sun,' or 'a place (or thing) consecrated to the sun'; and a room cannot be described as ἡλείον ἀνάθημα, 'an Elean offering,' as Peirlkamp thought. Gurlitt's proposal (*Steglitz Programm*, 1898, p. 2) *deas ἀνάθημα*, 'a dedication to the goddess' (i.e. Athena, cf. note to Ep. 9, 3), is much better. In the passage from Plaut. *Most.*, we have given *speculicelaras* (the conjecture of Ellis) for *speculo claras*. Prof. Palmer and E. Hoffmann ('*Archiv*' ii, p. 232) would read *speculoclaras* as a characteristic instance of wrong composition in an old Latin poet, and so Spengel and Schoell. *Speculo claras* can hardly be right; it can hardly mean *ut speculum claras*, as Leo says.

1. L. Iulio Caesare] 'Julius Caesar and Marcus Figulus having been elected consuls, let me tell you that on the same day I was blessed with a son, and that Terentia is doing well.' Cicero refers to

Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter. Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitamus. Iudices habemus quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate. Spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: sin aliter acciderit, humaniter feremus. 2. Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo: nam prorsus summa hominum est opinio tuos familiaris, nobilis homines, adversarios honori nostro fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video. Qua re Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis.

the day on which the result of the election was declared; these men were only *consules designati* until the next year. O. E. Schmidt thinks we should add *designatis*, see note to Ep. 17, fin.

summa accusatoris voluntate] He hints that the accuser, P. Clodius, was in collusion with Catiline, and exercised his right of *reictio*, 'challenging,' against such jurors as were unfavourably disposed to the accused, a case of *praevaricatio*.

humaniter feremus] 'with resignation,' i.e. as part of the 'chances and changes of this mortal life,' ἀνθρωπίνως. Cp. Tusc. ii. 65, *morbos toleranter atque humane ferunt*. The meaning is not 'like a man' (ἀνδρεώς)—as Mr. Pretor has it. Plautus affects adverbs in *-ter*, even from adj. in *-us*, *-a*, *-um*, such as *sacviter*, *blauditer*; the only adverbs in *-ter* in the

letters derived from adjectives of three terminations are *humaniter*, *inhumaniter* (Q. Fr. iii. 1, 21 (148), but *inhumane*, Off. iii. 30, and 2 Verr. i. 138), *turbulenter*, Fam. ii. 16, 7 (394). Adverbs in *-ter* not from adjectives of three terminations, and peculiar to the letters, are *desperanter*, *fuenter*, *immortaliter*.

2. *tuos familiaris, nobilis*] Probably Hortensius, Crassus, and Lucullus, who do not seem to have been very friendly to Cicero. He constantly sneers at them in his subsequent letters. But perhaps he refers to the whole class of the *nobiles*, who may have been prejudiced against a *homo novus*; cf. Sallust, Cat. 23, *nobilitas quasi pollui cons. credebatur si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret*. The latter theory is confirmed by Q. Cic. Comm. pet. 4 (12); and the former by Att. i. 19, 6 (25).

LETTER OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 12.

FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS.

(Commonly called *De Petitione Consulatus Liber*, but more correctly called
Commentariolum Petitionis.)

A. U. C. 690 ; B. C. 64 ; AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

COSS L. JULIUS CAESAR, C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

For the reasons for including this work in an edition of Cicero's Correspondence, see Introduction, p. 110, *Appendix C. p. 116*

M. Cicero's speeches for this year were the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, and the speech for Q. Gallius.

12. FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS, AT ROME.

A. U. C. 690 (TOWARDS BEGINNING) ; B. C. 64 ; AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

Cum tempus instaret quo M. Tullius Cicero consulatum ex lege annali petere posset, scripsit ad eum Q. frater hunc libellum, quo docere fratrem suscepit quo modo et quibus artibus consulatum cuius petitionem proxime suscepturus erat consequi certo posset.

Q. M. FRATRI S. D.

I. 1. Etsi tibi omnia suppetunt quae consequi ingenio aut usu homines aut intelligentia possunt, tamen amore nostro non sum alienum arbitratus ad te perscribere ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem dies ac noctes de petitione tua cogitanti, non ut aliquid ex iis novi addisceres, sed ut ea quae in re dispersa atque infinita viderentur esse ratione et distributione sub uno aspectu ponerentur. [Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere.] 2. Civitas quae sit cogita, quid petas, qui sis. Prope cotidie tibi hoc ad forum descendenti meditandum est: 'Novus sum, consulatum peto, Roma est.' Nominis novitatem dicendi gloria maxime sublevabis. Semper ea res plurimum dignitatis habuit. Non potest qui dignus habetur patronus consularium indignus consulatu putari. Quam ob rem quoniam ab hac laude proficisceris, quidquid es ex hoc es, ita paratus ad dicendum venito quasi in singulis causis iudicium de omni ingenio tuo futurum sit. 3. Eius facultatis adiumenta quae tibi scio esse seposita ut parata ac prompta sint cura et saepe quae de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scripsit

1. *consequi . . . possunt*] The letter begins with a *hyperbaton*, which is a marked feature in its style throughout: see §§ 12, 24, 32, 33.

ut ea quae in re] 'to bring together into one focus by a logical arrangement (*hendiadys*) points that in themselves (i.e. in your case) are isolated and without system.'

[*Quamquam . . . vincere*] These words have been rightly transposed to § 42, after *facere videre*.

2. *dignitatis*] 'political consideration.' *proficisceris*] 'have this reputation to start with.'

quasi in singulis] 'as if in every case the issue to be tried was, your own character as a man of ability.'

3. *seposita*] 'your special gifts.' *quae de Demosthenis*] See de Div. ii. 96, where the remark of Demetrius Phalereus is given *ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum Rho dicere nequivet, exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret*.

Demetrius recordare, deinde *vide* ut amicorum et multitudo et genera appareant. Habes enim ea quae *non multi homines* novi habuerunt: omnis publicanos, totum fere equestrem ordinem, multa propria municipia, multos abs te defensos, homines cuiusque ordinis, aliquot collegia, praeterea studio dicendi conciliatos plurimos adulescentulos, cotidianam amicorum adsiduitatem et frequentiam. 4. Haec cura ut teneas commonendo et rogando et omni ratione efficiendo ut intellegant qui debent tua causa, referendae gratiae, qui volunt, obligandi tui tempus sibi aliud nullum fore. Etiam hoc multum videtur adiuvere posse novum hominem: hominum nobilium voluntas et maxime consularium. Prodest quorum in locum ac numerum pervenire velis, ab iis ipsis illo loco ac numero dignum putari. 5. Hi rogandi omnes sunt diligenter et ad eos adlegendum est persuadendumque iis nos semper cum optimatibus de re publica sensisse, minime popularis fuisse: si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum qui plurimum posset aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium. 6. Praeterea adulescentis nobilis elabora ut habeas vel ut teneas studiosos quos habes: multum dignitatis adferent. Plurimos habes: perface ut sciant quantum in iis putes esse. Si adduxeris ut ii qui volunt cupiant, plurimum proderunt.

II. 7. Ac multum etiam novitatem tuam adjuvat quod eius modi nobiles tecum petunt ut nemo sit qui audeat dicere plus illis nobilitatem quam tibi virtutem prodesse oportere. Nam P. Galbam et L. Cassium summo loco natos quis est qui petere

non multi homines] is supplied by Schwarz from Fam. v. 18, 1 (180). See Adn. Crit.

propria] cp. § 35, 'attached to you personally.' The conjecture *praeterea* is unnecessary.

cotidianam . . . frequentiam] 'a large and constant circle of friends in daily attendance.'

4. *ut intellegant*] 'that it be clearly perceived by those who owe you a service, that this is the time, and no other, for paying their debt: and by those who desire to do you a service that this is the time, and no other, for laying you under an obligation.'

5. *adlegendum*] 'call on them': *adlegare* is used of a private mission, *legare* of a public: cp. Ep. 7. 1.

popularis] 'demagogues.'

6. *volunt*] see Adn. Crit.

7. *novitatem*] 'want of position.'

quis est qui petere cons. putet] 'who could look on them as candidates for the consulate?' Kayser's *oportere* after *petere* is not required. Moreover, it weakens the expression, which is intended to be very vehement: cp. *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 89), *te vero, Catilina, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est?* Galba seems to have been very poorly supported. See Att. i. 1, 1 (10), and Mur. 17, *mihi ipsi accidit ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbisimo atque audacissimo, altero moderatissimo atque optimo viro, peterem. Superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam.* L. Cassius seems to have been one of the

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consulatum putet? Vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi paris non esse. 8. At Catilina et Antonius molesti sunt. Immo homini navo, industrio, innocenti, diserto, gratioso apud eos qui res iudicant optandi competitores, ambo a pueritia sicarii, ambo libidinosi, ambo egentes. Eorum alterius bona proscripta vidimus, vocem denique audivimus iurantem se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse, ex senatu eiectum scimus optima verorum censorum existimatione, in praetura competitorem habuimus amico Sabidio et Panthera, quom

most desperate of the conspirators with Catiline: he is often mentioned in the *Cat. oratt.* and in the *pro Sulla*. Asconius, in his commentary on the *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 82), enumerates the competitors of Cicero, 'duos patricios, P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, atque in petitione patrem amisit.' These last words have an important bearing on the disputed passage *pater nobis discessit*; see note on Ep. 2. 6.

familiis 'houses, establishments,' not 'families.'

sine nervis 'ability, vigour': cp. Fam. vi. 1, 3 (538), *quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est ac nervorum*.

