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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 eighth year of Cicero's correspondence, epp. 17-23

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LETTERS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 17-23.

A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

COSS. M. PUPIUS PISO, M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

THE letters of this year are chiefly devoted to the description of the trial of Clodius for his violation of the rights of the Bona Dea, the beginning of Cicero's quarrel with Clodius; and an analysis of the attitude, arts, and designs of Pompey, who had just returned from the East after the end of the war with Mithridates. They also tell us of the divorce of Mucia by Pompey, and the consequent rupture between him and Mucia's half-brother Metellus Celer, who joined with Cato and the other senators in opposing the confirmation of Pompey's settlement of Asia. The relations between the Equites and the Senate became very strained towards the end of the year, owing to (1) a recommendation of the Senate that all persons who, as jurors, were proved to have taken bribes should be put on trial—the senatorial jurymen had hitherto been alone liable to prosecution; (2) the opposition of Cato to a request of the Equites that an imprudent contract which they had made for collecting the taxes of Asia should be cancelled. This was a serious blow to Cicero's *ordinum concordia*. At the end of the year Pompey was on very friendly terms with Cicero.

This year Cicero's brother Quintus was propraetor in Asia, and Caesar propraetor in Further Spain. In September Pompey celebrated his triumph over Mithridates.

We have, besides Cicero's letters to Atticus, a letter to his former colleague, Antonius, complaining of an alteration in the feelings of the latter towards him, and protesting that his own regard for Antonius is unimpaired.

The only oration of this year was the *Oratio in Clodium et Curionem*, a political pamphlet, of which are preserved but a few small fragments. It is referred to at some length in Ep. 22.

17. TO ATTICUS, JOURNEYING TO EPIRUS (ATT. I. 12).

ROME; JANUARY 1ST; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

De negotio nummario, de C. Antonio a se non defendendo, de liberto suo cum C. Antonio in cogendis pecuniis se invito occupato, de Cn. Pompeio, de divortio Mucia, de P. Clodio cum veste muliebri domi C. Caesaris deprehenso, de Sositheo puero mortuo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Teucris illa lentum sane negotium, neque Cornelius ad

Cicero appears to have written this letter (covering Ep. 18) to Atticus just as the latter was about to leave one of his country estates, probably the Nomentanum (Nep. Att. 14, 3), for Epirus, Achaia, and Macedonia. We must suppose that Atticus started almost immediately after the receipt of these letters, probably on January 2nd; for we find Cicero, on January 25th (cp. Ep. 19), answering a letter which Atticus had despatched from Brundisium. Now, an ordinary traveller would take fourteen or fifteen days, and a messenger eight or nine, to compass the distance from Rome to Brundisium.

1. *Teucris*] *Teucris* must have been a name for some agent of Antonius, almost certainly a female (possibly Cornelia wife of Sestius); for if *Teucris* were a derisive name for some man, Cicero would have more probably written *illo* in the sentence *nihil ego illa impudentius vidi*. But *Teucris* must have been an agent of Antonius, else the whole passage wants connexion. It is evident that Cicero expected money from *Teucris*. He complains of the shifts and delays of *Teucris*; 'but,' says he, 'perhaps it is all for the best; for circumstances have arisen which would make it impossible for me to defend Antonius.' Does not this show that *Teucris* is the agent of Antonius, and that Antonius had promised an advance of money to Cicero for resisting attacks made on him in the senate for misgovernment? We see by Ep. 16 that Cicero had already defended him in the senate, and that Cicero was in communication with Cornelius, the brother-in-law of Sestius, the proquaestor of Antonius (which explains *neque Cornelius . . . rediit* in this letter). The whole train of thought is this: '*Teucris* is a slow coach, and Cornelius has had no further

interview with Terentia. So I suppose I must look to the money-lenders, for even his relatives cannot get a farthing out of Caecilius at less than twelve per cent. It is really shameful, the conduct of *Teucris*; nothing but shifts and delays: however *Dieu dispose*, perhaps it is all for the best. If I did get (or had gotten) the money from *Teucris*, I might have been unable to fulfil my part of the bargain, for this reason:—they say the question of his supersession will be openly brought forward by Pompey, and I am so circumstanced that I could not, with any regard for my character, defend him; and, what is more, I won't. For a thing has occurred to which I want you to give your careful attention. There is a freedman of mine, one Hilarus, a complete *vaurien*, an accountant, and a client of yours. Valerius and Thyillus tell me that they are informed that this fellow is living with Antonius, and that Antonius, in making his requisitions, gives out that a part of them goes to me, and that this freedman is commissioned by me to look after my share in the profits. I was very much annoyed, though I did not altogether believe it, but it has caused some talk. I wish you would look into the matter, and if possible get the rascal out of the place altogether.' Circumstances had arisen which made it impossible for Cicero to defend Antonius; so perhaps it had happened all for the best that Antonius had not sent the money. The money was required by Cicero to pay for the house on the Palatine, mentioned in the last letter. For the same purpose Cicero may have borrowed money from Publius Sulla, whom he defended. See the story in Gell. xii. 12.

lentum . . . negotium] βαδὴν χροῖμα. Cp. Att. v. 18, 4 (218); Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4 (135).

Terentiam postea rediit: opinor, ad Considium, Axiium, Selicium confugiendum est: nam a Caecilio propinqui minore centesimis nummum movere non possunt. Sed, ut ad prima illa redeam, nihil ego illa impudentius, astutius, lentius vidi: 'Libertum mitto: Tito mandavi': σκήψεις atque ἀναβολαί. Sed nescio an ταυτόματον ἡμῶν nam mihi Pompeiani prodromi nuntiant aperte Pompeium acturum Antonio succedi oportere, eodemque tempore aget praetor ad populum. Res eius modi est ut ego nec per bonorum nec per popularem existimationem honeste possim hominem defendere, nec mihi libeat, quod vel maximum est. Etenim accidit hoc, quod totum cuius modi sit mando tibi ut perspicias. 2. Libertum ego habeo, sane nequam hominem, Hilarum dico, ratiocinatorem et clientem tuum. De eo mihi Valerius interpres nuntiat Thyillusque se audisse scribit haec: esse hominem cum Antonio: Antonium porro in cogendis pecuniis dictitare partem mihi quaeri et a me custodem communis quaestus libertum esse missum. Non sum mediocriter commotus neque tamen credidi, sed certe aliquid sermonis fuit. Totum investiga, cognosce, perspice et nebulonem illum, si quo pacto potes, ex istis locis amove. Huius sermonis Valerius auctorem Cn. Plancium nominabat. Mando tibi plane totum ut videas cuius modi sit. 3. Pompeium nobis amicissimum constat esse. Divortium Muciae vehementer probatur. P. Clodium, Appi f., credo te audisse cum veste muliebri deprehensum domi C. Caesaris, cum pro populo fieret, eumque per

Selicium] a usurer. Cf. Att. iv. 19, 2 (158), note.

Caecilio] the uncle of Atticus, a man *difficillima natura* (Nep. Att. 5).

ταυτόματον ἡμῶν] καλλίω βουλεύεται. Menander: see Meineke, vol. iv., p. 361.

2. *interpres*] An interpreter's business was, in Rome, to explain the foreign proclamations and interpret embassies; and, in the provinces, to interpret the state proclamations, which were by law in the Latin tongue.

Thyillusque] cp. 5, 2.

Cn. Plancium] the subject of the *or. pro Plancio*. He was at this time military tribune in the army of Antonius in Macedonia.

3. *Muciae*] half-sister of Q. Metellus Celer, and wife of Pompey. She

was suspected of an intrigue with Caesar. Plutarch (Pomp. 42 fin.) says that Mucia was incontinent during the absence of Pompey. While absent he treated the charge with contempt; but on returning and examining the case, he divorced her οὔτε τότε γράψας οἷδ' ὕστερον ἐφ' οἷς ἀφῆκεν ἐξειπών· ἐν δ' ἐπιστολαῖς Κικέρωνος ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται. The reason is not given in any letter which we possess.

cum pro populo fieret] 'when sacrifice was being offered.' So ῥέζειν, operari, and our service. The sacrifice was a public sacrifice (*pro populo*), because, though celebrated in a private house, that house was bound to be the official residence of the consul or praetor urbanus. Caesar was praetor urbanus and pontifex as well.

manus servulae servatum et eductum: rem esse insigni infamia: quod te moleste ferre certo scio. 4. Quid praeterea ad te scribam non habeo. Et mehercule eram in scribendo conturbator. Nam puer festivus anagnostes noster Sositheus decesserat meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur commoverat. Tu velim saepe ad nos scribas. Si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit scribito. Kal. Ianuariis M. Messalla M. Pisone coss.

18. TO GAIUS ANTONIUS, IN MACEDONIA (FAM. V. 5.)

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero C. Antoni, qui collega eius in consulatu fuerat et nunc Macedoniam procos. obtinebat, animum ab se alienatum queritur, sed tamen scribit se T. Pomponio, communi amico, qui iter in Macedoniam haberet, denegare non potuisse quin litteras commendaticias daret, cuius negotia Macedonica Antonio commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. ANTONIO M. F. IMP.

1. Etsi statueram nullas ad te litteras mittere nisi commendaticias—non quo eas intellegerem satis apud te valere, sed ne iis qui me rogarent aliquid de nostra coniunctione imminutum esse ostenderem—tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum

servatum et eductum] 'brought out safely,' hendiadys, cp. note to 1, 1. The name of the *servula* was Habra (Plut. Caes. 10). Could that name be concealed in *Seprulle* or *Seprullae* of the mss?

insigni infamia] See Introd. i. § i, for a full discussion of this matter.

4. *Quid . . . scribam*] 'I do not know what else to write to you;' *quod scribam non habeo* would mean, 'I have nothing else to write to you.' See on 49, 6.

commoverat] Cicero's expressions on this occasion are used against the reading *decessit*, 2, 2; but see note on that passage. Cp. Plin. Ep. viii. 16.

quod in buccam] 'whatever comes into your head, rises to your lips.' Cp. οὐκ οὖν κατ' Αἰσχρόλον, ἔφη, ἐροῦμεν ὅ,τι νῦν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα, Plat. Rep. viii. 563 B.

M. Messalla M. Pisone coss] Only in three places (viz. at the end of Epp. 17, 19, and 24) are the names of the consuls given in the date of a letter.

1. *Etsi statueram*] 'Though I had resolved to write no letters to you but letters of introduction—and these, not that I thought they would have as much weight with you as I could wish, but only not to betray to those who applied to me that our intimacy was less close than it once was—yet,' &c.

non quo] See on 52, 1.

T. Pomponius] Atticus. The name *Atticus* is not found in Cicero's extant letters until we come to Att. vi. 1 (252), a letter written in 704 (52). Hence Boot has, with reason, doubted the genuineness of the *Cicero Attico S.* which heads each letter to Atticus. Moreover, in other letters addressed to friends as intimate as Atticus, the form used is S. D. (*salutem dicit*), or S. P. D. (*salutem plurimam dicit*), and it comes between the name of the writer and the person addressed. It is not probable, therefore, that in writing to Atticus, Cicero should have adopted a

in te studiorum et officiorum maxime conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi, praesertim cum aliter ipsi Pomponio satis facere non possem. 2. Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt quae ad tuum commodum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro his rebus nullam mihi abs te relatam esse gratiam tu es optimus testis: contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audivi. Nam 'comperisse' me non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam quod abs te aiunt falso in me solere conferri. Sed ea quae ad me delata sunt malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis litteris cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit et senatus et populus Romanus testis est: tu quam gratus erga me fueris ipse existimare potes: quantum mihi debeas ceteri existimant. 3. Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia. Sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae ego si non profundere ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo: sin autem ingrata esse sentiam, non committam ut tibi ipsi insanire videar.

formula altogether unique. We have, however, thought it better not to delete with Boot this formula which is found in the mss, but to retain it, having reminded the reader that it is most probably not genuine.

2. *Ego si*] 'If I were to require of you even most important services, there would be nothing surprising in my conduct.'

Pro his rebus] 'That you have never made any return for those services you will yourself confess; indeed, I hear from many that your conduct towards me has had quite the opposite tendency—I will not say "I am informed," as I must not use that expression that they say you falsely ascribe to me.'

'*comperisse*'] Cicero was charged with having declined to give the evidence he had for the existence of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and to have contented himself with saying that 'he was informed' (no doubt by his spies) that such and such designs were harboured. His enemies seem to have fastened on the expression, and used it against him. Cicero says the expression is falsely

ascribed to him. It was this hated word which Clodius cast in his teeth (Ep. 20, 5), and which appears to have irritated Cicero very much, and embittered his animosity against Clodius. See Introduction, i. § 1.

existimant] *existiment* of the Neapolitan ed. gives a better sense, but the change is not absolutely necessary.

3. *constantia*] 'consistency' (a desire to do nothing inconsistent with my former conduct towards you, which proceeded from genuine good will).

reliqua] 'what remains to be done is now calling for a much higher degree of zeal on my part and more serious exertions.' Cicero wishes Antonius to gather that he is actually working for him, though we see from the preceding letter he had little intention of so doing. Afterwards, 695 (59), Cicero did defend him, but unsuccessfully. *Sustinere*, 'make good,' 'carry out.'

ipsi insanire] It is quite certain that *ipsi* must be read here, 'I will not run the risk of being thought mad by even you' (you, who would be served by such a 'lack of gall' on my part). *Ips*

Ea quae sint et cuius modi poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendo ut, quamquam ipsius causa confido te facturum esse omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam, ut, si quid in te residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponi negotio ostendas. Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes.

19. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 13).

