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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

Letter of the fifth year of Cicero's correspondence, ep. 12

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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 videare*.

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 nequiret, 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 assiduitatem 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, *michi 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 seimus 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 saltibus prope addictis, pastores retinet ex quibus ait se cum velis 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 *subvectum*. 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 coepse 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 Iulia, 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 *ἐπισταθμεία*: cp. Att. xiii. 52, 2 (679). Antonius, of course, conducted his canvass by proxy. Bücheler reads *Cappadoceos* 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 obviam 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.

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qui tum Titiniorum ac Nanniorum ac Tanusiorum capita demetebant, Sulla unum Catilinam praefecerat in quibus ille hominem unum optimum, Q. Caecilium, 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 *Mantiorum*: 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. Caecilium*] i.e. Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, mentioned as an orator in Brut. 305.

10. *M. Marium*] 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 statuae, 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 atrocissimi 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, paullatim 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 Lutatine 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 *sicis 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 *Adn. 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 siccas destringere ?

IV. 13. Quoniam quae subsidia novitatis haberes et habere posses exposui, nunc de magnitudine petitionis dicendum videtur. Consulatum 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, deserto, 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 Calvus, 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 siccas] This vigorous expression was adopted by Cicero in his election speech (p. 94): *qui postea quam illo quo conati erant Hispaniensi pugniunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt, duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam siccas destringere*.

Asconius adds '*Hispaniensem pugniunculum* Cn. Pisonem appellat, quem in Hispania occisum esse dixi. *Duas siccas* 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 sodalitatibus 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 fuosaeque 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 II 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.

receperint 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 discriptum 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 benefici 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. *discriptum*] Cf. Att. ii. 1, 4 (27). Bueheler 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 fundatisque 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 exspectes 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 exspectes, 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. *multum 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 praedio ponere, positus 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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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 adulescentulorum 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 adulescentulorum 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 *adulescentulorum 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 deberi 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 adulescentulorum 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.
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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 pravitatem 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 deteriorem aliquem adsentando facit tum improba est: cum amiciorem, 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, curaque 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 facturus 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, demonstras 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 Platónico 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 exserevent 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

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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 *eas* . . . *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* and *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 videare 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 contendere 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 gratis 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 omnes 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.'