8. *Antonius* who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, and had also been associated with him in the praetorship.

apud 'in the estimation of': cp. *apud publicanos gratiosus*, Verr. ii. 169.

Eorum alterius C. Antonius. This is explained by *or. in tog. cand.*, and the note of Asconius thereon. Cicero, in that speech (p. 84), says, *quem enim aut amicum habere potest is qui tot civis trucidavit? aut clientem, is qui in sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse?* Asconius explains that the first question refers to Catiline (see §§ 9, 10); the second to Antonius, who previously despoiled the Greeks in Achaia, having put himself at the head of certain *turmae* of the Sullan army. The Greeks brought Antonius before M. Lucullus, praetor peregrinus. C. Caesar, then a young man, pleaded the cause of the Greeks, and, Lucullus having decided in their favour, Antonius appealed to the tribunes,

declaring that he had no fair play against the Greeks. Antonius was removed from the senate by the censors Gellius and Lentulus for plundering the allies, for refusing to submit to law, and for the general profligacy by which he had dissipated his property.

bona proscripta See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 88), *alter pecore omni divendito et salibus prope addictis, pastores retinet ex quibus ait se cum vellet subito fugitivorum bellum excitaturum*.

in praetura competitorem habuimus i.e. the praetorship of Marcus, a. u. c. 688 (66). These details we should have expected to have heard of in the *pro Mur.*, if nowhere else. There Cicero distinctly states (§ 49) that Catiline was encouraged by the promises of his colleague. *Or. in tog. cand.* (p. 85) says, *nescis me praetorem primum esse factum, te concessione competitorum et collatione centuriarum et meo maxime beneficio postremo in tertium locum esse subiectum*. This last word is explained by Madvig as 'promoted,' by others as 'foisted into,' by some (wrongly) changed to *subiectum* or *subiectum*. Asconius indeed observes, that if Cicero had really defended Catiline, as Fenestella says, he would in the *or. in toga cand.* have twitted Catiline with the fact, as he brings up to Antonius the much slighter service done to him in his suit for the praetorship; and in this very speech (pp. 85, 86) Cicero upbraids Q. Mucius, a tribune, with his hostility to him, reminding him how he had defended him on a charge of theft. Again, these words, from the *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 87), seem (says Asconius) quite inconsistent with the theory of Cicero's defence of Catiline, *miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum*. But the statement in Ep. 11. 1, seems to support Fenestella's view. Asconius did

alios ad tabulam quos poneret non habebat. Quo tamen in magistratu amicam quam domi palam haberet de machinis emit. In petitione autem consulatus caupones omnis compilare per turpissimam legationem maluit quam adesse et populo Romano supplicare. 9. Alter vero, di boni! Quo splendore est? Primum nobilitate eadem [qua Catilina]. Num maiore? Non. Sed virtute. Quam ob rem? Quod Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic ne leges quidem, natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium: cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit. Nam illis quos meminimus Gallis,

not know of that passage, as the Epp. ad Att. were probably not published until 60 A.D. If they had been published in 55 A.D., about which time Asconius wrote, such a careful investigator of matters connected with Cicero would not have failed to quote it.

ad tabulam] 'At the scrutiny of votes.' This word has a technical sense in Roman elections, and is carefully to be distinguished from the *tabellae*. At the election of magistrates each voter was supplied with one ticket (*tabella, tessera*), containing the names of all the candidates, and the voter affixed his mark (*punctum*) to the name of the candidate for whom he voted. The *tabellae* of each century were collected by the *rogatores* and brought back to the presiding magistrate, who put them in the *cista* or *sitella*; these *tabellae* were taken out and counted by the *diribitores*; and the votes, as they were taken out of the *cista*, were by the *custodes* checked off by *puncta* on a tablet. This tablet was called *tabula*, and this particular stage of the business of election was technically described by the phrase *ad tabulam*. See Varr. R. R. iii. 5, 18, *narrat ad tabulam, cum diriberent, quemdam deprehensum tesseras conicientium in loculum, cum ad consulem tractum a fautoribus competitorum*. Antonius had no more respectable friends than these obscure foreigners to whom to assign this important duty. The above three classes of officers are mentioned in Pis. 36. In the passing of laws the procedure was different: two *tabellae* were supplied—one for the law (marked V.R. = *uti rogas*, 'as you propose'), the other against it (A = *antiquo*, 'I reject').

de machinis] This was the public platform on which slaves were exposed for sale, also called *catasta*. The same meaning is conveyed by another phrase in Pis.

35, *duos de lapide emptos tribunos*; the *lapis* was the stone on which the *praeco* stood at slave auctions. See Plaut. Bacch. 815, *atque in eopse astas lapide ut praeco praedicat*.

caupones omnis compilare per turpissimam legationem] *Caupones* = *parochi*. To change *legationem* of the mss to *adlegationem* with Orelli destroys the sense. The meaning, no doubt, is this: Antonius accepted a *legatio* when he ought to have been canvassing, and in the character of *legatus* he was very oppressive to the innkeepers and *hospites*, who were obliged to afford to him a certain amount of entertainment. This amount was strictly limited by the Lex Julia, cp. Att. v. 16, 3 (208), Pis. 90; but its provisions were easily violated with impunity. This is rhetorically called by Quintus 'a robbery of the *caupones*.' The regular Latin for 'billeting' is *deductio*; the Greek is *ἐπιστάθμεια*: cp. Att. xiii. 52, 2 (679). Antonius, of course, conducted his canvass by proxy. Bücheler reads *Cappadoceas* for *caupones*, supposing Antonius to have had a *legatio* to settle the affairs of Cappadocia after the restoration of Ariobarzanes, and to have acted rapaciously in the discharge of his commission. See Adn. Crit.

9. *Alter*] Catiline.

Non] Cf. Mur. 73, *senatus num ob viam prodire crimen putat? Non, sed mercede; convince. Num sectari multos? Non, sed conductos; doce*. See Adn. Crit.

umbram suam metuit] Cp. Att. xv. 20, 4 (752) *etsi mihi videtur iste, qui umbras timet, ad caedem spectare*.

in sororis stupris] 'quae Sergia fecit cum aliis; nam Catilinam etiam, sicut Clodium, sororis stupro pollutum esse, ne Marcus quidem fingeat.' Bücheler.

qui tum Titiniorum ac Nanniorum ac Tanusiorum capita demetebant, Sulla unum Catilinam praefecerat in quibus ille hominem unum optimum, Q. Caecilius, sororis suae virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum, suis manibus occidit.

III. 10. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano, vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu lacerarit, vivo spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a vertice teneret,

Titiniorum ac Nanniorum] These were victims of the Sullan proscription. For the Nannii or Nanneii see Att. i. 16, 5 (22). Bücheler reads *Manliorum*: perhaps *Volumniorum*, which Lagomarsini's codex, No. 50, gives, should be read, cp. Asconius, p. 84.

demetebant] 'mowed down,' the conjecture of Gesner for *demebant*, and quite in keeping with the exaggerated tone of the letter.

unum optimum] 'of singular excellence.'