ROME; JANUARY 25TH; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

De tribus epistulis ab Attico acceptis, de litteris a se non temere committendis: de rebus urbanis, se primum non esse rogatum sententiam in senatu a consule, M. Pisone, quem ait se magni non facere, cum alterum bonum esse dicat, de P. Clodio domi Caesaris cum veste muliebri deprehenso rebusque de ea causa postea actis, de Cn. Pompei, quem tecte significat, aperto erga se amore, occulta invidia, de provinciarum sortitione nondum facta, de libris et orationibus suis, de domo Autroniana a Messalla consule empta.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

I. Accepi tuas tris iam epistulas: unam a M. Cornelio quam Tribus Tabernis, ut opinor, ei dedisti, alteram quam mihi Canusinus tuus hospes reddidit, tertiam quam, ut scribis, ora soluta de

(which some editors read) *insanire* could only mean, 'to be mad too,' as well as the rest, or as well as Antonius, but no such sentiment has place here. *Ipsae insanire* could not mean 'to be actually mad.'

Ea quae sint] sc. *reliqua*, 'what the future danger is which you may have to meet,' viz., the attack by Pompey, mentioned in last letter.

1. *Accepi tuas tris iam*] 'This makes the third letter which I have received from you' (Pretor).

ora soluta] 'when we left our moorings.' The ms reading, *ancora soluta*, is questionable Latin, though defended by Schmalz, 'Antibarbarus' ii., p. 535. Peerlkamp established the correction given in the text by a reference to Quintilian, who (in describing how the expression *e portu navigavi* might be expanded into a number of descriptions, each short, but making on the whole a long one) uses *solvere oram* among the technical terms about getting under

weigh. This is the passage:—'in portum veni, navem prospexi, quanti veheret interrogavi, de pretio convenit, conscendi, sublatae sunt ancorae, *solvimus oram*, profecti sumus' (Inst. Or. iv. 2, 41). Cp. Praef. § 3. Doubtless, therefore, the reading here is *ora soluta*, or, possibly (what Peerlkamp himself prefers), *ancora sublata, ora soluta*, 'just as we weighed anchor, and slipped our cable'; for the two middle words may have dropped out through the ἀβλεψία of the copyist. *Solvere oram* was the very last process before getting under weigh. Dr. Smith, in his Lat. Dict., says: 'From this phrase, *solvere oram*, "to sail from the shore," perhaps arose the meaning of *hawser*, e.g. in Liv. xxviii. 36, 11, *oras et ancoras praecidunt*: xxii. 19, 10, *resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur*.' But it seems impossible that, because *solvere oram* meant 'to sail from the shore,' *ora* could get the meaning of a *hawser*. Either (1) *ora* never meant a *hawser*, and *solvere oram* means 'to cast off the shore,' *praecidere oras*, 'to hastily cast

phaselo dedisti : quae fuerunt omnes, ut rhetorum pueri loquuntur, cum humanitatis sparsae sale tum insignes amoris notis. Quibus epistulis sum equidem abs te laccessitus ad rescribendum, sed idcirco sum tardior quod non invenio fidelem tabellarium. Quotus enim quisque est qui epistulam paullo graviorem ferre possit, nisi eam pellatione relevarit? Accedit eo, quod mihi non est . . . ut quisque in Epirum proficiscitur. Ego enim te arbitrator, caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victumeis, statim esse ad

off the shore,' which seems very unlikely; or (2) *ora* derived its meaning of *hawser* from the original meaning of the word just as it derived its meaning of *shore*. Thus:—*ora* was first the 'outside edge or border of anything' (Lucr. iv. 12, 215); then, 'any long bounding line,' especially the long line of land which runs along the edge of the sea (hence *shore*); then 'any long line' (hence *hawser*); and so would be explained the phrase of Ennius, *oras evolvere belli*, which refers to the panoramic appearance of the Roman book, the long vertical line of the roll when unwound from the central reed which formed the axis of the cylinder and unrolled to its full dimensions. See note on 28, 1. It is, however, a remarkable fact that *ora* is always the *stern-rope*; hence as the vessel was moored with stern to shore, the *stern-rope* would be the *shore-rope*, which might, by a kind of naval slang, be called the *shore*, as we call the sheet-rope the *sheet*. In Greek *πεῖρα* means both 'end' and 'rope.'

rhetorum pueri] Madvig's brilliant conjecture for *quae fuerunt omnes rhetorum*; *pure loquuntur*, &c. Applied to letters, *loquuntur* would be intolerable. We might dispense with the *ut*, as in *aiunt* for *ut aiunt*; the omission of *ut* in such cases is a characteristic of the language of Comedy, and therefore suitable to letters. Dr. Reid approves of the omission of *ut*, saying that the expression is just like *inquit Praenestinus* (Plaut. Trin. 609). See Introduction ii. § 2. *Rhetorum pueri* is a translation of *ῥητόρων παῖδες*, that is, the 'class' or 'profession' of the rhetoricians: so *παῖδες ἰατρῶν* means 'physicians' in Anthol. and Lucian, which is like Cicero's Greek. Cicero may possibly have written *ῥητόρων παῖδες*, and *rhetorum pueri* may have been a marginal explanation which crept into the text. We sometimes find Cicero using a Latin

and a Greek expression for the same thing; for example, in Att. v. 13, 3 (203), the same thing is called *ille domesticus scrupulus*, which in the next letter is called *illud ἐνδόμυχον*; so *παράπηγμα ἐνιασίον* and *clavum anni* in v. 14, 1 (204), and 15, 1 (207). Cf. Q. Fr. ii. 15, 4 (147), *Athenas noctuum* with *γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας*, Fam. vi. 3, 4 (539).

cum . . . notis] Observe the rhetorical 'chiasmus,' an additional proof of the truth of Madvig's conjecture.

Quotus enim] 'How few there are who can carry a letter of any weight without lightening it by a perusal.'

non est . . . ut quisque] A word must have dropped out here. Not *notum*, the word usually supplied, for this does not satisfy the sense. The sense required is, 'I am not in a position to avail myself of each departure for Epirus for the purpose of sending letters to you; my impression is, you must have already set out for Sicyon, but I am not sure even when you mean to visit Antonius, or how long you will stay in Epirus.' Possibly Cicero wrote *accedit eo, quod mihi non est usui ut quisque in Epirum proficiscitur*, 'I can't avail myself of each departure for Epirus.' *Usui* would easily fall out before *ut quisque*; or perhaps *utilis*, as Müller conjectures.

Ego enim te] 'I suppose you first made your sacrificial offerings for the campaign before your Amalthea, and then set out for the blockade of Sicyon.' He had gone to exact money owed to him at Sicyon. The Amaltheum of Atticus was probably a small temple to the nymph Amalthea in the grounds of his villa at Epirus (cf. O. E. Schmidt, 'Ciceros Villen,' p. 16). It is referred to Ep. 22, 15, 18, and also in Leg. ii. 7, *cave enim putes Attici nostri Amaltheo platanisque illis quicquam esse praeclarius*.

victumeis] This is the archaic form of

Sicyonem oppugnandum profectum. Neque tamen id ipsum certum habeo quando ad Antonium proficiscare aut quid in Epiro temporis ponas. Ita neque Achaicis hominibus neque Epiroticis paullo liberiores litteras committere audeo. 2. Sunt autem post discessum a me tuum res dignae litteris nostris, sed non committendae eius modi periculo ut aut interire aut aperiri aut interoipi possint. Primum igitur scito primum me non esse rogatum sententiam praepositumque esse nobis pacificatorem Allobrogum, idque admurmurante senatu neque me invito esse factum. Sum enim et ab observando homine perverso liber et ad dignitatem in re publica retinendam contra illius voluntatem solutus et ille secundus in dicendo locus habet auctoritatem paene principis et voluntatem non nimis devinctam beneficio consulis. Tertius est Catulus, quartus, si etiam hoc quaeris, Hortensius. Consul autem

victima (see *Fasti Praenestini*, Jan. 17th, in C. I. L. i², p. 231). As M here gives *victum eis*, Prof. Minton Warren suggested that we should read the doubly archaic form. Cicero may have used it in mock-heroic style.

oppugnandum] Lambinus altered to *oppugnandam*. But Σικυών and Μαπαθών are of common gender: cp. Neue-Wagener i³, p. 946.

ad Antonium proficiscare] Atticus perhaps intended to apply to Antonius, who was governor of Macedonia (which included Greece), for a military force to coerce the Sicyonians. Brutus and Scapitius sought a similar favour from Cicero when governor of Cilicia, see *Att.* vi. 1, 6 (252): cp. also 25, 9, note.

2. *Primum igitur*] 'First, then, let me tell you that I was not asked my opinion first.'

pacificatorem.] C. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul 687 (67), was brother to the present consul. He seems not to have been very successful in preserving peace in Gallia Narbonensis under his government. Hence *pacificatorem* is ironical.

admurmurante] = *improbante*; so *acclamatio*, in 22, 4, means 'hooting.'

perverso] 'cross-grained.'

voluntatem . . . non nimis] 'while one's freedom of action is not too much fettered, as it would be by a compliment from a consul.' From this it may be inferred that the previous consuls had shown Cicero

this mark of respect, and that he felt himself bound therefore not to oppose them. It seems to have depended somewhat on the discretion of the presiding magistrate who should be asked first (a consul elect was always chosen when present), and the same order was observed throughout the year: *Phil.* v. 35. Of course no consul elect would be present until the later months of the year.

Consul] 'the consul (Piso) is pettish and perverse, a dealer in that sort of bitter sarcasm which always raises a laugh, though there be no real wit in the words. He makes people laugh, not by the force of his expressions, but by the expression of his face; he is not a politician at all.' In rendering the play on *facie* and *facetiis*, we have remodelled the phrase of Mr. Pretor ('laughable rather from his expression than his expressions'). Cicero describes in Piso such a man as the late Lord Westbury. He amused people by his captious sarcasm and his bitter visage. His description of the same man in *Brut.* 236 is well worth reading: people expected bitterness from him, and they were amused at finding it—it was supposed to be his rôle to be bitter. It is amusing to contrast with both descriptions the words of Cicero, when in his professional capacity the analyst of character is superseded by the advocate, and he pours forth a few of his superlatives, *homini nobilissimo, innocentissimo, eloquentissimo, M. Pisoni*, *Planc.* 12.

ipse parvo animo et pravo, tantum cavillator genere illo moroso quod etiam sine dicacitate ridetur, facie magis quam facetiis ridiculus, nihil agens cum re publica, seiunctus ab optimatibus, a quo nihil speres boni rei publicae quia non vult, nihil speres mali quia non audet. Eius autem collega et in me perhonorificus et partium studiosus ac defensor bonarum. 3. Qui nunc leviter inter se dissident, sed vereor ne hoc quod infectum est serpat longius. Credo enim te audisse, cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret, venisse eo muliebri vestitu virum, idque sacrificium cum virgines instaurassent, mentionem a Q. Cornificio in senatu factam—is fuit princeps, ne tu forte aliquem nostrum putes—postea rem ex senatus consulto ad [virgines atque ad] pontifices relatam idque ab iis nefas esse decretum: deinde ex senatus consulto consules rogationem promulgasse: uxori Caesarem nuntium remisisse. In hac

genere] descriptive ablative, cp. *summo imperio*, 53, 7, and note there.

nihil agens cum re publica] Cf. 32, 2, *cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito*. For *speres mali*, see Adn. Crit.

seiunctus ab] 'aloof from.'

partium] 'a strong politician, and on the right side.' Messalla is thus in many ways contrasted with his colleague Piso. *Partium bonarum* means Cicero's own side, the side of the *optimates*, who are called *boni viri* in this letter.

3. *Qui nunc leviter*] The whole train of thought is this: There is a slight coolness between the consuls at present. (To this I am indifferent); but I am afraid the contagion of these bad feelings towards each other will spread and cause a rupture in the senate. For they (Messalla and Piso) take different sides on the question of Clodius' sacrilege, of which you must have heard. 'It was only after the Vestal Virgins had performed the sacrifice *afresh* (*instaurassent*, the first having been polluted by the intrusion of Clodius), that Cornificius—not one of us consulars, observe—brought the matter before the senate. They referred the matter to the *pontifices*, who pronounced that sacrilege had been done. So the consuls were directed by the senate to bring in a bill to hold a special inquiry into the matter. Piso, through friendship for Clodius, is doing his best to shelve the bill which he himself is obliged to bring forward by order of the senate. The partisans of the good cause are standing aloof. Gangs of roughs

are being got up. I myself, although I had been a perfect Lycurgus at first (as stern and unbending as a Lycurgus), am daily cooling down. Cato is straining every nerve for the prosecution. In a word, I am afraid that this case, championed by the democrats, while the right side remain aloof, will work great mischief to the state.' Cicero is quite indifferent to the violation of the 'state religion,' he only fears for his cherished *ordinum concordia*. This and *senatus auctoritas* may be called the two political watchwords of Cicero.

is fuit princeps] Cicero draws attention to the fact that it was not 'one of us consulars,' but only Cornificius, a man of praetorian standing, who brought forward the matter. This circumstance, together with the 'aloofness' of the *optimates*, induces him to cool down, and take less active steps for the prosecution.

virgines atque ad] These words seem to us doubtful, as we are not aware that the Vestal Virgins had any jurisdiction as regards matters of ritual, and we know that they were subject to the Pontifices. But perhaps Cicero's words do not imply anything more than that the matter was referred back to the religious authorities; and it would be necessary for the Vestals to make an official statement of the reason why they held the ceremony a second time. Fr. Schmidt reads *ad augures atque*, and is followed by Müller.

