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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

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Letters of the fourth year of Cicero's correspondence, epp. 10, 11

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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 exeuat 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 haec 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 cogitaramus eo ipso tempore quo tuum puerum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo, comitiis tribunicis,

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 Intro., 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*.

cogitaramus] 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 paris non esse*.

Ut frontem] Cp. Brutus, 278, *nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis, frons non percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla suppositio*. 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 Aquilium 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 unceritcal 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 omnium munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, 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 *cicero*, 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 ciceroi consulem obduerint*, 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 *ciceroi* could be meant as a pun on *Caesari*, not *Ciceroni*, one might read *eo libenter Thermum ciceroi 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 *ciceroi* 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 *ciceroi* would more naturally be a play on *Ciceroni*. Bosius says he found *libenter nun ciceroi* in XY, which he changes to *libenter Thermum ciceroi*: 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 *l*, so that *nunciteri* and *nuntiteri* would very probably have been written by a copyist who found *nunciceroi*. 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 eum 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); *ὑπογεγραμμένη, ὑποτετυπωμένη* (Aristotle).

Gallia] Gaul, i.e. Gallia Cispadana, had great influence on elections at Rome. Cicero says of Gaul, ep. *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 (ep. 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 proluxa 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.

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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 βοείην*. 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 † *ἐλιῦ 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 of 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 *ἔν* in Greek, e. g., *χαροῖς 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 νοερὴν ἐκ θαλάττης. This phrase is used by Stobaeus to describe Heraclitus' theory of the sun; cp. οἱ δ' ἄσπερες ἐκ θαλάσσης μετὰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνάπτουται, 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' ὄρχηστὴς τε τὰ γάρ

τ' ἀνάθηματα δαιτὸς. 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), *speculiclaras, 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) *deae 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 *speculiclaras* (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 *reiectio*, '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 *savviter*, *blan-diter*; 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).