Q. Caecilius] i.e. Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, mentioned as an orator in Brut. 305.

10. *M. Marius*] He still dwells on the enormities of Catiline, recounting the details of his murder of M. Marius Gratidianus. This Marius gained great popularity by his bill for the regulation of the coinage, in which he stole a march on the tribunes and his colleagues in the praetorship, by proposing alone the bill which they had agreed to put forward in common. Cicero says of him, Off. iii. 80., *omnibus vicis statuæ, ad eas tus, cerei; quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit carior.*

qui . . . ceciderit] The perfect subjunctives throughout assign reasons why such a man should not be a candidate for the consulship; the imperfect subjunctives *teneret . . . fluere* merely express the minor details of his reprehensible acts. *Qui ita vixit* must be translated 'and then he lived such a life.' The perfect indicative no longer assigns a reason, only describes a circumstance.

bustum] Probably the *bustum Basili* near the city, on the Appian Road, where, as we learn from Att. vii. 9, 1 (300), a friend of Cicero, L. Quintius, was robbed and wounded. Asconius (p. 50) describes the *bustum Basili* thus:—Via Appia est

prope urbem monumentum Basili qui locus atrocitatis fuit perisfamis. But Seneca (De Ira, iii. 18), in describing this transaction, makes the *bustum Catuli* the scene of the outrage:—*Mario . . . L. Sulla praefringi cura, erui oculos, amputari manus iussit, et, quasi toties occideret quoties vulnerabat, paulatim et per singulos artus laceravit. Quis erat huius imperii minister? quis nisi Catilina omne facinus in Mario exercens. Sic illum ante bustum Q. Catuli carpebat.* Val. Max. ix. 2, 1, places the scene *ad sepulchrum Lutatie gentis*. Livy (epit. 88) says *Marium senatorii ordinis virum cruribus brachiisque fractis, auribus praesectis, et effossis oculis necavit*. Neither Livy nor Valerius Maximus ascribes the crime to Catiline, but they both ascribe it to Sulla.

vivo spiranti] cp. or in *tog. cand.* (p. 90), *quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus ad Sullam usque ab Ianiculo ad aedem Apollinis manibus ipse suis detulit*. This is a strong argument for *spiranti* instead of *stanti*, when we consider how largely Cicero availed himself of the phraseology of this part of his brother's letter in his candidatorial speech. See especially on *alia culpa*, § 10, and *sic as destringere*, § 12. So also *inspectante populo* in this sentence is borrowed by Marcus (p. 87): *populum vero, cum inspectante populo collum secuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti faceret ostendit*. In defence of *stanti*, the reading of the mss, Müller quotes Plaut. Merc. 308, *Decide collum stanti, si falsum loquor*. The *aedes Apollinis* was outside the Carmental Gate, between the Forum Olitorium and the Flaminian Circus. Asconius (p. 91) warns us against confounding it with the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was not built till after the battle of Actium.

caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius rivi sanguinis fluerent? Qui postea cum histrionibus et cum gladiatoribus ita vixit ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adiutores haberet, qui nullum in locum tam sanctum ac tam religiosum accessit in quo non, etiam si alia culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinqueret, qui ex curia Curios et Annios, ab atriis Sapalas et Carvilius, ex equestri ordine Pompilios et Vettios sibi amicissimos comparavit, qui tantum habet audaciae, tantum nequitiae, tantum denique in libidine artis et efficacitatis ut prope in parentum gremiis praetextatos liberos constuprarit? Quid ego nunc tibi de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? Nota sunt et ea tu saepius legito. Sed tamen hoc mihi non praetermittendum videtur, quod primum ex eo iudicio tam egens discessit quam quidam iudices eius ante illud iudicium fuerunt, deinde tam invidiosus ut aliud in eum iudicium cotidie flagitetur. Hic se sic habet ut magis timeat, etiam si quieris, quam ut contemnat, si quid

alia culpa] See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 92), *cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret.* The allusion is to the case of Fabia, a Vestal, who was tried for unchastity (the charge being an intrigue with Catiline), but was acquitted. This Fabia was a sister of Terentia; and the latter took refuge with her in the temple of Vesta when Cicero fled from Rome: *ep. Fam. xiv. 2, 2* (79). It is this connexion with his own family that makes Cicero careful here to add *etiam cum culpa nulla subesset*. The words of Quintus do not quite so emphatically acquit Fabia: 'even if he did not actually profane the sacred place, such was his vile character that he always left behind him the suspicion of having polluted it.' This was in itself a *culpa*; and this he was always guilty of, even when he committed no actual violation of the sacred character of the place. *Alia culpa* therefore gives an excellent sense, and is strongly confirmed by the parallel passage quoted from the *or. in tog. cand.* See *Adm. Crit.*

Curios et Annios] Friends of Catiline, and senators. Curius is probably the Curius mentioned in *Ep. 10, 2* (if the right reading there be not *Turium*). Asconius (p. 95) says Curius was a gambler, quoting the verses of Calvus on him—

Et talis Curius pereruditus.

ab atriis] 'from the auction-room such men as Sapala and Carvilius,' *atriis auctionariis*: the full term is found in *Rull. i. 7*. These men were probably both *praecones*: *tollitur ab atriis Licinius atque a praeconum consensu in Galliam Naevius* pro *Quinct. 12*. See also *Juv. vii. 7*.

praetextatos] cf. *praetextatus adulter*, *Juv. i. 78*. An exaggeration, quite in keeping with the character of Quintus. See *Q. Fr. i. 2, 13* (53).

de Africa] which Catiline governed as pro-praetor, in 687–8 (67–6).

de testium dictis] in the trial of Catiline for extortion in 689 (65), when Cicero thought of defending him.

aliud iudicium] See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 87); *miser qui non sentias te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius iudicium . . . reservatum.*

quieris—commoveris] We have accepted Orelli's conjecture for *quierit, commoverit*, 'Such is his position that he must rather feel alarmed at you as a rival, even though you did not use any efforts towards success, than feel contemptuous, if you should use some exertion.'

contemnat] see *or. in tog. cand.* (pp. 87, 88): *me qua amentia inductus sit ut contemneret constituere non possum. Utrum aequo animo laturum putavit? At in suo familiarissimo (C. Verres, Asconius says) viderat me ne aliorum quidem iniurias mediocriter posse ferre.*

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commoveris. 11. Quanto melior tibi fortuna petitionis data est quam nuper homini novo C. Coelio ! Ille cum duobus hominibus ita nobilissimis petebat ut tamen in iis omnia pluris essent quam ipsa nobilitas, summa ingenia, summus pudor, plurima beneficia, summa ratio ac diligentia petendi. Ac tamen eorum alterum Coelius cum multo inferior esset genere, superior nulla re paene, superavit. 12. Qua re tibi, si facies ea quae natura et studia quibus semper usus es largiuntur, quae temporis tui ratio desiderat, quae potes, quae debes, non erit difficile certamen cum iis competitoribus qui nequaquam sunt tam genere insignes quam vitiis nobiles. Quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rem publicam sicas destringere ?

IV. 13. Quoniam quae subsidia novitatis haberes et habere posses exposui, nunc de magnitudine petitionis dicendum videtur. Consulatam petis, quo honore nemo est quin te dignum arbitretur, sed multi qui invideant. Petis enim homo ex equestri loco summum locum civitatis atque ita summum ut forti homini, diserto, innocenti multo idem ille honos plus amplitudinis quam ceteris adferat. Noli putare eos qui sunt eo honore usi non videre tu, cum idem sis adeptus, quid dignitatis habiturus sis. Eos vero qui consularibus familiis nati locum maiorum consecuti non sunt suspicor tibi, nisi si qui admodum te amant, invidere. Etiam novos homines praetorios existimo, nisi qui tuo beneficio vineti sunt, nolle abs te se honore superari. 14. Iam in populo quam

11. *C. Coelio*] Coelius Caldus, who was tribune in 647 (107), and consul with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 660 (94). Of the other noble competitor over whom he proved successful we can find no record. *Nuper* sometimes refers to a period which we should not call 'recent,' e.g. *nuper id est, paucis ante saeculis*, N. D. ii. 126. *ita . . . ut*] 'who, though of the highest rank, yet had in their rank the lowest of their qualifications.' Cp. § 13. *pudor*] 'character.'

12. *insignes . . . nobiles*] 'distinguished . . . remarkable.' Bücheler brackets *insignes*: Bährens reads *viles* for *nobiles*.

duas in rem publicam sicas] This vigorous expression was adopted by Cicero in his election speech (p. 94): *qui postea quam illo quo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt, duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam sicas destringere*.

Asconius adds '*Hispaniensem pugiunculum* Cn. Pisonem appellat, quem in Hispania occisum esse dixi. *Duas sicas* Catilinam et Antonium appellari manifestum est.'

13. *subsidia novitatis*] 'means of counteracting your want of position.' *ita summum ut*] 'and greatest in this sense that.'

idem] 'the same thing.' One might have expected *eundem*, but this license is not unusual in Cicero's letters: see Fam. ii. 8, 2 (201), cum Pompeio compluris dies nullis in aliis nisi de rep. sermonibus versatus sum; *quae* nec possunt scribi, nec scribenda sunt; so Fam. i. 9, 7 (153), tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus; in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo. This usage is also found in Latin comedy, and is one of the many coincidences between the diction of Cicero's letters and the Latin comic stage.

multi invidi sint, quam multi consuetudine horum annorum ab hominibus novis alienati, venire tibi in mentem certo scio. Esse etiam non nullos tibi iratos ex iis causis quas egisti necesse est. Iam illud tute circumspicito, quod ad Cn. Pompei gloriam augendam tanto studio te dedisti, num quos tibi putes ob eam causam esse amicos. 15. Quam ob rem cum et summum locum civitatis petas et videas esse studia quae tibi adversentur, adhibeas necesse est omnem rationem et curam et laborem et diligentiam.