causa Piso amicitia P. Clodi ductus operam dat ut ea rogatio quam ipse fert et fert ex senatus consulto et de religione antiquetur. Messalla vehementer adhuc agit *et severe*. Boni viri precibus Clodi remouentur a causa: operae comparantur: nosmet ipsi, qui Lyeurgeti a principio fuissemus, cotidie demitigamur: instat et urget Cato. Quid multa? Vereor ne haec neglecta a bonis, defensa ab improbis magnorum rei publicae malorum causa sit. 4. Tuus autem ille amicus—scin quem dicam?—de quo tu ad me scripsisti, postea quam non auderet reprehendere, laudare coepisse, nos, ut ostendit, admodum diligit, amplectitur, amat, aperte laudat, occulte, sed ita ut perspicuum sit, invidet. Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum. Sed haec ad te scribam alias subtilius: nam neque adhuc mihi satis nota sunt et huic terrae filio nescio cui committere epistulam tantis de rebus non audeo. 5. Provincias praetores nondum sortiti sunt. Res eodem est loci quo reliquisti. Τοποθεσία

et fert ex . . . et de religione] 'not only in accordance with the decree of the Senate, but also on so important a matter as the state religion.'

vehementer adhuc agit et severe] Mr. A. C. Clark rightly adds *et* before *severe*, comparing Att. xvi. 15, 2 (807), *De summa agi prorsus vehementer et severe volo*.

qui Lyeurgeti] Either the Spartan lawgiver is referred to, or the Athenian orator, whom Diodorus (xvi. 88) calls *πικρότατος κατήγορος*. Cicero evidently thinks that the *optimates* are taking the matter too easily (*neglecta a bonis*); but that being so, he thinks it a great blunder in Cato to run counter to them.

fuissemus] 'although I had been.' The subjunctive expresses a real action viewed as the attendant cause or circumstance under, or *notwithstanding*, which other actions or events take place. See Roby, 1714; Madv. § 366, Obs. 3.

cotidie demitigamur] Why not *in dies*? See on 26, 7.

haec] *neuter plural* possibly, *sit* being attracted into the number of *causa*; or (better) *feminine singular*, agreeing with *causa neglecta*, understood.

neglecta] So the Ed. Iens. The Med. gives *iniecta*, whence Dr. Reid conjectures *abiecta*.

4. *Tuus . . . amicus*] Pompey. Hortensius is called *familiaris tuus* in another

letter, but here the allusion is certainly to Pompey.

occulte . . . invidet] Cp. *solet enim (Pompeius) aliud sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio ut non appareat quid cupiat*, Fam. viii. 1, 3 (192); see also Att. iv. 9, 1 (122), for *nihil simplex*.

Nihil come] 'no courtesy, nor candour, nor political highmindedness; no brilliancy, resolution, nor generosity.'

subtilius] 'more precise information.'

terrae filio] 'a fellow dropped from the sky,' 'Tom, Dick, or Harry,' as we should say.

5. Τοποθεσία] 'I shall insert in my speech a description of the scenery of Misenum.' This word is well discussed by O. E. Schmidt ('Ciceros Villen,' p. 17). As used by artists it signifies the 'background' or 'landscape' into which figures can be introduced. It differs from *τοπογραφία* in that the latter is an exact description of an actual place, while *τοποθεσία* is an imaginative description, sometimes of an imaginary place. Servius, on the Aen. i. 159 ff., says, '*Topothesia est, id est factus secundam poeticam licentiam locus. Ne autem videatur penitus a veritate discedere, Hispaniensis Carthaginis portum descripsit. Ceterum hunc locum in Africa nusquam esse constat, nec incongrue propter nominis similitudinem posuit. Nam topographia rei verae descriptio.* Here Cicero says he will write an artistic de-

quam postulas Miseni et Puteolorum includam orationi meae. 'A. d. III. Non. Decembr.' mendose fuisse animadverteram. Quae laudas ex orationibus, mihi crede, valde mihi placebant, sed non audebam antea dicere: nunc vero, quod a te probata sunt, multo mihi ἀττικώτερα videntur. In illam orationem Metellinam addidi quaedam. Liber tibi mittetur, quoniam te amor nostri φιλορρήτορα reddidit. Novi tibi quidnam scribam? quid? Etiam. Messalla consul Autronianam domum emit HS †cxxxiv†. Quid id ad me, inquires? Tantum, quod ea emptione et nos bene emisse iudicati sumus et homines intellegere coeperunt licere amicorum facultatibus in emendo ad dignitatem aliquam pervenire. Teucris

scription of Misenum and Puteoli and insert it into one of his speeches: it was doubtless like the 'topothesia' of Syracuse in Verr. iv. 117 ff. In 22, 18, τοποθεσία may mean, according to Schmidt, landscapes painted on the walls of the Amaltheum of Atticus, such as Pliny describes in Ep. v. 6, 22; or perhaps 'setting,' i.e. surroundings, such as shrubberies, gardens, &c.

includam] We can find no example of *includam* with the *dative* in this sense, nor yet in the sense ascribed to it by Mr. Pretor, 'I'll send it to you with my speech, i.e. enclose it in the same parcel.' Perhaps we should read *incudam*, 'I shall work it into my speech.' No extant speech contains any such description; but on the other hand he is not likely to have written as a separate work a topographical description of Misenum and Puteoli, as Mr. Pretor's rendering would imply.

A. d. iii.] 'I had already perceived that Dec. 3rd was a wrong date.' He refers to some date in a lost work or letter.

ἀττικώτερα] 'more Attic,' with a play on the name Atticus.

orationem Metellinam] that against Metellus Nepos when he wished to prevent Cicero from addressing the people on laying down his consulship. For the construction, cf. *Epiroticae litterae*, 'letter for Epirus, Att xii. 53 (600): these words usually mean 'letters from Epirus.'

6. HS cxxxiv] If this meant 134,000 sesterces (about £1100), the sum would be too small for the purchase of such a house as Cicero here speaks of, for he compares it with his own, which he bought for £30,000. If, on the other hand, we suppose the symbol to stand for *centiens quater et triciens*, or 13,400,000 sesterces,

the sum would be very much too large. Probably we should read HS xxxiv, and suppose this to stand for *quater et triciens* = 3,400,000 sesterces, or nearly £29,000. Though this is about £1000 less than Cicero paid for his, we may yet suppose that Cicero made a good bargain (*bene emisse*) in having got for £30,000 a very much finer house than Messalla purchased for £29,000. The copyist not understanding that HS xxxiv stood for HS *quater et triciens*, but thinking it meant 34,000 sesterces, raised it to what was a reasonable price for a house by adding a c. He did not see that 134,000 sesterces, though a reasonable price for a house, is here shown by the context to be too small. This house of Cicero's on the Palatine was quite historical. Manutius has collected notices of the different owners who held it. This would have been impossible had not the house been a remarkable one. It was built by M. Livius Drusus, the tribune, who was killed just before the beginning of the Social war; then was owned by M. Crassus, then by Cicero, then by Censorinus, and then by Statilius Sisenna; cp. Vell. ii. 14.

licere] 'that it is quite legitimate, by the use of your friend's money for a purchase, to get a house that befits your station.'

Teucris] 'I have still hopes of Teucris.' We may suppose that Cicero thought the prosecution had blown over. He seems at least to have no doubt about taking the money in spite of the fears mentioned in 18, 5. In fact, Antonius was not prosecuted until 695 (59), when Cicero defended him, but unsuccessfully. We learn from the next letter (*sub fin.*) that Antonius (or his agent) did finally pay

illa lentum negotium est sed tamen est in spe. Tu ista confice. A nobis liberiolem epistolam exspecta. VI. Kal. Febr. M. Messalla M. Pisonem coss.

20. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 14).

ROME, FEBRUARY 13TH; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero exponit de summis occupationibus suis, de prima Cn. Pompei contione admodum frigida et item altera: tum scribit quid Cn. Pompeius de Clodiana religione et de promulgata rogatione in senatu dixerit, quid Crassus de laudibus ipsius Ciceronis post Pompeium censuerit, quam graviter ipse sententia sua Pompeio oblocutus sit: deinde de rebus Romanis, de severitate senatus, de comitiis turbatis et dimissis, de senatus consulto contra P. Clodium facto, ut populum consules cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, de P. Clodi contionibus miseris, de senatus constantia. Laudat Messallam consulem, vituperat Pisonem, tribunos pl. bonos praedicat. De rebus privatis et suis et Q. fratris; denique hortatur Atticum ut cum Luceio in gratiam redeat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vereor ne putidum sit scribere ad te quam sim occupatus, sed *ita* tamen distinebar ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim atque id ereptum e summis occupationibus. Prima contio Pompei qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea, non iucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigebat. Tum Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus pl. Fufius in contionem producit Pompeium. Res agebatur in circo Flaminio et erat in eo ipso loco illo die nundinarum *πανάγυρις*.

the money to Cicero; and from the same passage we may infer that *tu ista confice* (here) refers to the same business as the words *tu mandata effice quae receperisti* (in next letter), and therefore not to the affair of Teucris. It is just possible, however, that Teucris had not the management of the whole business between Cicero and Antonius, but that Atticus was intrusted with part of it. Teucris had done her share; now Atticus is to do his.

1. *ita tamen*] We have inserted *ita*, the conjecture of Orelli. It might well have fallen out before *tamen*.

Prima contio] 'I have already described to you the first address of Pompey to the people—unacceptable to the rabble,

unsatisfactory to the wrong side (the democrats), unwelcome to the wealthy, and unimportant to the good men and true (the *optimates*); therefore it fell flat.' We have lost the letter which gave this information.

circo Flaminio] This was in the Campus Martius, outside the city. Pompey would have forfeited his triumph if he had entered the city before he got the decree allowing him to enter in triumph.

nundinarum πανάγυρις] Not only was there the *contio* summoned by Fufius, but there was the '*solemn conclave* which a market day calls together,' a sneer at the meeting which, though large, was chiefly composed of the lower orders, who came on market business: *πανάγυρις* would

Quaesivit ex eo placeretne ei iudices a praetore legi, quo consilio idem praetor uteretur. Id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum. 2. Tum Pompeius μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς locutus est senatusque auctoritatem sibi omnibus in rebus maximam videri semperque visam esse respondit et id multis verbis. Postea Messalla consul in senatu de Pompeio quaesivit quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret. Locutus ita est in senatu ut omnia illius ordinis consulta γενικῶς laudaret, mihi que, ut adsedit, dixit se putare satis ab se etiam 'de istis rebus' esse responsum. 3. Crassus postea quam vidit illum excepisse laudem ex eo quod †hi suspicarentur homines ei consulatum meum placere, surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita diceret, se quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre: quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre. Quid multa? Totum hunc locum quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro—nosti illas ληκύθους—valde graviter pertexuit. Proximus Pompeium sedebam. Intellexi

however not necessarily be ironical, for in the Greek of Cicero's time πανήγυρις often meant no more than 'market,' 'fair.'

Quaesivit] 'he asked him whether it was his opinion that the judges should be chosen by the praetor (not drawn by lot, as usual), the said praetor then to employ these as his panel.'

2. μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς] 'in true conservative fashion,' or possibly 'en grand seigneur.'

maximam videri] So Rom. and apparently Rav. M has maxime and I maximis. Mr. Pretor prefers maximam on the ground of rhythm; he says: 'I cannot believe that Cicero's ear would have been satisfied with so unpleasant a rhythm' (as maximi videri of I). But cp. *florem et colorem*, Brut. 298; *nobilissimo innocentissimo eloquentissimo*, Planc. 12; Add De Nat. Deor. iii. 42; Fam. xv. 16, 3 (531); De Or. i. 254; Fin. iii. 5.

γενικῶς] 'in general terms'; so γενικώτερον, Att. ix. 10, 6 (365).

'de istis rebus'] We have printed inverted commas to draw attention to the fact that these must be the words of Pompey, 'about those exploits of yours' (i. e. of Cicero). So in 22, 13 *istos consulatus*, 'those consulates that you are always talking about.'

3. Totum hunc locum] 'All that topic which I am wont to embellish so copiously in my speeches of which you are such a severe critic—the horrors of war—fire and sword—you know what colours I can lay on—all this topic he wove into his speech with great effect.'

ληκύθους] usually oil-flasks, but here the reference must be to flasks of paint or perfume. Cp. 27, 1 totum Isocrati myrotheceium . . . atque Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit. Brut. 298 *eorum pigmentorum quae inventa nondum erant florem et colorem defuisse*. Boot compares Horace's *ampullas*, 'swelling-phrases'; but here the metaphor is not the same. In Ar. Plut. 810, we find *αἱ δὲ λήκυθοι μέρον γέμουσι*, 'the large oil-vessels are full of perfume'; so here Cicero speaks of the 'gallons of paint' which he has at his command. Cp. *arculas*, 27, 1.

Proximus Pompeium sedebam] The grammarian Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat. i.*, p. 410, 7 ed. Keil) has the following note, which is corrupt as given in the mss: *prope prope me est ut dicit Cicero in Pisonem dixit. Item proximus Pompeium sedebam. Sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum propius grammatico accessi*. Keil corrects this as follows: *prope prope me est ut dicit*

hominem moveri, [verum] Crassum inire eam gratiam quam ipse praetermisisset, an esse tantas res nostras quae tam libenti senatu laudarentur, ab eo praesertim qui mihi laudem illam eo minus deberet quod meis orationibus, omnibus litteris, in Pompeiana laude perstrictus esset. 4. Hic dies me valde Crasso adiunxit, et tamen ab illo aperte tecte quidquid est datum libenter accepi. Ego autem ipse, di boni! quo modo ἐνεπερπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio! Si umquam mihi περίοδοι, si καμπαί, si ἐνθυμήματα,

Cicero (perhaps Fam. vii. 23, 4) * * item proximus Pompeium sedebam idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum. Sed et dativo casui iungitur propius grammatico accessi. At any rate, whatever the correction of the whole passage is, it seems likely that Diomedes read the accusative Pompeium; and when that appears to be also the reading of the Tornesianus, and to be the 'lectio difficilior,' it is very probable that it is the true reading: cp. Mil. 59 proximo deos accessit, and Tac. Ann. xv. 15, 6 proximus quisque regem.

verum] In the margin of M we find utrum; but no parallel can be found to such a construction as that word would introduce. So that Wesenberg and Mr. Macnaghten (Class. Rev. iii. 221) seem to be right in bracketing the word, as a dittography of *mo-veri*. Vahlen wishes to read *utrum crederet*, but this is too bold. The use of *an*, 'or was it,' is similar to that noticed on 8, 2.

meis orationibus, omnibus litteris] 'because by my speeches (the speeches for the Manilian Law and probably some of the orationes consulares) in my praise of Pompey, every letter of it, he was censured (every letter of my eulogy on Pompey was so much detraction from him)'. In these speeches Cicero ascribed to Pompey the credit of the victory over Spartacus which was really due to Crassus, so that the praise of Pompey was, omnibus litteris (totidem litteris, as we should now say), censure of Crassus. I would restore orationibus after meis from Rom. I do not think that Cicero would have said meis omnibus litteris, 'in all my writings,' when he must have been referring to his speeches only. This view of the meaning of litteris is strongly confirmed by a passage in 28, 2: Ἡρώδης, si homo esset, eum potius legeret quam unam litteram scriberet. Cp. also Plaut. Trin. ii. 2, 65 (345) pol pudere quam pigere praestat totidem litteris, 'every letter of it.'

Litteris, in this passage and in the text, is the ablativus mensurae as in multis partibus maior, Cic. N. D. ii. 92. See Draeg. Hist. Syn. i. p. 562. [However we look at this clause, there is exaggeration in it. I should prefer to adhere to the ms reading meis omnibus litteris, understanding it to mean 'in all my writings' (for this use of litterae cp. Fam. xv. 4, 12 (238) and other passages quoted by Madvig on Fin. i. 12), and supposing that Cicero exaggerated in attributing to 'all his writings' what was really true of only a few of his speeches.—L. C. P.]

4. ab illo aperte tecte] (1) 'whatever praise Pompey gave me openly or covertly I gladly received'; (2) or (with a comma after aperte and datum), 'I made my acknowledgment openly for every compliment he had covertly paid me.' The second rendering seems to be the best. Perhaps we might render 'with obvious guardedness,' comparing for tectus = 'guarded,' De Or. ii. 296; Fam. x. 8, 5 (833); Rosc. Am. 116: and for the double adverb palam secreto, Fam. viii. 1, 4 (192).

ἐνεπερπερευσάμην] 'vaunted myself (see 1 Cor. xiii. 4 ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται) before my new hearer'—Pompey, who had just returned from the East.

περίοδοι] 'well-rounded periods,' described by Cicero in Orator 20a.

καμπαί] a very probable conjecture for καρποί of the ms. It means 'easy transitions.' We have some remarkable instances of these in the transitions in the Georgics from the particular subjects of those poems to the general reflections with which Virgil concludes each book. Dr. Reid suggests τόποι: perhaps κοινοὶ τόποι.

ἐνθυμήματα] Quintilian, Inst. Or. v. 14, 2, defines this figure as imperfectus syllogismus, 'a syllogism without expressed conclusion'; it is of two kinds,

si κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa? Clamores. Etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis, de vilitate, de otio. Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros: tanti fuerunt ut ego eo brevior sim quod eos usque istinc exauditos putem. 5. Romanae autem se res sic habent: senatus Ἄρειος πάγος. Nihil constantius, nihil severius, nihil fortius. Nam cum dies venisset rogationi ex senatus consulto ferendae, concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae, duce filiola Curionis, et populum ut antiquaret rogabant. Piso autem consul, lator rogationis, idem erat dissuasor. Operae Clodianae pontis occupant: tabellae ministrabantur ita ut nulla daretur VTI ROGAS. Hic tibi in rostra Cato advolat, convicium Pisoni

ex consequentibus probatio et ex repugnantibus probatio. The term *enthymema*, he tells us, is by some applied to the latter kind of argument alone. He illustrates it by two passages from the Milo: eius igitur mortis sedetis ultores cuius vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis, and (as a more elaborate example) quem igitur cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querela? quem iure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune, non est ausus, nunc iniuria, alieno loco, cum periculo capitis, non dubitavit occidere? This is very much what we should call effective antithesis, or an antithetic style. See Reid on Sull. 32.

κατασκευαί] In Quintil. Inst. Or. ii, 4, 18, ἀνασκευαί and κατασκευαί are opposed to each other as *destructive* and *constructive* arguments. We cannot find any authority for Gronovius' assertion that κατασκευαί means 'figures of speech'; κατασκευή is a *device, trick*, in Aeschines; but technically in logic Dion. Hal. and Quintilian give it the sense of *constructive* (as opposed to *destructive*) reasoning.

suppeditaverunt] The comma is rightly placed by most editors after *suppeditaverunt*: cp. 22, 3 *iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu*; though Klotz, ed. 2 Praef. p. lii, wishes to put the comma after *κατασκευαί*. Perhaps, however, we should read in 22, 3 *fuerit, fuit*; and here *si unquam . . . suppeditaverunt, suppeditaverunt illo tempore*.

sonitus nostros] 'how I can thunder.' tanti] 'so loud were my thunders that I may be briefer in my description of them, as I fancy you must have heard

them even from where you are' (Epirus). Rossini, after the first appearance of *I Puritani*, writing to a friend in Bologna, says: 'As to the duet *Suoni la tromba* I need tell you nothing. You must have heard it.' A hyperbole like *omnibus litteris* above.

5. Ἄρειος πάγος] 'a perfect Areopagus for dignity.'

barbatuli iuvenes] 'with small beards'; the beard had just begun to grow, and they did not shave, as Fashion prescribed in Rome at this time. The followers of Catiline are described as *imberbis aut bene barbatus* (Cat. ii. 22), that is, too young to have a beard, or else guilty of the foppishness of letting it grow and trimming it, so as to make it ornamental.

filiola Curionis] *filiola* as being *pudicitiae suae prodigus*, Vell. Pat. ii. 48, 3. Cp. *Pediatia*, Hor. Sat. i. 8, 39.

VTI ROGAS] The voting tickets marked v. r. (*uti rogas*, 'as you propose') were for the bill; those against it were marked A. (*antiquo*, 'I reject'). Pontes were the passages leading from the *saepta*, where the people were massed with a view to voting, into the *ovilia*, where they voted. Hence *intro vocare tribus*; cp. Lange, Röm. Alt. ii³. 488.

Hic tibi] 'then you have Cato flying to the rostrum.' For the dative, cp. Att. viii. 8, 2 (339); vii. 19 (317); Rosc. Am. 133; Rep. vi. 17. *Tibi* is also ethical dat. in Att. iv. 2, 4 (91), where see note. Müller adds *in* before *rostra*. No word is more frequently omitted in the mss, as Müller shows.

convicium] This is the reading of the

consuli mirificum facit, si id est conviciium, vox plena gravitatis, plena auctoritatis, plena denique salutis. Accedit eodem etiam noster Hortensius, multi praeterea boni. Insignis vero opera Favoni fuit. Hoc concursu optimatum comitia dimittuntur: senatus vocatur. Cum decerneretur frequenti senatu, contra pugnante Pisone, ad pedes omnium singillatim accidente Clodio, ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, homines ad xv Curioni nullum senatus consultum facienti adsenserunt: ex altera parte facile cccc fuerunt. Acta res est. Fufius tribunus tum concessit. Clodius contiones miserabiles habebat in quibus Lucullum, Hortensium, C. Pisonem, Messallam consulem contumeliose laedebat: me tantum 'comperisse omnia' criminabatur. Senatus et de provinciis praetorum et de legationibus et de ceteris rebus decernebat ut ante quam rogatio lata esset ne quid ageretur. 6. Habes res Romanas. Sed tamen etiam illud quod non speraram audi. Messalla consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator. Ille alter uno vitio minus vitiosus quod iners, quod somni plenus, quod imperitus, quod ἀπρακτότατος, sed voluntate ita καχέκτης ut Pompeium post illam contionem in qua ab eo senatus laudatus est odisse coeperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnis a se bonos alienavit. Neque id magis amicitia Clodi adductus fecit quam studio perditarum rerum atque partium. Sed habet sui similem in magistratibus praeter Fufium neminem. Bonis utimur tribunis pl., Cornuto vero Pseudo-

margin of M. The Tornesianus (Z) has *commulcium*: M has *commulticium*; but in the next line both M and Z have *commultium*. O. E. Schmidt (Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros ad Att. &c., p. 347) proposes to read *commulcium*, and supposes that it is a somewhat vulgar word like 'thrashing,' 'trouncing.' We may also refer to Lambinus on Plaut. Merc. 59. Two of his mss there give *commulcium* for what appears in the inferior mss as *convitium*. This may be right. If the phrase (*facere commulcium*) was elsewhere attested, we should not hesitate to accept it here.

Curioni] the father, not the son, mentioned above, who was not of senatorial age.

nullum . . . facienti] 'who was for having no decree.'

Fufius tribunus tum concessit] This is the conjecture of Manutius for *tertium*

concessit. Graevius would correct to *territus concessit*. But there is a special force in *tum*. Fufius then yielded, but reserved himself till the bill should be brought before the *comitia*, when he could interpose his *veto*. A good reading would be *Fufius tum concessit*; and this is what Cicero wrote, in the opinion of H. A. J. Munro. He thinks that *tertium* arose from *num*, a miswriting of *tum*. For Fufius, see note to 16, 1.

comperisse] See note on 18, 2.

6. *Ille alter*] 'The other (Piso) is the less mischievous by reason of one vice, his laziness, sluggishness, and incapacity. He is a mere *fainéant*, but in principles such a *mauvais sujet*, that,' &c. For a closely similar expression, cp. Tac. Hist. i. 56, *socordia innocens*, of Hordeonius Flaccus, and Ann. xiv. 51, *segnis innocentia*, of Faenius Rufus.

Cornuto] 'In Cornutus we have a

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Catone. Quid quaeris? 7. Nunc ut ad privata redeam, Τεῦκρις promissa patravit. Tu mandata effice quae recepisti. Quintus frater, qui Argiletani aedifici reliquum dodrantem emit HS DCCXXV, Tusculanum venditat, ut, si possit, emat Paclianam domum. Cum Luceo in gratiam redii; video hominem valde petiturire; navabo operam. Tu quid agas, ubi sis, cuius modi istae res sint fac me quam diligentissime certiozem. Idibus Febr.

21. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 15).

ROME; MARCH 15TH; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero scribit Q. fratri Asiam provinciam obtigisse: petit ut Atticus curet ut id sibi et fratri laudi sit: litteras ab Attico exspectat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Asiam Quinto, suavissimo fratri, obtigisse audisti: non enim dubito quin celerius tibi hoc rumor quam ullius nostrum litterae nuntiarint. Nunc quoniam et laudis avidissimi semper fuimus et praeter ceteros φιλέλληνες et sumus et habemur et multorum odia atque inimicitias rei publicae causa suscepimus, παντοίης

second-rate Cato. Can I say more? This is the meaning of *quid quaeris* at the end of a sentence. At the beginning it means 'to be brief.' *Pseudo-Catone* is contemptuous. Cornutus might be called 'Cato's Saneho,' as M. Favonius is called by Mommsen, if with Mommsen we recognised in Cato a Don Quixote. Cp. *Pseudo-Damasippus*, Fam. vii. 23, 3 (126).

7. *patravit*] 'Teucris has made good her part of the bargain,' has given the money for past and future services of Cicero as an advocate. We may suppose that Cicero reserves the question whether he will perform the *reliqua* of which he speaks above, 18, 3.

Quintus] 'Quintus, who has bought the remaining three-fourths of the house in Argiletum for 725,000 sesterces (about £6000), is trying to dispose of his Tusculan estate.'

Argiletani] *Argiletum* was the publishers' street, the Paternoster-row of Rome. The word is supposed to be derived from *argilla*, 'clay.'

reliquum] He had inherited one-fourth. *in gratiam redii*] 'I have made it up with Luceius; I see he is set on the consulship.' So Wesenberg and Madvig read for *redi* of the mss; the change is very slight. Cicero is fond of coining desideratives: for instance, *Sullaturit*, 'he longs to play the Sulla,' 'he is bent on a *coup d'état*,' Att. ix. 10, 6 (365); and *proscripturit*, 'he is set on a proscription,' *ibid*.

1. *παντοίης*] We see by the next letter (§ 14) that Atticus had thought of going to Asia with Quintus, but had given up the idea; at which Cicero expresses his regret, as he fears the effects of his brother's harshness of temper, if he had not a judicious adviser like Atticus at hand. At this time Cicero seems to have thought that Atticus would accompany his brother. These words are taken from Hom. II. xxii. 268. We should probably in the like case say, 'gird up your loins.' Quotations from Homer,

ἀρετῆς μινῆσκεο, curaque et effice ut ab omnibus et laudemur et amemur. 2. His de rebus plura ad te in ea epistula scribam quam ipsi Quinto dabo. Tu me velim certiolem facias quid de meis mandatis egeris atque etiam quid de tuo negotio. Nam ut Brundisio profectus es nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae. Valde aveo scire quid agas. Idibus Martiis.