V. 16. Et petitio magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populari voluntate ponenda est. Amicorum studia beneficiis et officiis et vetustate et facilitate ac iucunditate naturae parta esse oportet. Sed hoc nomen amicorum in petitione latius patet quam in cetera vita. Quisquis est enim qui ostendat aliquid in te voluntatis, qui domum ventitet, is amicorum in numero est habendus. Sed tamen, qui sunt amici ex causa iustiore cognationis aut adfinitatis aut sodalitatis aut alicuius necessitudinis, iis carum et iucundum esse maxime prodest. 17. Deinde ut quisque est intimus ac maxime domesticus, ut is amet et quam amplissimum esse te cupiat valde elaborandum est, tum ut tribules, ut vicini, ut clientes, ut denique liberti, postremo etiam servi tui: nam fere omnis sermo ad forensem famam a domesticis emanat auctoribus. 18. Denique sunt instituendi cuiusque generis amici; ad speciem homines illustres

14. *consuetudine horum annorum*] Probably an allusion to C. Marius, who was a *novus homo*; or perhaps to Coelius, see § 11; or perhaps 'the routine of the last few years,' where so few *novi homines* had been elected.

num quos . . . amicos] Ern. reads *inimicos*, but there is no need to depart from the mss. The advocacy of the cause of Pompey would not as yet be a road to the acquisition of influence; it might even be a source of unpopularity. As Mr. Shuckburgh says the reference is probably to Caesar, who supported Antonius and Catiline, and also the Luculli, who were enemies of Pompey.

16. *duarum rationum diligentiam*] 'activity of two kinds, one to be exercised in gaining the zeal of your friends, the other in gaining the good-will of the public.'

beneficiis et officiis] 'kindnesses done and repaid.'

vetustate] 'long-standing acquaintance-ship' (which may ripen into friendship): cp. Lael. 68, *maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis*. For this use of *vetustas*, see Fam. xiii. 32, 2 (684); x. 10, 2 (788); xi. 16, 2 (888).

latius patet] 'has a wider area.'

iustiore] 'regular.'

sodalitatis] 'club'; though in strictness 'chapter,' as ostensibly religious.

17. *nam fere*] 'for that report of a man, which is the basis of his public character, has its origin in his private circle.'

18. *cuiusque generis amici*] These are *ad speciem*, 'for show' (cp. Ep. 24, 1, *ambitiosae fucoosaeque amicitiae*); *ad ius obtinendum*, 'to make good the justice of one's claim'; *ad centurias conficiendas*, 'to get the votes of the centuries': cp. Fam. xi. 16, 3 (888), *mitte ad Lupum ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat*.

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honore ac nomine, qui etiam si suffragandi studia non navant, tamen adferunt petitori aliquid dignitatis; ad ius obtinendum magistratus, ex quibus maxime consules, deinde tribuni pl.; ad conficiendas centurias, homines excellenti gratia. Qui abs te tribum aut centuriam aut aliquod beneficium aut habeant aut sperent, eos prorsus magno opere et compara et confirma. Nam per hos annos homines ambitiosi vehementer omni studio atque opera elaborant ut possint a tribulibus suis ea quae petierint impetrare. Hos tu homines quibuscumque poteris rationibus ut ex animo atque ex illa summa voluntate tui studiosi sint elaborato. 19. Quod si satis grati homines essent, haec tibi omnia parata esse debebant, sicuti parata esse confido. Nam hoc biennio quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundani, Q. Galli, C. Corneli, C. Orchivi: horum in causis ad te deferendis quid tibi eorum sodales receperint et confirmarint scio: nam interfui. Qua re hoc tibi faciendum est,

suffragandi studia non navant] 'take no active interest in the canvass.'

Qui abs te aut tribum] 'those who through your influence have got or expect the votes of a tribe in the comitia tributa, or a century in the comitia centuriata, or any other favour.' Cp. *ferre tribum* = 'to get the votes of a tribe.' *Habere tribum* has a different sense in Att. iv. 15, 9 (143), where *tribus habet Pomptiniam*, &c., means 'the tribes from which the jury are to be chosen to try his case are,' &c.

aut habeant aut sperent] So Wesenberg reads. The principal mss give *aut ut habeant sperent*. Some of the inferior mss have *aut habent sperent*, which Bücheler adopts, adding *aut* and altering to *sperant*. Lambinus' codex (Lag. 50) and the codex of Turnebus have *aut habeant aut habere sperent*, which may possibly be right. In H we find *ut habeant aut ut habeant sperent*, the first *ut habeant* being written above the line in different ink, but by the original hand.

opera] Cp. Att. xiv. 14, 6 (719), *omni ope atque opera enitar*. It is chiefly as part of the phrase *magno opere, tanto opere*, &c., that *opere* is used. Cp. Fam. xiii. 7, 1 (674); Ter. Eun. iii. 3, 27 (533).

ex illa summa voluntate] *Illā* can hardly be right, unless it refers to *omni studio atque opera* above, see § 39; or, unless it be supposed that *illa* points to a pro-

verbial character in the phrase *ex summa voluntate*, 'from the bottom of their hearts, as the saying is,' Bücheler thinks *illa summa* conceals a superlative, as *quis summos* (Ep. 22, 3) conceals *nequissimos*. Perhaps *illorum* for *illa* may be suggested. For *hos...elaborato*, see § 29.

19. *Quod si satis*] 'if men had any sense of favours past (which they have not), these sources of influence ought to be now laid up for you to draw upon (you must have a fund of such sources of influence to draw upon), as I am sure they are (as I am sure you have).' Eussner's *parata* for *parata* is unnecessary.

sodalitates] Clubs for religious purposes ostensibly, as the *sodalitas germanorum Lupercorum*, mentioned in Cael. 26: cp. Marquardt, St. V. iii. 130.

C. Fundani] Some mss have *M. Fundani*. But we do not read elsewhere of a M. Fundanius defended by Cicero. He defended C. Fundanius in 688 (66). Q. Gallius was defended on a charge of bribery in 690 (64), C. Cornelius in 689 (65). Orchivius was Cicero's colleague in the praetorship, and was tried for peculation, when he may have been defended by Cicero.

recepert et confirmarint] 'took on themselves and promised.'

nam interfui] an artless and convincing testimony to the authorship of Quintus.

hoc tempore ut ab iis quod debent exigas saepe commonendo, rogando, confirmando, curando ut intellegant nullum se umquam aliud tempus habituros referendae gratiae: profecto homines et spe reliquorum tuorum officiorum et [iam] recentibus beneficiis ad studium navandum excitabuntur. 20. Et omnino quoniam eo genere amicitiarum petitio tua maxime munita est, quod ex causarum defensionibus adeptus es, fac ut plane iis omnibus quos devinctos tenes descriptum ac dispositum suum cuique munus sit. Et quem ad modum nemini illorum molestus ulla in re umquam fuisti, sic cura ut intellegant omnia te quae ab illis tibi deberi putaris ad hoc tempus reservasse.

VI. 21. Sed quoniam tribus rebus homines maxime ad benevolentiam atque haec suffragandi studia ducuntur, beneficio, spe, adiunctione animi ac voluntate, animadvertendum est quem ad modum cuique horum generi sit inserviendum. Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum ii quibus saluti fuisti, quos tu habes plurimos,

homines] Almost used as a dem. pronoun, as in Latin comedy, *nosti hominem = nosti eum*.

spe . . . beneficiis] 'by hope of all the other returns you can make them and the late benefits you have done them.' Nearly all edd. bracket *iam*. Müller conjectures *iam <acceptis>*. Possibly we should read *tam*. *Beneficium* is the original act of kindness or attention which begins the friendship; *officium* the return for the *beneficium*, as may be gathered from Fam. i. 7, 2 (114), *defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae*. So also Fam. x. 23, 7 (895), *opto ut mihi liceat iam praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora*.

20. *descriptum*] Cf. Att. ii. 1, 4 (27). Böheler is right in rejecting *descriptum* here.

21. *Sed quoniam*] Bährens (Misc. Crit., p. 29) wishes to transpose §§ 21 to 24 to follow *videare* § 32, altering *videare sed to videaris et*. His reasons could not be stated more concisely than in his own words: "Velim autem aliquis mihi explicet, cuinam bono sit totum caput sextum eo quo nunc legitur loco. Nam inde a capitis quinti § 16 de amicorum studiis ita Quintus disserit ut

primum de amicitii iam partis fundatissque usque ad § 20 exitum, deinde a § 25 de amicitii in ipsa petitione faciendis loquatur. Iam quod intercedit caput sextum (§ 21-24) non de amicis veteribus agit sed de novis conciliandis." But we do not think that this last clause exactly describes the course of the argument. Quintus had in the passage preceding § 20 spoken of the clients who had been defended by Marcus and were plainly and explicitly under obligations. Now he goes on to speak of those who may be called friends implicitly, men to whom Marcus had shown slight favours, or who hoped to get favours from him, or who he might consider entertained friendly feelings for him. These three classes may be grouped under the head of *partae ac fundatae amicitiae* (§ 25): cp. § 23. Their friendships and good will were already acquired; all Marcus had to do was to remind them that now was the time to show that friendship. In § 25 Quintus goes on to speak of obtaining *new* friends during the canvass. On these grounds we hesitate to interfere with the order of chapters as given in the mss.

adiunctione animi ac voluntate] 'disinterested sympathy,' 'sincere attachment'—another case of *hendiadys*.