Wiel. Ip. 175

22. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 16).

ROME; JULY; A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero exponit de turpitudine iudicii quo P. Clodius absolutus sit: tum scribit de statu rei publicae et quem ad modum ipse cum iudices P. Clodi et M. Pisonem tum P. Clodium sententia sua et altercatione in senatu conciderit: dein de suo statu, de expectatione comitiorum, de itinere Attici in Asiam constituto, de eiusdem epigrammatis in Amaltheo positus et aliis privatis negotiis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quaeris ex me quid acciderit de iudicio quod tam praeter opinionem omnium factum sit, et simul vis scire quo modo ego minus quam soleam proeliatum sim: respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς. Ego enim, quam diu senatus auctoritas mihi defendenda fuit, sic acriter et vehementer proeliatum sum ut clamor concursusque maxima cum mea laude fierent. Quod si tibi um-

which are frequent in the letters, are best translated by parallel passages from our ballad poetry, when they can be found; as, for instance, in Att. iv. 7, 3 (111) δ' οὐκ ἐμπάξεται μύθων, 'little he recked my rede.'

2. ut] 'since,' a frequent usage in the letters and in the comic drama, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 114.

1. quid acciderit de iudicio] 'what can have befallen the trial of Clodius, to bring about such an unexpected verdict?' (as his acquittal). Quod is the conjunction. With this letter should be read Seneca, Epist. 97.

ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς] Cicero puts two questions into the mouth of Atticus, and says he will first answer the latter question, according to the figure ὕστερον πρότερον, which is so much used

by Homer. He had, possibly, in his mind the Homeric use of the figure ὕστερον πρότερον in such phrases as γαμέοντί τε γεινομένῳ τε (Od. iv. 208); but it is more probable that Cicero uses these words to describe the art by which Homer in medias res Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit. Thus the Odyssey introduces Ulysses in the tenth year of his wanderings in the island of Calypso, and his previous adventures are related in subsequent books. Cp. ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homericō a mediis vel ultimis, Quintil. vii. 10, 11; succurrit quod praeterieram et quidem sero, sed quamquam praepostere, reddetur: facit hoc Homerus, Plin. Epp. iii. 9, 28.

senatus auctoritas] ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam.

ut clamor] 'that crowds rallied round me with shouts of enthusiastic applause.'

quam sum visus in re publica fortis, certe me in illa causa admiratus esses. Cum enim ille ad contiones confugisset in iisque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur, di immortales! quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi! quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem, in totam illam manum feci! quo modo sum insectatus levitatem senum, libidinem iuventutis! Saepe, ita me di iuvent! te non solum auctorem consiliorum meorum verum etiam spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum desideravi. 2. Postea vero quam Hortensius excogitavit ut legem de religione Fufius tribunus pl. ferret, in qua nihil aliud a consulari rogatione differebat nisi iudicium genus—in eo autem erant omnia—pugnavitque ut ita fieret, quod et sibi et aliis persuaserat nullis illum iudiciis effugere posse, contraxi vela perspiciens inopiam iudicium, neque dixi quidquam pro testimonio nisi quod erat ita notum atque testatum ut non possem praeterire. Itaque si causam quaeris absolutionis, ut iam πρὸς τὸ πρότερον revertar, egestas iudicium fuit et turpitudine. Id autem ut accideret, commissum est Hortensi consilio qui, dum veritus est ne Fufius ei legi intercederet quae ex senatus consulto ferebatur, non vidit illud, satius esse illum in infamia relinqui ac

di immortales! . . . edidi] Ribbeck notices that this is a trochaic tetrameter if *et* is omitted; and it has that boastful and mock-heroic tone that a comic parasite would adopt.

senum] *Senum* refers especially to Piso and Curio the elder; *iuvenum* especially to Curio the younger. Piso showed his *levitas* by being *lator rogationis* and *idem dissuasor* (20, 5); Curio (the elder) on the same occasion by supporting Clodius, though usually Curio was regarded as one of the *boni*. In the same passage the *libido* of C. Scribonius Curio (the son) is hinted at in the words *duce filiola Curionis*.

2. *excogitavit ut . . . ferret*] ‘conceived the policy of letting Fufius bring in his bill.’ For Fufius see 16, 1, note.

iudicium genus] The only difference between the bill of the consul and the bill of Fufius was that the former enacted that the praetor should choose the jury, the latter that they should be taken by lot in the ordinary way from the *album iudicum*. Cicero says everything depended on this. The mistake of Hortensius was that he thought so clear was the guilt of Clodius that no panel could acquit him, ‘that

any sword, were it even a leaden one, would be sharp enough to cut his throat.’ ‘The object,’ says Mr. Greenidge (*Legal Procedure*, p. 387), ‘in proposing this mode of selection was clearly to ensure a conviction on the pretence of securing the purity of the court. As such, it was rightly resisted.’

inopiam] their *neediness* and consequent accessibility to bribes.

neque dixi quidquam] Cicero confined himself to upsetting the *alibi* of Clodius, by deposing that he had seen Clodius in Rome three hours after the time when, according to his oath, he was in Interamna, about eighty miles distant.

πρὸς τὸ πρότερον] Cicero having now replied to the second question, *quomodo ego minus quam solem proeliatus sim*, proceeds to the first question, namely, the reason of the unexpected issue of the trial.

in infamia relinqui ac sordibus] If Fufius had interposed his *veto*, the trial could not have proceeded; but Clodius would have been left under suspicion (*in infamia*), and in the mourning garb of a *reus* (*in sordibus*).

sordibus quam infirmo iudicio committi. Sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret. 3. Sed iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu, sic uti nunc ex eventu ab aliis, a me tamen ex ipso initio consilium Hortensi reprehendatur. Nam ut reiectio facta est clamoribus maximis, cum accusator tamquam censor bonus homines nequissimos reiceret, reus tamquam clemens lanista frugalissimum quemque secerneret, ut primum iudices consederunt, valde diffidere boni coeperunt. Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit. Maculosi senatores, nudi equites, tribuni

diceret] 'since he said no weapon could be too blunt to cut his throat'; *diceret* is a somewhat peculiar case of *virtual oblique subjunctive*: see Roby, 1722, Mayor on Phil. ii. 7, and 10, 3, *diceret*.

3. *Sed iudicium . . . exitu*] For the ellipse of *fuit*, see note on 20, 4.

reiectio] When the *iudices* were chosen by lot in the ordinary course out of those qualified to act, both accuser and accused had the right to *challenge* (*reicere*) a certain number of *iudices*. On *reiectio* at this time, see Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 440.

accusator] L. Lentulus, consul in 705 (49).

tamquam clemens lanista] A kind-hearted trainer of gladiators (say the commentators) would put aside the most respectable of his men, and select the lowest, when called to furnish combatants for the deadly pastimes of the circus. This is the ordinary explanation, but what then would be the use or ultimate purpose of these more respectable gladiators? If they never fought they could never earn the *rudis*, the badge of their discharge. So the *clemens lanista* would have been merely deferring the appearance of the gladiator in the circus. We believe the passage refers to the conduct of the *lanista* when he is buying slaves or captives as materials for the *ludus*. He shows his *kindness* by passing over the more respectable, and only buying the lowest in rank for the purposes of his bloody trade.

ludo talario] Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 41) rightly takes these words as not referring to a 'gambling-house' or 'hell,' but on the somewhat strange ground that *aleatores tesseras ludebant non talis*. He explains that *talarius* means the same thing as *talaris*, 'reaching to the ankles,' and

holds that *ludus talarius* is a low sort of musical or dramatic entertainment, in which the performers wore a long *stola* reaching to the ankles: cp. Off. i. 150 and Quintilian xi. 3, 58 *Quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scaenica? . . . Quid vero movendis affectibus contrarium magis quam . . . fori sanctitatem ludorum talarium licentia solvere?*

Maculosi] 'under a stigma': cp. *avaritia et libidine foedum et maculosum*, Tac. Hist. i. 7. But Cicero may mean here a *ensoribus notati*; for he distinctly tells us (Cluent. 121) *praetores urbani, qui iurati debent optimum quemque in selectos iudices referre, nunquam sibi ad eam rem censoriam ignominiam impedimento esse oportere duxerunt*.

nudi] 'beggared,' 'destitute': cp. Flacc. 51, where there is a play on this meaning of the word, *quem tu, . . . quoniam te nudus delectaverat, semper nudum esse voluisti*.

tribuni] There is, I am convinced, only one way of importing any meaning into this sentence, which is obelised. Read *tribuni non tam aerarii, ut appellantur quam aerati*. He refers to the *tribuni aerarii*, or 'paymasters,' who at this time, by the law of Aur. Cotta, 684 (70), formed the third order from which the jury panels were taken, the other two being the *senatus* and *equites*. Cicero, playing on the words, says they deserved better to be called *tribuni aerati* than *tribuni aerarii*. The word *aerati* means *bribed*. So we may translate, 'not on this occasion so much paygivers (as they are usually styled) but paytakers.' Having characterised the senate and the knights, he naturally characterises the third order of judges. *Aerati*, in the sense of *bribed*, is not found elsewhere; but neither is it found elsewhere in the

†non tam aerati quam ut appellentur aerarii.† Pauci tamen boni inerant quos reiectione fugare ille non potuerat, qui maesti inter sui dissimilis et maerentes sedebant et contagione turpitudinis vehementer permovebantur. 4. Hic, ut quaeque res ad consilium primis postulationibus referebatur, incredibilis erat severitas, nulla varietate sententiarum, nihil impetrabat reus, plus accusatori dabatur quam postulabat, triumphabat—quid quaeris?—Hortensius se vidisse tantum, nemo erat qui illum reum ac non miliens condemnatum arbitraretur. Me vero teste producto credo te ex

sense of *moneyed*; and this is the sense assigned to it in all the ordinary interpretations of this sentence. All the attempted explanations of the *vulgate* reading which I have obelised introduce an utterly foreign allusion to the *aerarii* or degraded citizens who were *tribuni moti*. My reading was long ago put forward by Muretus; but I had so arranged and explained the passage long before I found that I could quote the authority of that scholar on my side. It must, indeed, have occurred to many others, it seems so obvious. And what could be more pointless than the *vulgate* reading, *non tam aerati quam, ut appellentur, aerarii?* ‘tribunes cashiered rather than rich in cash.’ If I were forced to give some meaning to these words, I would rather, with Turnebus, take *aerarii* in the sense of ‘bribed,’ as *nummarii* (§ 8), ‘deserving only too well their ordinary name *aerarii*, though in a very different sense.’ [I think this is the right interpretation. As we often find *nummatus* in the sense of a ‘moneyed’ man (e.g. Rull. ii. 59; Hor. Ep. i. 6. 38), and *nummarius* in the sense of ‘venal,’ ‘bribed’ (§ 8, Cluent. 75), so Cicero, wishing to get a play of language on *tribuni aerarii*, used the latter word as if it were formed like *nummarii* in the sense of ‘venal,’ and coined *aerati* on the analogy of *nummati* in the sense of ‘moneyed.’ We might translate: ‘not so much moneyed as, what their name indicates, moneyers,’ i.e. dealers in (receivers of) money. This view, suggested by Turnebus (Adv. ix. 1), is well supported by Vahlen in Hermes xxvi. (1891) 161–165.—L. C. P.]

maesti . . . et maerentes] This strange distinction is passed over by the commentators. But Cicero never uses words rashly. *Maesti* seems to refer rather to

the sorrow shown by the looks and general aspect, *maerentes* to sorrow expressed in words. *Maestitia* is applied to the complete neglect of ornament in speech, *severitas et orationis quasi maestitia*, Orator 53; and *maeror* is applied to spoken grief in De Orat. ii. 196: *cum C. Marius maerorem orationis meae . . . adiuvaret*. In Orator 74 *maereret* follows *maestus* (if that is the right reading) to express a higher degree of grief, *pictor ille vidit cum immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, maestior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari*: but probably we should read *tristior*, cp. Quintil. ii. 13, 13. In our present passage Madvig suggests *mirantes* for *maerentes*.

contagione turpitudinis] ‘contact with infamy’: cp. Lucr. iii. 740, *neque consensus* (gen.) *contagia fiunt*.

4. *primis postulationibus*] The preliminary proceedings, like the Greek ἀνάγκη, such as applications for the production of witnesses, and so forth.

quid quaeris] Müller would place these words before *nemo*; perhaps rightly.

reum ac non] ‘no one supposed that he could be put on his trial without being condemned a thousand times over,’ or (perhaps better) ‘no one looked on him as if he were on his trial, but rather as if he were already convicted a thousand times over.’

Me vero] ‘on my appearance as a witness, when the supporters of Clodius began to hoot, you must have already heard how the jury rose in a body to protect me.’ Some suppose that there is here the same hyperbole as in 20, 4, *usque istinc exauditores putem*, but there is no ground for the notion: cp. *credo te audisse*, 17, 3; 19, 3.

acclamatione Clodi advocatorum audisse quae consurrectio iudicum facta sit, ut me circumsteterint, ut aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint. Quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est quam aut illa cum iurare tui cives Xenocratem testimonium dicentem prohibuerunt aut cum tabulas Metelli Numidici, cum eae, ut mos est, circumferrentur, nostri iudices aspicere noluerunt; multo haec, inquam, nostra res maior. 5. Itaque iudicum vocibus, cum ego sic ab iis ut salus patriae defenderer, fractus reus et una patroni omnes conciderunt. Ad me autem eadem frequentia postridie convenit quacum abiens consulatu sum domum reductus. Clamare praeclari Ariopagitae se non esse venturos nisi praesidio constituto. Refertur ad consilium: una sola sententia praesidium non desideravit. Defertur res ad senatum: gravissime ornatissimeque decernitur: laudantur iudices: datur negotium magistratibus: responsurum hominem nemo arbitrabatur.