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non intellegant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini umquam fore. Quod cum ita sit, tamen rogandi sunt atque etiam in hanc opinionem adducendi ut, qui adhuc nobis obligati fuerint, iis vicissim nos obligari posse videamur. 22. Qui autem spe tenentur, quod genus hominum multo etiam est diligentius atque officiosius, iis fac ut propositum ac paratum auxilium tuum esse videatur, denique ut spectatorem te suorum officiorum esse intellegant diligentem, ut videre te plane atque animadvertere quantum a quoque proficiscatur appareat. 23. Tertium illud genus est [studiorum] voluntarium quod agendis gratiis, accommodandis sermonibus ad eas rationes propter quas quisque studiosus tui esse videbitur, significanda erga illos pari voluntate, adducenda amicitia in spem familiaritatis et consuetudinis confirmari oportebit. Atque in iis omnibus generibus iudicato et perpendito quantum quisque possit, ut scias et quem ad modum cuique inservias et quid a quoque expectes ac postules. 24. Sunt enim quidam homines in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi, sunt diligentes et copiosi qui, etiam si antea non studuerunt huic gratiae, tamen ex tempore elaborare eius causa cui debent aut volunt facile possunt. His hominum generibus sic inserviendum est ut ipsi intellegant te videre quid a quoque expectes, sentire quid accipias, meminisse quid acceperis. Sunt autem alii qui aut nihil possunt aut etiam odio sunt tribulibus suis nec habent tantum animi ac facultatis ut enitantur ex tempore: hos ut internoscas elaborato, ne spe in aliquo maiore posita praesidi parum comparetur.

VII. 25. Et quamquam partis ac fundatis amicitiiis fretum ac munitum esse oportet, tamen in ipsa petitione amicitiae permultae

non intellegant] 'much less should men whom you have saved fail to understand'; *non intellegant* forms one idea.

se probatos nemini umquam fore] 'that no one will ever think well of them.'

23. *Illud* and *studiorum* are bracketed by Bährens. The latter was already condemned by Bücheler owing to the position of the copula and also to the fact that the classes referred to in the previous sections are of men and not of interests (*studiorum*). Inasmuch as H reads *id* for *illud*, it would appear, says Bährens, that a gloss, '*id est studiorum*,' has crept into the text. Koch suggests *studiosorum* for *studiorum* (cp. § 57).

accommodandis] 'by making one's expressed views coincide with those principles which may seem to have been the source of the good-will.'

amicitia in spem familiaritatis] Here *familiaritas* and *consuetudo* indicate a closer degree of friendship than *amicitia*: 'by inducing a hope that the friendship may be strengthened into a close intimacy.'

24. *copiosi*] 'wealthy.' Cp. *copiosa* . . . *mulier*, Div. in Caec. 55. *ex tempore*] 'on the spur of the moment.'

elaborato] See Adn. Crit.

ac perutiles comparantur. Nam in ceteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi: potes honeste, quod in cetera vita non queas, quoscumque velis adiungere ad amicitiam, quibuscum si alio tempore agas [ut te utantur], absurde facere videare, in petitione autem nisi id agas et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare. 26. Ego autem tibi hoc confirmo, esse neminem, nisi aliqua necessitudine competitorum alicui tuorum sit adiunctus, a quo non facile, si contenderis, impetrare possis ut suo beneficio promereatur se ut ames et sibi ut debeas, modo ut intellegat te magni aestimare, ex animo agere, bene se ponere, fore ex eo non brevem et suffragatoriam sed firmam et perpetuam amicitiam. 27. Nemo erit, mihi crede, in quo modo aliquid sit, qui hoc tempus sibi oblatum amicitiae tecum constituendae praetermittat, praesertim cum tibi hoc casus adferat ut ii tecum petant quorum amicitia aut contemnenda aut fugienda sit et qui hoc quod ego te hortor non modo adsequi sed ne incipere quidem possint. 28. Nam qui incipiat Antonius homines adiungere atque invitare ad amicitiam quos per se suo nomine appellare non possit? Mihi quidem nihil stultius videtur quam existimare esse eum studiosum tui quem non noris. Eximiam quamdam gloriam et dignitatem ac rerum gestarum magnitudinem esse oportet in eo quem homines ignoti, nullis suffragantibus, honore adficient: ut quidem homo nequam, iners, sine officio, sine ingenio, cum infamia, nullis amicis, hominem plurimorum studio atque omnium bona

25. *potes honeste*] 'you can, without loss of dignity, form friendships with anyone you please; whom if at any other time you sought to make your friends, you would be thought guilty of unbecoming conduct; whereas when you are a candidate, if you do not make this your object, and an important one, and extend it over a large area, you will be thought a failure as a candidate.' Cp. *nullum argumentum*, 'a wretched argument,' Tusc. ii. 13, and note to Att. vii. 20, 1 (318).

26. *ut suo . . . debeas*] 'to earn by his kind services a feeling of affection and obligation on your part.'

modo ut] 'provided only he understands that you value his services, that you are in earnest, that he is laying out his good offices to advantage, and that the friendship resulting from them will not

be merely a short electioneering friendship, but a firm and lasting one.' We have inserted a comma after *aestimare*. It is very awkward to make *ex animo agere* depend on *aestimare*, and *te* is easily supplied again. *Ponere* is 'to invest,' as in *pecuniam in praedium ponere, positum in faenore nummis*.

28. *qui incipiat . . . quos . . . non possit*] 'how would Antonius begin . . . when he cannot?' *Qui* is due to Gesner. The mss read *quid*.

per se] 'unaided.' He would be compelled to have recourse to his *nomenclator* to learn the names of those whom he desired to address. On the importance of knowing the citizens by name, cp. Muren. 77. Cicero appears to have laid great stress on it, cp. Plut. Cic. 7.

officio] 'readiness to do you a good turn.'

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VI

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VIII. 29. Quam ob rem omnis centurias multis et variis amicitiiis cura ut confirmatas habeas. Et primum, id quod ante oculos est, senatores equitesque Romanos, ceterorum ordinum navos homines et gratiosos complectere. Multi homines urbani industrii, multi libertini in foro gratiosi navique versantur, quos per te, quos per communis amicos *quod* poteris, summa cura ut cupidi tui sint elaborato, appetito, adlegato, summo beneficio te adfici ostendito. 30. Deinde habeto rationem urbis totius, collegiorum omnium, pagorum, vicinitatum. Ex iis principes ad amicitiam tuam si adiunxeris, per eos reliquam multitudinem facile tenebis. Postea totam Italiam fac ut in animo ac memoria tributim discriptam comprehensamque habeas, ne quod municipium, coloniam, praefecturam, locum denique Italiae ne quem esse patiari in quo non habeas firmamenti quod satis esse possit; 31. perquiras etiam et investiges homines ex omni regione eosque cognoscas, appetas, confirmes, cures ut in suis vicinitatibus tibi petant et tua causa quasi candidati sint. Volent te amicum, si suam a te amicitiam expeti videbunt. Id ut intellegant, oratione ea quae ad eam rationem pertinet habenda consequere. Homines municipales ac rusticani, si nobis nomine noti sunt, in amicitia esse se arbitrantur: si vero etiam praesidi se aliquid sibi constituere putant, non amittunt occasionem promerendi. Hos ceteri et maxime tui competitores ne norunt quidem: tu et nosti et facile cognoscas, sine quo amicitia esse non potest. 32. Neque id tamen satis est, tametsi magnum est, sed sequitur spes utilitatis atque amicitiae, ne nomenclator solum sed amicus etiam bonus esse videare. Ita cum et hos ipsos propter suam ambitionem qui

29. *quos per te*] The addition of *quod* before *poteris* makes the sentence smoother. *Quos* is governed by *elaborato*, as *hos* in § 18. For *quod poteris* = 'so far as you are able,' see Fam. xiv. 4, 6 (62); Att. x. 2, 2 (379), &c. This passage has been *varie vexatus* by the edd., some of whom almost rewrite the sentence. See Adn. Crit. for an example. Bücheler puts a long stop at *versantur*, and understands after *poteris* something like *facere ut cupidi tui sint*. This is a simple remedy and may well be right.

30. *tributim discriptam*] 'a list in which each town in Italy is entered according to the tribe to which it belonged' (Marq. i. 41).

municipium, coloniam, praefecturam] See *Addenda to the Commentary*, note 1.

31. *si vero*] 'if they think they are gaining a protection for themselves.'

32. *sed sequitur*] See Adn. Crit. 'But the best thing is a hope of gaining your assistance and friendship, so that you may not be considered a mere remembrancer, but also a good friend.'

propter suam ambitionem qui] Q. Cicero

apud tribulis suos plurimum gratia possunt studiosos in centuriis habebis, et ceteros qui apud aliquam partem tribulium propter municipi aut vicinitatis aut collegi rationem valent cupidos tui constitueris, in optima spe esse debebis. 33. Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri videntur: primum cognosce equites: pauci enim sunt: deinde appete: multo enim facilius illa adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas adiungitur. Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute optimum quemque et studiosissimum humanitatis. Tum autem, quod equester ordo tuus est, sequentur illi auctoritatem ordinis, si abs te adhibebitur ea diligentia, ut non ordinis solum voluntate sed etiam singulorum amicitias eas centurias confirmatas habeas. Iam studia adolescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt.

IX. 34. Et quoniam adsectationis mentio facta est, id quoque curandum est ut cotidiana cuiusque generis et ordinis et aetatis utare. Nam ex ea ipsa copia coniectura fieri poterit quantum sis in ipso campo virium ac facultatis habiturus. Huius autem rei tres partes sunt: una saluatorum cum domum veniunt, altera deductorum, tertia adsectatorum. 35. In saluatoribus qui magis vulgares sunt et hac consuetudine quae nunc est plures veniunt, hoc efficiendum est ut hoc ipsum minimum officium eorum tibi gratissimum esse videatur. Qui domum tuam venient, iis significato te animadvertere: eorum amicis qui illis renuntient ostendito, saepe ipsis dicito. Sic homines saepe, cum obeunt pluris competitores et vident unum esse aliquem qui haec officia maxime animadvertat, ei se dedunt, deserunt ceteros, minutatim ex communibus proprii, ex fucosis firmi suffragatores evadunt. Iam illud

affects the figure *hyperbaton*. See on § 1, and *adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas*, § 33.

propter municipi . . . rationem] 'who from any considerations founded on their municipality, or neighbourhood, or membership of a club, have influence.'

33. *ex iuventute optimum quemque*] Cp. Att. iv. 2, 2 (92), *Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae debere non potest*, 'therefore the speech must not be an unpaid debt to the rising generation, who are anxiously awaiting it.' So Ep. 27, 3, *quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati*.

suffragando . . . adsectando] 'support-

ing, going about, telling news, being (generally) in attendance.'

34. *utare*] After this word Koch adds *frequentia*, cp. §§ 3, 36, 50. But it is hardly necessary: *adsectatione* can be easily supplied from the preceding clause.

campo] cp. De Orat. iii. 167 (*gravis modi orationis haec sunt . . . curiam pro senatu, campum pro comitiis*).

35. *magis vulgares*] 'less select'; *hac consuetudine* means 'according to the present fashion,' cp. § 14.

communibus] 'neutral.'

fucosis] 'treacherous,' 'untrustworthy.'

See Ep. 24, 1. So *fucum facere*, 'to prac-

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X. 39.
satur, qui
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Non est h
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36, quod e
Ep. 83, 3.
fore unum
pression: ne
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great services
38. honest

teneto diligenter, si eum qui tibi promiserit audieris fucum, ut dicitur, facere aut senseris, ut te id audisse aut scire dissimules; si qui tibi se purgare volet, quod suspectum esse se arbitretur, adfirmes te de illius voluntate numquam dubitasse nec debere dubitare. Is enim qui se non putat satis facere amicus nullo modo potest esse. Scire autem oportet quo quisque animo sit, ut quantum cuique confidas constituere possis. 36. Iam deductorum officium quo maius est quam saluatorum, hoc gratius tibi esse significato atque ostendito et, quod eius fieri poterit, certis temporibus descendito. Magnam adfert opinionem, magnam dignitatem cotidiana in deducendo frequentia. 37. Tertia est ex hoc genere adsidua adsecutorum copia. In ea quos voluntarios habebis, curato ut intellegant te sibi in perpetuum summo beneficio obligari: qui autem tibi debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exigit qui per aetatem ac negotium poterunt ipsi tecum ut adsidui sint, qui ipsi sectari non poterunt suos necessarios in hoc munere constituent. Valde ego te volo et ad rem pertinere arbitror semper cum multitudine esse. 38. Praeterea magnam adfert laudem et summam dignitatem, si ii tecum erunt qui a te defensi et qui per te servati ac iudiciis liberati sunt. Haec tu plane ab iis postulato ut, quoniam nulla impensa per te alii rem, alii honestatem, alii salutem ac fortunas omnis obtinuerint nec aliud ullum tempus futurum sit ubi tibi referre gratiam possint, hoc te officio remunerentur.

X. 39. Et quoniam in amicorum studiis haec omnis oratio versatur, qui locus in hoc genere cavendus sit praetermittendum non videtur. Fraudis atque insidiarum et perfidiae plena sunt omnia. Non est huius temporis perpetua illa de hoc genere disputatio quibus rebus benevolus et simulator diiudicari possit: tantum est huius temporis admonere. Summa tua virtus eosdem homines et simulare tibi se esse amicos et invidere coëgit. Quam ob rem

tise deceit,' 'play tricks.' Cp. Ter. Eun. 589, *fucum factum mulieri*.

36. *quod eius*] Cp. *eius nihil rogatum est*, Ep. 83, 3. The change to *quoad* is therefore unnecessary. This is a legal expression: see Roby 1297.

descendito] sc. in forum.

te . . . obligari] 'that you are under undying obligations to them for their great services.'

38. *honestatem*] Cp. Fam. vii. 29 (677),

where Curius refers to these three heirlooms of a Roman. But *honorem* of Erf. (see Adn. Crit.) may well be right. Gallius (§ 19), for instance, gained by the advocacy of Cicero the enjoyment of the praetorship to which he had been designated.

39. *qui locus*] 'what point under this heading demands special wariness.'

Non est huius temporis] 'it does not befit the present occasion.'

Ἐπιχάρμειον illud teneto, 'nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere.' 40. Et cum tuorum amicorum studia constitueris, tum etiam obtrectatorum atque adversariorum rationes et genera cognoscito. Haec tria sunt: *unum* quos laesisti, alterum qui sine causa non amant, tertium qui competitorum valde amici sunt. Quos laesisti, cum contra eos pro amico diceres, *iis te* plane purgato, necessitudines commemorato, in spem adducito te in eorum rebus, si se in amicitiam *tuam* contulerint, pari studio atque officio futurum. Qui sine causa non amant, eos aut beneficio aut spe aut significando tuo erga illos studio dato operam ut de illa animi pravitate deducas: quorum voluntas erit abs te propter competitorum amicitias alienior, *iis* quoque eadem inservito ratione qua superioribus et, si probare poteris, te in eos ipsos competitores tuos benevolo esse animo ostendito.

XI. 41. Quoniam de amicitiiis constituendis satis dictum est, dicendum est de illa altera parte petitionis quae in populari ratione versatur. Ea desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, assiduitatem, benignitatem, rumorem, spem in re publica. 42. Primum quod facis ut homines noris, significa ut appareat et auge ut cotidie melius fiat. Nihil mihi tam populare neque tam gratum videtur. Deinde id quod natura non habes, induc in animum ita simulandum esse ut natura facere videare. Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere. Nam comitas tibi non deest ea quae bono ac suavi homine digna est. Sed opus est magno opere blanditia quae, etiam si

[Ἐπιχάρμειον illud] See Att. i. 19, 8. (25). *nervos atque artus*, 'bone and sinew.'

40. *rationes*] 'attitude.' This word is very often used by Quintus.

necessitudines] 'the close connexion which constrained you' (to advocate your friend's case). See § 56, *suos magno opere necessarios*.

41. *ea desiderat . . . publica*] 'It requires knowledge of men's names, insinuating manners, constant attendance, graciousness, the creation of report and expectation as to your public action.'

42. *quod facis ut noris*] 'your practice of recognising.' Cp. Fam. i. 7, 1 (114) *alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est; alterum facio lubenter, ut . . . colloquar*. In that passage, *facio*

ut colloquar is a circumlocution for *colloquor*: see Reid on Lael. 4, where *feci ut prodessem* = *profui*. Here, as *quod* goes before, we should perhaps rather compare the usage noted on *ut irascatur*, § 47.

cotidie] 'every day better than before,' not 'than the day before,' which would be *in dies*. Cp. Att. v. 7, 1 (190); but the distinction is not always observed. Mr. A. C. Clarke on Mil. 34 quotes Fin. iv. 65 *hi . . . levantur in dies: valet alter plus cotidie*; cp. also Marc. 11, Att. i. 20, 7 (26), Fam. iii 4, 2 (194). For *in dies*, meaning *in singulos dies*, see Sall. Jug. 44, 5, *panem in dies mercari*, and cp. Hor. Sat. ii 7, 10, *in horas mutare*.