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, . . .

ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε.

Nosti Calvum, †ex Nanneianis illum, †illum laudatorem meum,

tui cives] the Athenians. They must be playfully called the fellow-citizens of Atticus, in allusion to his name and long residence at Athens. Atticus certainly was not an Athenian citizen; for he would then have ceased to be a Roman citizen, *nos non possumus et huius esse civitatis et cuiusvis praeterea* (Balb. 29). Nepos says that Atticus refused Athenian citizenship. We have a passage in Cicero, Att. vi. 6, 2 (276) *non enim ista largitio fuit in civis sed in hospites liberalitas*; but this does not mean that the Athenians were *cives* of Atticus, but only that Atticus' gift of corn was not a largess to the Athenians considered as fellow-citizens, but an act of generosity to them considered as his entertainers.

Xenocratem] The same story is told by Cicero in Balb. 12; but there Xenocrates is referred to as *quidam*. The Roman jurors disliked a display of Greek learning by an advocate.

Metelli Numidici] See Balb. 11. Q. Metellus Numidicus, cons. 645 (109), who conducted the war against Jugurtha, was tried for misappropriation of public money, probably after his propraetorship (some say after his return from Africa).

Tabulae are the accounts of public moneys handled by him in his governorship.

5. *fractus*] 'smashed'; so below, § 8. *fregi*, 'I smashed him.'

Ariopagitae] compare above (20, 5), *senatus* Ἀρείος πάγος; but here the word is ironical.

una sola sententia] 'there was only one vote to the effect that the body-guard was unnecessary.'

Ἔσπετε] Hom. II. xvi. 112, 113.

Calvum] It is certain that Crassus is referred to. He may have been bald, and have been called Calvus as a nickname. But of the meaning of *ex Nanneianis illum* we have no conception. It is amusing to find the guess of Manutius given by commentators, as if it had any authority: 'He was nicknamed Calvus because he bought the property of one Nanneius (or Nannius, ep. Ép. 12, 9), a Sullan proscrip, and as purchaser gave in his name as Licinius Calvus.' Such is the note of one commentator on this passage, and nearly all the others are to the same effect. We know that Crassus did buy the goods of Sullan proscrip, and that among these proscrip was Nanneius: but why Crassus should therefore be called 'one of the

de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram. Biduo per unum servum et eum ex gladiatorio ludo confecit totum negotium, arcessivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Iam vero—o di boni, rem perditam!—etiam noctes certarum mulierum atque adolescentulorum nobilium introductiones non nullis iudicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt. Ita, summo discessu bonorum, pleno foro servorum, xxv iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt ut, summo proposito periculo, vel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia, xxxi fuerunt quos fames magis quam fama commoverit. Quorum Catulus eum vidisset quemdam: 'Quid vos' inquit 'praesidium a nobis postulabatis? an ne nummi vobis eriperentur timebatis?' 6. Habes, ut brevissime potui, genus iudicii et causam absolutionis. Quaeris deinceps qui nunc sit status rerum et qui meus. Rei publicae statum illum, quem tu meo consilio, ego divino confirmatum putabam, qui bonorum omnium coniunctione et auctoritate consulatus mei fixus et fundatus videbatur, nisi quis nos deus respexerit, elapsum seito esse de manibus uno hoc iudicio, si iudicium est triginta

Nanneians'—why, above all, he should be so called here, where the Sullan transaction is quite irrelevant, and whether 'one of the Nanneians' would have conveyed to Atticus the meaning 'one of the purchasers of the goods of the proscribed Nanneius'—all these are very difficult questions to answer. The guess of Manutius, that he gave in his name as Licinius Calvus, should not for a moment have been accepted as an interpretation. Turnebus conjectured *ex Naevianis* (sc. laudatoribus) *illum laudatorem meum*, referring to the well-known line of Naevius: *Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro*. This is certainly ingenious; but we cannot help thinking that if Cicero meant to say, even ironically, that Crassus was a *laudatus vir* with reference to the line of Naevius, he would have said *Naevianum*, and not *ex Naevianis*. It is far more philosophical to give the riddle up. But we agree with Boot that some Greek word written (as is usual in these letters) in Roman characters gave rise to *ex Nanneianis*. Perhaps *Calvum*, too, is corrupt. Possibly *callidum illum, illum laudatorem meum* is what he wrote: see 20, 3. Crassus is put forward as a type of the *callidus* in *Fin. ii. 57*. See *Adn. Crit.* Crassus was not very scrupulous about the cases which he under-

took to defend: cp. *Sall. Cat. 48, 8 ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio rempublicam conturbaret*.

promisit] sc. interpres; *intercessit* sequester; *dedit* divisor.

noctes] cp. 51, 3 *noctem et nocturnam deprecationem*, where there is clearly an allusion to the intrigue between Caesar and Servilia, mother of M. Iunius Brutus, for which see *Suet. Iul. 50*.

summo discessu] 'a complete disappearance,' like *ἐπίλειψις σαφής* in *Thuc. ii. 50*.

quos fames] 'in whom poverty was a stronger motive than principle.'

timebatis] Cobet (*Mnem. viii. 454*, and *Var. Lect. 475*) may be right in bracketing this word as a gloss. The sentence is doubtless more elegant without it. Cobet quotes *Sen. Ep. 97, 6*, who gives the same *mot* in the same words, omitting *timebatis*. But *Plut. Cic. 29* seems to favour the retention of the word 'ὅμεις' εἶπεν 'ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ῥήσασθε τὴν φυλακὴν, φοβοῦμενοι μή τις ὁμῶν ἀφέληται τὸ ἀργύριον.'

6. *auctoritate*] 'influence.'
elapsum . . . de manibus] 'slipped through our fingers.' Cp. *rempublicam funditus amisimus*, *Ep. 53, 15*; *e manibus amisisti praedam*, *Plaut. Mil. 457*.

homines populi Romani levissimos ac nequissimos nummulis acceptis ius ac fas omne delere et, quod omnes non modo homines verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant, id Thalnam et Plautum et Spongiam et ceteras huius modi quisquilias statuere numquam esse factum. 7. Sed tamen, ut te de re publica consoler, non ita ut sperarunt mali, tanto imposito rei publicae vulnere, alacris exsultat improbitas in victoria. Nam plane ita putaverunt, cum religio, cum pudicitia, cum iudiciorum fides, cum senatus auctoritas concidisset, fore ut aperte victrix nequitia ac libido poenas ab optimo quoque peteret sui doloris quem improbissimo cuique inusserat severitas consulatus mei. 8. Idem ego ille,—non enim mihi videor insolenter gloriari cum de me apud te loquor, in ea praesertim epistula quam nolo aliis legi,—idem, inquam, ego recreavi adflictos animos bonorum, unum quemque confirmans, excitans. Insectandis vero exagitandisque nummariis iudiciis omnem omnibus studiosis ac fautoribus illius victoriae *παρησίαν* eripui, Pisonem consulem nulla in re consistere umquam sum passus, desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi, senatum ad pristinam suam severitatem revocavi atque abiectum excitavi, Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu cum oratione perpetua plenissima gravitatis tum altercatione huius modi, ex qua licet pauca degustes. Nam cetera non possunt habere eandem neque vim neque venustatem, remoto illo studio contentionis quem *ἀγῶνα* vos appellatis. 9. Nam, ut Idibus Maiis in senatum convenimus, rogatus ego sententiam multa dixi de summa re publica, atque ille locus inductus a me est divinitus, ne una plaga accepta patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent: vulnus esse eius modi quod mihi nec dissimulandum nec pertimescendum videretur, ne aut *metuendo ignavissimi aut ignorando stultissimi* iudicaremur: bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam, hunc tertium iam esse a iudiciis in rem publicam

Thalnam] Fictitious names to indicate the low origin of the judges; as we might say, 'Hodge, Nokes, and Styles.'

8. *aliis legi*] 'to be read to others': cp. Att. xvi. 13, 1 (802); Fam. ix. 1, 1 (456). 'To be read by others' would be 'ab aliis legi.'

omnem . . . παρησίαν] 'I left them not a word to say,' 'I did not leave them the right of speech.'

consistere] *Consistere* is said of one who stands firm and awaits the onset of the enemy. 'I did not leave him a place for the sole of his foot': cp. Quinct. 5 *veritas . . . locum ubi consistat reperire non poterit. vos*] 'you Athenians.' See note on § 4.

9. *divinitus*] 'by a happy inspiration,' or (merely) 'with wonderful effect': cp. 48, 6.

of 1/1/2
280

or, in Clod.
et Cuius, h.
p. 381

immissum. "Erras, Clodi: non te iudices urbi sed carceri reservarunt, neque te retinere in civitate sed exsilio privare voluerunt. Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, erigite animos, retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in re publica bonorum consensio: dolor accessit bonis viris, virtus non est imminuta: nihil est damni factum novi sed quod erat inventum est. In unius hominis perditu iudicio plures similes reperti sunt." 10. Sed quid ago? paene orationem in epistulam inclusi. Redeo ad altercationem. Surgit pulchellus puer, obicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse. Falsum, sed tamen quid hoc? 'Simile est,' inquam, 'quasi dicas in operto fuisse.'—'Quid,' inquit, 'homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis?'—'Narra,' inquam, 'quid patrono tuo qui Arpinatis

immissum] 'let loose on the Commonwealth.'

exsilio privare] for if condemned he could have gone into exile.

dolor accessit] 'the well-affected have now the added stimulus of indignation, and their courage is not less than before.'

10. *in epistulam inclusi*] See note on 19, 5.

pulchellus] an allusion to the family name, Pulcher, which seems to have been unsuitable to him, as we may judge from the fragment of Cicero's orat. in Clod. et Curion. (p. 337, 3, Orelli) *sed credo postquam speculum tibi adlatum est longe te a pulchris abesse sensisti.*

ad Baias fuisse] What Clodius twits him with is his having a villa in Baiæ, as we may gather from orat. in Clod. (p. 334). See on 35, 2. It was a place to which very respectable people would not go. Schmidt says it is as if we reproached a person with being at Monte Carlo.

Falsum] These words are addressed to Atticus: 'A falsehood—but what of that?' *hoc* is the reading of Cratander's margin, and of the codices of Lambinus and Bosius. The Italian mss read *huic*. 'What was that to him?' Bosius gives *salsum* for *falsum*, and Lambinus suggests *Factum*.

in operto] an allusion to the concealment of Clodius in the house of Caesar during the rites of the Bona Dea. Clodius taunts Cicero with frequenting the fashionable and dissipated Baiæ. Cicero replies, 'you make as much of it as if you were charging me with having been at the mystic rites of the Bona Dea.' *In operto*

is apparently especially applied to the rites of the Bona Dea, as in Parad. iv. 32 *familiarissimus tuus de te privilegium tulit ut, si in opertum Bonae Deae accessisses, exsulares.*

patrono] C. Scribonius Curio the elder is here referred to. He had in the Sullan proscription bought the villa of Marius at Baiæ. Probably this estate was called *aquae marinae*: see orat. in Clod. et Cur. (p. 335, 6), *nec enim respexit illum ipsum patronum libidinis suae non modo apud Baias esse verum eas ipsas aquas habere quae gustu tamen* (Boot *rustici atque*: or perhaps better *agrestis tamen*: cp. p. 334, 19) *Arpinatis fuissent.* The reading *Marianus* would be an improvement, but *marinas* is quite intelligible. *Aquae* means medicinal springs. See (in the or. already quoted 334, 16) *ne in suis quidem praediis liceat esse valetudinique servire*; they are called *marinae*, because they were on the sea-coast. I have introduced *quid* into the sentence on my own conjecture. It might easily have fallen out after *inquam*, and it seems that the sentence requires it. 'What business,' says Clodius, 'has an Arpinate like you with warm baths?' 'Tell me,' replies Cicero, 'what business has your patron, who cast a covetous eye on the *aquae marinae* of Marius, an Arpinate?' 'Tell your patron' would be unmeaning. What was there to tell? [It might perhaps mean 'make that statement to your patron,' implying 'that charge would be applicable to him.'—L.C.P.] 'Ask your patron' is what is required, and that sense is given by the insertion of *quid*. *Narra* is often used thus to introduce a rhetorical or ironical question,

aquas concupivit?' Nosti enim marinas.—'Quousque,' inquit, 'hunc regem feremus?'—'Regem appellas,' inquam, 'cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?' Ille autem Regis hereditatem spe devorarat.—'Domum,' inquit, 'emisti.'—'Putes,' inquam 'dicere, iudices emisti'—'Iuranti,' inquit, 'tibi non crediderunt.'—'Mihi vero,' inquam, 'xxv iudices crediderunt, xxxi, quoniam nummos ante acceperunt, tibi nihil crediderunt.' Magnis clamoribus adflictus conticuit et concidit. 11. Noster autem status est hic: apud bonos iidem sumus quos reliquisti, apud sordem urbis et faecem multo melius nunc quam reliquisti. Nam et illud nobis non obest, videri nostrum testimonium non valuisse: missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore atque etiam hoc magis quod omnes illi fautores illius flagiti rem manifestam illam redemptam esse a iudiciis confitentur: accedit illud quod illa contionalis *hirudo* aerari, misera ac ieiuna plebecula, me ab hoc Magno unice diligi putat, et hercule multa et iucunda consuetudine coniuncti inter nos sumus, usque eo ut nostri isti comissatores coniurationis, barbatuli iuvenes, illum in sermonibus Gnaeum Ciceronem appellent. Itaque et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandas *ἐπισημασίας* sine ulla *pastoricia* fistula auferebamus. 12. Nunc est exspectatio comitorum in quae omnibus invitis trudit noster Magnus Auli filium, atque in eo neque auctori-

Blutigel

Cic. u. Pomp.