Quamquam . . . vincere] See note to § 1.

vitiosa est et turpis in cetera vita, tamen in petitione est necessaria. Etenim cum deteriore aliquem adsentando facit tum improba est: cum amicioem, non tam vituperanda, petitori vero necessaria est, cuius frons et vultus et sermo ad eorum quoscumque convenit sensum et voluntatem commutandus et accommoandus est. 43. Iam adsiduitatis nullum est praeceptum, verbum ipsum docet quae res sit. Prodest quidem vehementer nusquam discedere, sed tamen hic fructus est adsiduitatis, non solum esse Romae atque in foro sed adsidue petere, saepe eosdem appellare, non committere ut quisquam possit dicere (quod eius consequi possis) se abs te non esse rogatum et valde ac diligenter rogatum. 44. Benignitas autem late patet. Est in re familiari quae, quamquam ad multitudinem pervenire non potest, tamen ab amicis si laudatur, multitudini grata est: est in conviviis quae fac et abs te et ab amicis tuis concelebrentur et passim et tributim: est etiam in opera quam pervulga et communica, curaue ut aditus ad te diurni nocturnique pateant neque solum foribus aedium tuarum sed etiam vultu ac fronte quae est animi ianua: quae si significat voluntatem abditam esse ac retrusam, parvi re fert patere ostium. Homines enim non modo promitti sibi, praesertim quod de candidato petant, sed etiam large atque honorifice promitti volunt. 45. Qua re hoc quidem facile praeceptum est ut, quod factururus sis, id significes te studiose ac libenter esse facturum; illud difficilius et magis ad tempus quam ad naturam accommodatum tuam, quod facere non possis, ut id iucunde neges†: quorum alterum [tamen] est boni viri, alterum boni petitoris. Nam cum id petitur, quod honeste aut sine detrimento nostro promittere non possumus, quo modo si qui roget ut contra amicum aliquem causam recipiamus, belle

43. *quod eius*] Translate, 'it is a good plan not to let anyone (so far as in you lies) have it to say that he was not canvassed—aye, and well and earnestly canvassed—by you.' See Adn. Crit.

44. *neque solum*] 'let not only the doors of your house be open, but your face and countenance, which is the door of the mind. If your expression shows that your feelings are those of reserve and concealment [so Mr. Shuckburgh well translates], there is little use in your doors being open.'

45. *iucunde neges*] A second clause has probably dropped out. The ms of

Lambinus (Lag. 50) reads, *aut iucunde promittas aut ingenue neges*. It is hardly possible, owing to what follows, to have the clause with *neges* in the second place. Possibly we should read *aut iucunde neges aut ultro (or omnino) non neges*: cp. § 47, *nemini negare*. Perhaps *tamen* should be transposed so as to precede the second *boni*. 'To refuse in a pleasant manner is the part of a good man; not to refuse is, however, the part of a good canvasser.' *quo modo*] 'for instance,' like Greek *οἷον*.

belle] 'courteously,' 'like a gentleman.'

negandum est, ut ostendas necessitudinem, demonstres quam moleste feras, aliis te rebus exsarturum esse persuadeas.

XII. 46. Audivi hoc dicere quemdam de quibusdam oratoribus ad quos causam suam detulisset, 'gratiorem sibi orationem fuisse eius qui negasset quam illius qui recepisset.' Sic homines fronte et oratione magis quam ipso beneficio reque capiuntur. Verum hoc probabile est, illud alterum subdura tibi homini Platonico suadere, sed tamen tempori tuo consulam. Quibus enim te propter aliquod officium necessitudinis adfuturum negaris, tamen ii possunt abs te placati aequique discedere: quibus autem idcirco negaris quod te impeditum esse dixeris aut amiciorum hominum negotiis aut gravioribus causis aut ante susceptis, inimici discedunt omnesque hoc animo sunt ut sibi te mentiri malint quam negare. 47. C. Cotta, in ambitione artifex, dicere solebat se operam suam, quoad non contra officium rogaretur, polliceri solere omnibus, impertire iis apud quos optime poni arbitraretur: ideo se nemini negare, quod saepe accideret causa cur is cui pollicitus esset non uteretur, saepe ut ipse magis esset vacuus quam putasset: neque posse eius domum compleri qui tantum modo reciperet quantum videret se obire posse: casu fieri ut agantur ea quae non putaris, illa quae credideris in manibus esse ut aliqua de causa non agantur: deinde esse extremum ut irascatur is cui mendacium dixeris.

ut ostendas] 'by showing.'
exsarturum] 'make up for' this refusal by some future concession; so in Ter. Heaut. 143, *facile sumptum exerceirent suum* is said of slaves who would repay by their labour the cost of their support. It is a *verbum iucundum*.

46. *Verum hoc*] 'The one course (*ut iucunde neges*) is easily commended to your approval; the other (to promise without intending fulfilment) will be rather difficult to commend to a Platonist like you; yet I will say what the occasion demands.' This clause *verum . . . consulam* should perhaps stand as the last clause in § 46.

amiciorum] 'greater friends,' the correction of Eussner for *amicorum*. See §§ 42, 49.

47. C. Cotta] C. Aurelius Cotta was consul with L. Octavius in 679 (75). He is the exponent of the Academic philosophy in De Nat. Deorum. Translate 'a master of the art of canvassing.'

ut ipse magis esset vacuus] 'that he

had less engagements than he at first thought.' It is best to take *ut esset* as depending on *quod accideret* understood, and the infinitives on *dicere solebat* (*ut aliqua de causa non agantur* depends, like *ut agantur*, on *casu fieri*).

obire] 'to compass.'

esse extremum] 'the last thing to happen is that he should be angry,' &c.

ut irascatur.] This may be called the explanatory or definitive subjunctive; *eum irasci* would have meant quite the same thing. Cp. Ep. 15. 9. So Planc. 5, *vetus est lex . . . ut idem amici semper velint*, where *ut amici velint* might have been *amicos velle*. The same use of the definitive subjunctive, instead of the accusative with infinitive, is exemplified in *illa ratio . . . ut putarem*, Fam. i. 7, 9 (Ep. 114); and *unam rationem . . . ut ager emeretur*, Ep. 25, 4. The best illustration of this usage is found in a comparison of two passages in Cic., *caput . . . esse oratoris . . . ut videretur*, De Or. i. 87, and *caput esse nosse rempublicam*, ibid. ii. 337, where

48. Id.
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48. Id.
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48. Id, si promittas, et incertum est et in diem et in paucioribus : sin autem [id] neges, et certe abalienes et statim et pluris. Plures enim multo sunt qui rogant ut uti liceat opera alterius quam qui utuntur. Qua re satius est [ut] ex iis aliquos aliquando in foro tibi irasci quam omnis continuo domi, praesertim cum multo magis irascantur iis qui negent quam ei quem videant ea ex causa impeditum ut facere quod promisit cupiat, si ullo modo possit. 49. Ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea, qui haec in hac populari parte petitionis disputem, hoc sequor, haec omnia non tam ad amicorum studia quam ad popularem famam pertinere. Etsi inest aliquid ex illo genere, benigne respondere, studiose inservire negotiis ac periculis amicorum, tamen hoc loco ea dico quibus multitudinem capere possis, ut de nocte domus compleatur, ut multi spe tui praesidi teneantur, ut amiciores abs te discedant quam accesserint, ut quam plurimorum aures optimo sermone compleantur.

XIII. 50. Sequitur enim ut de rumore dicendum sit cui maxime serviendum est. Sed quae dicta sunt omni superiore oratione, eadem ad rumorem concelebrandum valent : dicendi laus, studia publicanorum et equestris ordinis, hominum nobilium voluntas, adolescentulorum frequentia, eorum qui abs te defensi sunt

an explanatory clause after the very same word is expressed in one passage by the subjunctive with *ut*, and in the other by the accusative with infinitive. See Kennedy, § 195.

48. *Id, si promittas.* If you promise, your incurring the resentment of the applicant (i.e. by not fulfilling your promise) is uncertain : secondly, it is deferred for a time (i.e. until you have failed to keep the promise) : thirdly, it extends to fewer cases (because of the reasons given in the previous section ; in some cases the circumstances under which he would make use of your promise may not arise, or the very thing he wants may be brought about by other means, and he may attribute its being effected to you). But a refusal is sure to cost you the support of a large number, and at once (for if you refuse, the applicant will owe you a grudge even though the need of your action may not arise ; and if his object happens to be effected by other means, he cannot attribute his success to you : *plures enim multo*, &c.). For *in diem* cp. Ter. Phorm. 781, *praesens quod fuerat malum in diem*

abiit. Puteanus bracketed the *id* after *autem*.

quem videant ea ex causa literally, 'whom they perceive to be prevented (from keeping his promise) by such a reason as that he would desire to keep it if he possibly could,' that is, 'whom they perceive to be prevented from keeping his promise by a reason so important that his breach of his promise is quite compatible with a genuine desire on his part to do what he promised, if at all possible.' For this idiomatic use of *ea* . . . *ut*, cp. Fam. ix. 16, 8 (472), *nec tamen eas cenas quaero ut magnae reliquiae fiant*, 'such a dinner as that there should be,' &c. So Ter. Heaut. 359, *in eum iam res rediit locum ut sit necessus*.