L. Afranium, cos. 50

e. g. 34, 2, *Narra mihi: reges Armenii patricios resalutare non solent? Mihi* might also have fallen out after *inquam* or *narra*, but there is no need for it: cp. the precisely analogous use of the *indio*. in *narro tibi: Quintus cras* Att. xiii. 51, 2 (669): cp. 39, 1. *Nosti enim marinas* is addressed to Atticus.

Regem] Q. Marcius Rex was the husband of the sister of Clodius, to whom Rex left nothing in his will. See Sull. 21, 22, for the taunt against Cicero that he was a tyrant (*rex*).

Domum] 'You have invested in a house,' says he: 'one would fancy,' I replied, 'you were charging me with investing in a jury.'

crediderunt] 'gave you credit.'

concidit] 'broke down.'

11. *nostrum testimonium*] in disproof of Clodius' *alibi*.

missus est sanguis] 'the plethora of my unpopularity has thus as it were undergone depletion, and the operation

has been painless.' Cicero again takes a metaphor from this part of the surgeon's art in Att. vi. 1, 2 (252), *Appius cum ex ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curavit, sanguinem miserit*. Cp. also *totus mitti civilibus armis Usque vel in pacem potuit cruor*, Lucan vi. 299.

hirudo] 'the rabble, that is, the blood-sucker of the treasury, the wretched starveling mob.'

comissatores] 'those who conspire only over their wine-cups.'

ἐπισημασίας] 'tokens of popularity,' 'ovations' (Shuckburgh).

pastoricia fistula] 'cat-calls,' 'his-sing.' Muretus quotes Plat. Legg. 700 C. οὐ σόριγγε ἦν οὐδέ τινας ἄμουςοι βοὰ πλῆθους. Pipes were used to drown the voice of unpopular speakers, as were *sibili* also: see 46, 3.

12. *comitorum*] consular elections. For *A. filium*, see on 10, 2. After *exspectatio* MH have *in*, whence Goveanus conjectured *ingens*: but no word is more

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tate neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat in quæ modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere. Consul autem ille deterioris histrionis similis suscepisse negotium dicitur et domi divisores habere, quod ego non credo. Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt odiosa, quod in consulem facta putantur, Catone et Domitio postulante, unum, ut apud magistratus inquiri liceret, alterum, cuius domi divisores habitarent, adversus rem publicam. 13. Lurco autem tribunus pl. qui magistratum insimulatum lege Aelia iniit, solutus est et Aelia

frequently inserted without cause than *in*, and in the present case its intrusion was probably due to the adjacent *in*: cp. 20, 5.

Philippus . . . dicebat] See Mayor's note on *callidus emptor Olynthi*, Juv. xii. 47.

in quæ modo . . . posset ascendere] Cobet brackets these words. But Cicero at times explains his allusions; and it is not likely that a copyist would have composed such a well-expressed explanation with an idiomatic subjunctive.

deterioris] For *deterioris* of the mss Boot reads *Doterionis*, the conjecture of Bosius, supposing with him that this was a nickname given to one of the two actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whose services as agents Philip so largely used. Whichever of them he used as his bribery agent might well have been called *Δοτηριων*. And such a name would be most applicable to Piso, and would be relevant to the mention of Philip. But *deterioris histrionis* of the Med. may be explained to mean 'an actor of second parts,' for such an actor was always of an inferior position in his profession, as may be clearly gathered from Cic. Div. in Caec. 48 *ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus, saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarior dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat*. The stock actor was not allowed to outshine the 'star.' 'Piso the consul,' says Cicero, 'is playing second fiddle to Pompey in his intrigues for Afranius.' *δευτερογωνιστής* is used in this sense in Dem. De Fals. Leg. 344. *Deterioris histrionis* might also be explained 'an actor of a low class': we see, from Plaut. Amph. Prol. 67, that such actors employed *claqueurs*, *favitores*, and used indirect means to gain the public favour, as Piso used indirect means to further the candi-

dature of Afranius. Sternkopf has made a clever suggestion that perhaps *deterior* is the right reading. The word should be taken with *consul*, and would refer to Piso; cp. the contrast of the two consuls in 20, 6. But we must then understand *histrionis similis* to be 'who is like an actor,' and suppose the reference to be to the fact that Piso was *facie quam factiis ridiculus*, which seems to have little point.

unum] 'one that it might be lawful to search the houses of magistrates; another, that any magistrate in whose house bribery agents should be harboured should be held guilty of a state offence.'

13. *lege Aelia*] From the time of the Publilian laws, both patrician magistrates and tribunes had the right of taking the auspices. But neither party used them for political purposes, and so the authority remained dormant. It was roused into life again by the *Leges Aelia et Fufia*, 601 (153), which enacted that *obnuntiatio* should be confirmed both to patrician and to plebeian magistrates. It was especially important to patricians as a check to revolutionary attempts on the part of the tribunes, and as such it was regarded by Cicero (post red. in sen. 11; Vat. 18). This explains *insimulatum lege Aelia*. They further contained a clause that the *comitia* for elections should be finished before those for the passing of laws were held (Schol. Bob. 319, Orelli), and possibly that on days of election no *obnuntiatio* should be allowed. The irregularity of Lurco was that he proposed his law about bribery at the time of the *comitia* for elections. *Insimulatum* is 'impugned by,' and is the conjecture of Munro. Mr. A. C. Clark suggests *qui magistratus simultatem cum lege Aelia iniit*, the Aelia and Fufia being regarded as checks to the *tribunicios furores* (Vat. 18). See

et Fufia ut legem de ambitu ferret quam ille bono auspicio claudus homo promulgavit. Ita comitia in a. d. vi. Kal. Sext. dilata sunt. Novi est in lege hoc ut qui nummos in tribu pronuntiarit, si non dederit, impune sit, sin dederit, ut quoad vivat singulis tribubus HS CIC CIC CIC debeat. Dixi hanc legem P. Clodium iam ante servasse: pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare. Sed heus tu! videsne consulatum illum nostrum quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, †fabam mimum† futurum? Qua re, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis, et istos consula-

Addenda to the Commentary, Note ii; and also Adn. Crit.

bono auspicio] When Cicero says *ille bono auspicio claudus homo promulgavit*, he does not mean that a proposal by a lame man was contrary to the auspices in a sense that would make it illegal (though, perhaps, according to the rigour of the law in ancient times this may have been the case); but simply that it was 'unlucky.'

Novi] The new feature in his bill was that *promising* (*pronuntiarit*) was not punishable, but *paying* the money was punished by a heavy fine.

fabam mimum] 'mere child's play.' Mr. Watson explains thus:—'A joke like the election of a king at the Saturnalia when the boys elected a king, using beans to vote with, "A twelfth-night Royalty": cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 59, *Pueri ludentes "rex eris" aiunt*.' This is the reading of both the Tornesianus and Medicean; but *fabam mimum*, a 'bean-play,' cannot be acquiesced in without further knowledge. Orelli suggested *Famam mimum*, a farce, supposing its name to have been *Fama*; but these attempts rest on a passage of Seneca, and are very forced. The passage from Seneca (*Ludus* 9) *Olim magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecistis* is of course exactly parallel; but it gives no help as regards the explanation. Passerat proposed *Afranii mimum*, referring to the comic poet Afranius. Sternkopf reads *Famam mimum*: he thinks that the Bean, the symbol of what was insignificant, was the title of a mime, and compares *Laserpiciarius mimus* (Petron. 35). O. E. Schmidt emends both passages to *fatuum mimum*: and Otto reads *faná mimum* in the passage from Cicero. Perhaps *fabam* should be *fabulam*, and *mimum* was a gloss on *fabulam*. The sentence would thus

mean 'the rank enjoyed by us consulars, which Curio used to call a deification, will be a by-word.' Cp. *cinis et manes et fabula fies*, Pers. v. 152. If *mimum* were one of those *interlinear* glosses which are found in mss, it would account for the corruption of *fabulam* to *fabam*. The passage from Persius just quoted suggests *fabulas manes* (see Orelli on Hor. Carn. i. 4, 16) or *fabulam et manes* or *fabulam manium*, which would make a good antithesis to ἀποθέωσιν. *Fabulam* is 'scandal' in Ep. 12, 54. *Mimum futurum* in the sense of 'would be a mere farce' would be post-Ciceronian, though *mimus* is thus used by Suetonius. Hofmann reads *fabae hilum*, comparing Plaut. Aul. v. 1, 10 (818), where Festus explains *hilum* as *quod grano fabae adhaeret*. An able reviewer of the 1st ed. of this volume in the *Athenaeum* suggests that *mimum* is the word which Cicero wrote, *fabulam* being a bad gloss; he thinks that the allusion is to Afranius' talent for dancing; for this see Dio xxxvii. 49, 3 ὀρχεῖσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἠπίστατο. But the most ingenious emendation of this passage is suggested by Mr. Brooks, of Trinity College, Dublin. Gronovius, in a note on Plaut. Aul. v. 1, 10 (818), says that there was a certain worm called *mida* found in beans: when this was found by boys, *solebant exsultare ac velut triumphum agere*. We cannot find any authority for Gronovius' statement except a similar statement by Lambinus; but the word is found in a strange superlative form in Virgilius the grammarian, who has *midissimus* = 'very tiny'; and the word is distinctly recognized as a rare word by Theophr. de causis plantarum iv, 15, 4 σηπόμενον δὲ ἕκαστον γεννᾶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας βγρότης, οἶον οἱ μὲν πυροὶ καὶ αἱ κριθαὶ τοὺς κίας, ὁ δὲ κίαμος τὸν ὑπὸ τινα καλούμενον μίδα. *Fabae midam* would give a very

tus non flocci facteon. 14. Quod ad me scribis, te in Asiam statu-
 isse non ire, equidem mallet ut ires, ac vereor ne quid in ista re
 minus commode fiat. Sed tamen non possum reprehendere con-
 silium tuum, praesertim cum egomet in provinciam non sim
 profectus. 15. Epigrammatis tuis quae in Amaltheo posuisti
 contenti erimus, praesertim cum et Thyillus nos reliquerit et
 Archias nihil de me scripserit, ac vereor ne, Lucullis quoniam
 Graecum poëma condidit, nunc ad Caecilianam fabulam spectet.
 16. Antonio tuo nomine gratias egi eamque epistulam Mallio
 dedi. Ad te ideo antea rarius scripsi quod non habebam idoneum
 cui darem nec satis sciebam quo darem. Valde te venditavi.
 17. Cincius si quid ad me tui negoti detulerit suscipiam. Sed
 nunc magis in suo est occupatus, in quo ego ei non desum. Tu,
 si uno in loco es futurus, crebras a nobis litteras exspecta: sed
 pluris etiam ipse mittito. 18. Velim ad me scribas cuius modi
 sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσία, et quae poëmata
 quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ habes ad me mittas. Lubet mihi
 facere in Arpinati. Ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam.
 Nihil erat absoluti.

apt sense:—‘The consulate will no longer
 be the object of rational ambition; as well
 henceforth might a man triumph among
 the boys at finding the insect in the bean,
 as direct his ambition towards the con-
 sulate.’

facteon] a verbal on the Greek model.

14. *ne quid*] ‘I fear if you do not go
 some unpleasantness will arise.’ He fears
 that Quintus, who was of a hasty temper,
 might take offence, and, still worse, act
 with undue violence in the province if he
 has not a wise counsellor like yourself at
 his side. See next Ep. § 1.

15. *Epigrammatis*] ‘The inscriptions’
 which Atticus wrote under the statues
 which adorned his Ἀμαλθεῖον. Cicero
 says he must be contented with the in-

scription placed by Atticus under his own
 statue, since Thyillus and Archias are not
 available. It was this Archias for whose
 citizenship Cicero pleaded before his
 brother Quintus as praetor in 692 (62).

Caecilianam fabulam] ‘I fear he is
 now turning his thoughts to the Caecilian
 drama,’ i. e. a poem on the Metelli who
 were of the gens *Caecilia*, with a play on
 the name of the old Latin poet Caecilius.

16. *venditavi*] ‘I sounded your praises
 to Antonius.’ The sentence separating
 these words from *Antonio* is merely
 parenthetical. O. E. Schmidt reads
Valeris te venditavi, i. e. the consul
 Valerius Messala.

18. *τοποθεσία*] see note to 13, 5.
facere] sc. an Amaltheum like yours.

23. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 17).

ROME; DECEMBER 5TH, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero de Q. fratris offensione et voluntate mutata erga Atticum exponit, causamque eius rei ipsam praesenti colloquio reservans adseverat de summo suo erga Atticum amore. Tum significat statum rei publicae et solutam paene coniunctionem senatus et ordinis equestris; de consiliis suis capessendae rei publicae, de Luceii aliorumque petitione consulatus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Magna mihi varietas voluntatis et dissimilitudo opinionis ac iudicii Quinti fratris mei demonstrata est ex litteris tuis in quibus ad me epistularum illius exempla misisti. Qua ex re et molestia sum tanta adfectus quantam mihi meus amor summus erga utrumque vestrum adferre debuit, et admiratione quidnam accidisset quod adferret Quinto fratri meo aut offensionem tam gravem aut commutationem tantam voluntatis. Atque illud a me iam ante intellegebatur quod te quoque ipsum discedentem a nobis suspicari videbam subesse nescio quid opinionis incommodae sauciumque eius esse animum et insedissee quasdam odiosas suspiciones; quibus ego mederi cum cuperem antea saepe et vehementius etiam post sortitionem provinciae, nec tantum intellegebam ei esse offensionis quantum litterae tuae declararant nec tantum proficebam quantum volebam. 2. Sed tamen hoc me ipse consolabar

1. *Magna*] Quintus had plainly given ear to some designing traducers of Atticus, as is clear from § 2, *quod erat illi non nullorum artificis inculcatum*. The quarrel did not arise from the fact that Atticus gave up his idea of going to Asia to meet Quintus; the words *antea saepe et vehementius post sortitionem provinciae* show that it was prior to Quintus' departure for Asia. However, Cicero fears that this change of plan on the part of Atticus may inflame the quarrel (cp. 22, 14), and professes himself (§ 7 of this letter) ready to bear witness that Atticus had given in writing to him his reasons for declining to go to the province; so that his refusal to accompany Quintus was due to no rupture between them. From § 3 of this letter

we gather that the misunderstanding was not due to any bad feeling between Quintus and his wife Pomponia, the sister of Atticus, though Cicero thinks the good offices of Pomponia might have been used to heal the wound. Cicero expressly says he will not entrust to a letter his theory of the cause of the quarrel, *facilius possum existimare quam scribere*, and thinks it has more ramifications than appear, *latius patet quam videtur*.

opinionis incommodae] cp. in last Ep., § 14, *ne quid in ista re minus commode fiat*.

insedissee] governs *animum*, understood. O. E. Schmidt justly draws attention to the fine sense of *humanitas* shown in the first half of this letter.

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quod non dubitabam quin te ille aut Dyrrachi aut in istis locis uspiam visurus esset. Quod cum accidisset, confidebam ac mihi persuaseram fore ut omnia placarentur inter vos non modo sermone ac disputatione sed conspectu ipso congressuque vestro. Nam quanta sit in Quinto fratre meo comitas, quanta iucunditas, quam mollis animus ad accipiendam et ad deponendam offensio- nem, nihil attinet me ad te qui ea nosti scribere. Sed accidit perinecommode quod eum nusquam vidisti. Valuit enim plus quod erat illi non nullorum artificiiis inculcatum quam aut offi- cium aut necessitudo aut amor vester ille pristinus qui plurimum valere debuit. 3. Atque huius incommodi culpa ubi resideat facilius possum existimare quam scribere. Vereor enim ne, dum defendam meos, non paream tuis. Nam sic intellego ut nihil a domesticis vulneris factum sit, illud quidem quod erat eos certe sanare potuisse. Sed huiusce rei totius vitium quod aliquanto etiam latius patet quam videtur praesenti tibi commodius expo- nam. 4. De iis litteris quas ad te Thessalonica misit et de sermonibus quos ab illo et Romae apud amicos tuos et in itinere habitos putas, eequid tantum causae sit ignoro, sed omnis in tua posita est humanitate mihi spes huius levandae molestiae. Nam, si ita statueris, et irritabilis animos esse optimorum saepe homi- num et eosdem placabilis et esse hanc agilitatem, ut ita dicam, mollitiamque naturae plerumque bonitatis et, id quod caput est, nobis inter nos nostra sive incommoda sive vitia sive iniurias esse tolerandas, facile haec, quem ad modum spero, mitigabuntur. Quod ego ut facias te oro. Nam ad me qui te unice diligo maxime

2. *mollis*] 'susceptible,' 'impression- able,' 'sensitive.'

3. *sic intellego ut*] 'my view is that they can repair the breach, *but only if* no wound has been inflicted by those of your own household. *Sic . . . ut* followed by subj. can only have this *restrictive* mean- ing; *ita . . . ut* is far commoner in this sense.

domesticis] the plural is used to soften down the remark by making it more vague. He refers to Pomponia. So above, *meos* refers to Quintus, *tuis* to Pomponia.

4. *eequid*] 'As to his letters from Thessalonica, and his remarks to certain friends of yours at Rome and on his jour- ney, I do not know whether there was

any real ground (to justify such language on his part); but my whole hope of mitigating this unpleasantness lies in your kindness.' Boot follows Orelli in his explanation of the words *eequid tantum causae sit*, 'I do not see what there is in his letters to justify such annoyance on your part'; but this is quite incon- sistent with the next sentence, *sed omnis . . . molestiae*; and Cicero has already owned in the first words of this letter that Quintus had shown a very unfriendly spirit in his correspondence with Atticus.

esse hanc agilitatem] 'that this nimble- ness and sensitiveness of disposition is generally the sign of a good heart.'

pertinet neminem esse meorum qui aut te non amet aut abs te non ametur. 5. Illa pars epistolae tuae minime fuit necessaria in qua exponis quas facultates aut provincialium aut urbanorum commodorum et aliis temporibus et me ipso consule praetermiseris. Mihi enim perspecta est ingenuitas et magnitudo animi tui, neque ego inter me atque te quidquam interesse umquam duxi praeter voluntatem institutae vitae, quod me ambitio quaedam ad honorem studium, te autem alia minime reprehendenda ratio ad honestum otium duxit. Vera quidem laude probitatis, diligentiae, religionis neque me tibi neque quemquam antepono, amoris vero erga me, cum a fraterno amore domesticoque discessi, tibi primas defero. 6. Vidi enim, vidi penitusque perspexi in meis variis temporibus et sollicitudines et laetitia tuas. Fuit mihi saepe et laudis nostrae gratulatio tua iucunda et timoris consolatio grata. Quin mihi nunc te absente non solum consilium quo tu excellis sed etiam sermonis communicatio quae mihi suavissima tecum solet esse maxime deest—quid dicam? in publicane re, quo in genere mihi neglegenti esse non licet, an in forensi labore quem antea propter ambitionem sustinebam, nunc ut dignitatem tueri gratia possim an *in* ipsis domesticis negotiis? in quibus ego cum antea tum vero post discessum fratris te sermonesque nostros desidero. Postremo non labor meus, non requies, non negotium, non otium, non forenses res, non domesticae, non *publicae*, non privatae carere diutius tuo suavissimo atque amantissimo consilio ac sermone possunt. 7. Atque harum rerum commemorationem verecundia saepe impedivit utriusque nostrum. Nunc autem ea fuit necessaria propter eam partem epistolae tuae per quam te ac mores tuos mihi purgatos ac probatos esse voluisti. Atque in ista incommoditate alienati illius animi et offensi illud inest tamen commodi quod et mihi et ceteris amicis tuis nota fuit et abs te aliquanto ante testificata tua voluntas omittendae provinciae, ut, quod una non estis, non dissensione ac discidio vestro sed voluntate ac iudicio tuo factum

5. *voluntatem institutae vitae*] 'the paths we chose in life.'

probitatis] This and the following genitives are *genitivi definitivi*, 'in real glory (which consists in) honesty,' &c.: cp. Mur. 23 *aliis virtutibus continentiae gravitatis iustitiae fidei*: so Tusc. i. 34 *mercedem gloriae* is 'the reward (which

consists) of glory': Madv. § 286; Draeg. Hist. Syn. ², p. 466.

cum a fraterno . . . discessi] 'in affection towards me, after that of my brother and family, I place you first.' Cp. Fam. i. 9, 18 (153), vi. 12, 2 (490). Nearly similar is Off. ii. 6 *cum ab hoc discendi genere discesseris*.

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esse videatur. Qua re et illa quae violata expiabuntur et haec nostra quae sunt sanctissime conservata suam religionem obtinebunt. 8. Nos hic in re publica infirma, misera commutabilique versamur. Credo enim te audisse nostros equites paene a senatu esse disiunctos: qui primum illud valde graviter tulerunt, promulgatum ex senatus consulto fuisse ut de eis qui ob iudicandum accepissent quaereretur. Qua in re decernenda cum ego casu non adfuissem sensissemque id equestrem ordinem ferre moleste neque aperte dicere, obiurgavi senatum, ut mihi visus sum, summa cum auctoritate et in causa non verecunda admodum gravis et copiosus fui. 9. Ecce aliae deliciae equitum vix ferendae! quas ego non solum tuli sed etiam ornavi. Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt questi sunt in senatu se cupiditate prolapsos nimium magno conduxisse: ut induceretur locatio postulaverunt. Ego princeps in adiutoribus atque adeo secundus: nam ut illi auderent hoc postulare Crassus eos impulit. Invidiosa res, turpis postulatio et confessio temeritatis. Summum erat periculum ne, si nihil impetrassent, plane alienarentur a senatu. Huic quoque rei subventum est maxime a nobis perfectumque ut frequentissimo senatu

7. *Qua re et illa*] 'The rupture between you and Quintus will be healed; and the ties between us which have been so religiously guarded will remain as sacred as ever.' The last words might be more accurately rendered 'will make good their former sanctity': that is, 'I shall be able, with your other friends, to assure Quintus that your declining a place in his retinue is not due to any ill feeling, but is in consequence of a resolution already formed by you and communicated to us. This will heal the quarrel, and be a new proof of our good feeling for you.'

8. *ob iudicandum*] We have not ventured to read with Klotz *ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accepissent*, as 27, 8. Cicero uses *accipere* absolutely in the sense of 'to take offerings or bribes.' Cp. Att. v. 21, 5 (250), Ep. 30, 13, and Index.

in causa non verecunda] 'considering my case was not a very respectable one.' *Non verecunda* is selected as being an expression conveying somewhat less than *impudens*, which he afterwards applied to the same case (27, 8). Cp. De Or. ii. 361, habetis sermonem . . . hominis utinam non *impudentis*, illud quidem certe, *non nimis verecundi*.

9. *deliciae*] 'piece of coolness (swagger,

presumption) on the part of the knights.' Cp. 27, 8 *quid impudentius?*

Asiam] *Asiani* of the Med. would mean 'Asiatics'; *Asiatici* is the word which would be applied to the Equites who farmed the taxes of Asia. But *Asiani* of the M is probably a corruption of *Asiam*, as Malaspina suggested.

ut induceretur] 'cancelled.' The Greek word is *διαγράφειν*, 'to draw a pen through' a document.

atque adeo] 'I was their leader, or rather the second; for it was Crassus who urged them to demand the cancelling of the contract.' For *atque adeo* in this sense, cp. Att. xv. 13, 3 (795) *Quod ad te antea atque adeo prius scripsi (sic enim mavis)*, and other examples given in the Index. To this should be added a good example of this use of *atque adeo* in Pis. 41, *tunc etiam atque adeo vos*; and an excellent example from Plautus, Cas. 366-8, which we owe to the late Professor A. Palmer:—

CZ. Tibi daretur illa? *St.* Mihi enim—Ah non id volui dicere
Dum mihi volui, huic dixi—*atque adeo*
mihi dum cupio—perperam
Iamdudum hercle fabulor.

et libentissimo uterentur, multaque a me de ordinum dignitate et concordia dicta sunt Kal. Decembr. et postridie. Neque adhuc res confecta est sed voluntas senatus perspecta. Unus enim contra dixerat Metellus consul designatus, atque erat dicturus—ad quem propter diei brevitatem perventum non est—heros ille noster Cato. 10. Sic ego conservans rationem institutionemque nostram tueor, ut possum, illam a me conglutinatam concordiam, sed tamen, quoniam ista sunt tam infirma, munitur quaedam nobis ad retinendas opes nostras tuta, ut spero, via, quam tibi litteris satis explicare non possum, significatione parva ostendam tamen. Utor Pompeio familiarissime. Video quid dicas. Cavebo quae sunt cavenda ac scribam alias ad te de meis consiliis capessendae rei publicae plura. 11. Lucecium scito consulatum habere in animo statim petere: duo enim soli dicuntur petituri. Caesar cum eo coire per Arrium cogitat et Bibulus cum hoc se putat per C. Pisonem posse coniungi. Rides? Non sunt haec ridicula, mihi crede. Quid aliud scribam ad te? quid? Multa sunt, sed in aliud tempus. *Si expectare velis*, cures ut sciam. Iam illud modeste rogo, quod maxime cupio, ut quam primum venias. Nonis Decembribus.

11. *cum eo*] Lucecius the historian. Three letters of Cicero to him are still extant, one of which is very famous, viz. Fam. v. 12 (109). The following story, from Suetonius (Iul. 19), with reference to this candidature of Lucecius for the consulship, may be quoted: *E duobus consulatus competitoribus Lucio Lucecio Marcoque Bibulo Lucecium sibi adiunxit (Caesar), pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, nummos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret. Qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordii et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantumdem pollicendi, ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e republica fieri.*

cum hoc] Lucecius again: *cum hoc* would seem to refer to Caesar, but this is impossible; for the agency of Piso would not have been used by Bibulus to secure the co-operation of Caesar, who was on the worst possible terms with Piso at the time (Sall. Cat. 49).

Si expectare velis] M omits *si*; Klotz inserts it after *expectare*, but it would more easily have fallen out after *tempus*. The meaning is, 'if you intend to remain absent from Rome till you hear from me again (to wait for this fuller letter), let me know.' *Expectari si velis*, which is sometimes read, would mean 'if you wish me to stay in Rome till you return thither.' Cicero, we find, visited the country in the beginning of the year. He was desirous of timing his return so as to be at Rome when Atticus arrived there. But the expression is unusually condensed; so that perhaps the addition of some words is desirable, e.g. *Tu fac ut quando nos te*, as Wesenberg suggests; or *Quo nos te tempore*, as conjectured by O. E. Schmidt.

modeste] of the mss is absolutely required by the need of an antithesis to *maxime*. Orelli, with Manutius and Lambinus, reads *moleste rogo* = 'I beseech you even to importunity.' The question between *modeste* and *moleste* again arises in 27, 9.