49. *hoc sequor* 'this is my point of view' : cp. such expressions as *quid secutus sim in decernendo*, 'what line I took.' *ex illo genere* 'which comes under the head of conciliating friends' (*amicorum studia*).

50. *ad rumorem concelebrandum* 'the vigorous diffusion of good report' : cp. De Inv. i. 4, *studia celebrata*.

adsiduitas: ex municipiis multitudo eorum quos tua causa venisse appareat: bene *te* ut homines nosse *se*, comiter appellare, adsidue ac diligenter petere, benignum ac liberalem esse loquantur et existiment, domus ut multa nocte compleatur, omnium generum frequentia adsit, satis fiat fronte et oratione omnibus, re operaque multis, perficiatur id, quod fieri potest, labore et arte ac diligentia, non ut ad populum ab iis omnibus fama perveniat sed ut in iis studiis populus ipse versetur. 51. Iam urbanam illam multitudinem et eorum studia qui contiones tenent adeptus es in Pompeio ornando, Manili causa recipienda, Cornelio defendendo; excitanda nobis sunt quae adhuc habuit nemo quin idem splendorum hominum voluntates haberet. Efficiendum etiam illud est ut sciant omnes Cn. Pompei summam esse erga te voluntatem et vehementer ad illius rationes te id adsequi quod petis pertinere. 52. Postremo tota petitio cura ut pompae plena sit, ut illustris, ut splendida, ut popularis sit, ut habeat summam speciem ac dignitatem, ut etiam, si qua possit, nova competitoribus tuis exsistat aut sceleris aut libidinis aut largitionis accommodata ad eorum mores infamia. 53. Atque etiam in hac petitione maxime videndum est ut spes rei publicae bona de te sit et honesta opinio; nec tamen in petendo res publica capessenda est neque in senatu neque in contione.

ut homines nosse se . . . loquantur . . . versetur.] The subjunctives *loquantur* . . . *existiment* . . . *compleatur* . . . *adsit* . . . *satisfiat* . . . *perficiatur* are definitive subjunctives (see § 47). They are co-ordinate with the nominatives which are the subjects of *ad rumorem concelebrandum valent*. The accusative with the infinitive might have been used throughout instead of these subjunctives, and would have been had Latin possessed an article like Greek. The last two subjunctives in the sentence, *ut perveniat* and *ut versetur*, depend on *perficiatur*; 'that no possible means be neglected to bring about this—that the public should not merely hear at second hand of all these popular practices of yours, but should themselves be brought face to face with them' (should themselves be the observers or the objects of your courtesy and kindness). Marcus Cicero would, of course, never have written a sentence like this. We have inserted *se* after *nosse*; cp. *esse se*, § 35.

51. *Manili causa recipienda*] 'undertaking the case of Manilius,' for Cicero

was never called on to fulfil his promise of defending Manilius, as the latter's case did not come to trial. On laying down his tribunate, Manilius was accused by one of the *nobiles*. Plutarch (Cic. 9) says it was a charge of theft (*κλοπή*) that was brought against Manilius. Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 44) is more vague: *δίκης τέ τινος πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευασθείσης*.

Cornelio defendendo] We have scanty fragments of two speeches for C. Cornelius, delivered 689 (65); and valuable notes of Asconius on them.

vehementer] 'and that it would perfectly fall in with his plans that you should gain the office you seek.'

52. *pompae*] 'display.'

si qua possit, nova] See Adn. Crit.

53. *nec tamen in petendo res publica capessenda est*] 'but a definite line of policy is not to be advocated during your canvass by your sentiments expressed to senate or people'; during your canvass you must rather think of offending no class. You will do more harm than good if in that stage of the business you show

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Sed haec tibi sunt retinenda ut senatus te existimet ex eo quod ita vixeris defensorem auctoritatis suae fore, equites Romani et viri boni ac locupletes ex vita acta te studiosum otii ac rerum tranquil-larum, multitudo ex eo quod dumtaxat oratione in contionibus ac iudicio popularis fuisti te a suis commodis non alienum futurum.

XIV. 54. Haec veniebant mihi in mentem de duabus illis commentationibus matutinis, quod tibi cotidie ad forum descen-denti meditandum esse dixeram: 'Novus sum, consulatum peto.' Tertium restat: 'Roma est,' civitas ex nationum conventu con-stituta in qua multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia versantur: multorum adrogantia, multorum contu-macia, multorum malevolentia, multorum superbia, multorum odium ac molestia perferenda est. Video esse magni consili atque artis in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensionem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias, esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum ac vo-luntatum varietatem. 55. Qua re etiam atque etiam perge tenere istam viam quam institisti: excelle dicendo: hoc et tenentur Romae homines et adliciuntur et ab impediendo ac laedendo repelluntur. Et quoniam in hoc vel maxime est vitiosa civitas, quod largitione interposita virtutis ac dignitatis oblivisci solet, in hoc fac ut te bene noris, id est, ut intellegas eum esse te qui iudicii ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus adferre possis. Fac se ut abs te custodiri atque observari sciant: cum diligentiam tuam, cum auctoritatem vimque dicendi, tum profecto equestris ordinis erga te studium pertimescent. 56. Atque haec ita nolo te illis proponere ut videre accusationem iam meditari sed ut

your political sentiments too much; they should appear from your past life.

haec tibi sunt retinenda] 'consilia publica in senatu contioneque reticenda tibi sunt et reservanda.' Bücheler.

54. Haec] 'This is what occurred to me on the subject of the two first morn-ing reflections, which I suggested to you, in saying that every day as you go to the forum you should say to yourself, "I am a novus homo; I am a candidate for the consulate." The third still re-mains, namely, "the scene of my honour is to be Rome;" which he then pro-ceeds to describe.

odium ac molestia] odium is 'tiresome-

ness'; molestia is 'vexation.' Cp. odio-sam non molestam, Att. xiii. 52. 2 (679).

fabulam] 'scandal,' 'gossip.'
esse unum . . . varietatem] 'to be all things to all men, however widely their characters, sentiments, and feelings may differ.'

55. cum . . . tum] 'not only . . . but.'

56. accusationem iam meditari] This is fully explained by a passage in Mur. 43, nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit, simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur. And again in the same speech (44), we have non placet mihi inquisitio candidati, praenuntia repulsae.

hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum quod agis consequare : et plane sic contende omnibus nervis ac facultatibus ut adipiscamur quod petimus. Video nulla esse comitia tam inquinata largitione quibus non gratis aliquae centuriae renuntient suos magno opere necessarios. 57. Qua re, si advigilamus pro rei dignitate et si nostros ad summum studium benevolos excitamus et si hominibus gratiosis studiosisque nostri suum cuique munus describimus et si competitoribus iudicium proponimus, sequestribus metum iniicimus, divisores ratione aliqua coërcemus, perfici potest ut largitio aut nulla sit aut nihil valeat. 58. Haec sunt quae putavi non melius scire me quam te sed facilius his tuis occupationibus colligere unum in locum posse et ad te perscripta mittere. Quae tametsi ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnis qui honores petant sed ad te proprie et ad hanc petitionem tuam valeant, tamen tu, si quid mutandum esse videbitur aut omnino tollendum aut si quid erit praeteritum, velim hoc mihi dicas. Volo enim hoc commentariolum petitionis haberi omni ratione perfectum.

Video] 'I am convinced that never is an election so stained by corruption, but that some centuries return without any bribery the candidates to whom they feel themselves morally bound.'

57. *nostros . . . benevolos*] 'our well-wishers,' cp. *suos magno opere necessarios*, above, § 56, and *tui benevolentis*, Plaut. Trin. 46, another coincidence between the diction of the letters and the comic stage.

si competitoribus] 'if we hold up before the eyes of our rivals the prospect of the law courts, and thoroughly inspire their agents with fear' (of detection and punishment). Bribery at Rome was an art. Three different sets of agents were em-

ployed : (1) the *interpretes*, who made the bargain, Verr. i. 36; (2) the *sequestres*, with whom the money to be used as a bribe was deposited, Cluent. 72; (3) the *divisores*, who distributed the money to the persons bribed, Ep. 22, 12.

58. *his tuis occupationibus*] This is a good example of what Roby (§ 1242) calls the ablative of attendant circumstances. He quotes *tabulas in foro summa hominum frequentia exscribo*. This usage will be frequently met in the letters and will afterwards be more fully illustrated.

commentariolum petitionis.] 'handbook of electioneering.'