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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

Letters of the ninth year of Cicero's correspondence, epp. 24-30

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LETTERS OF THE NINTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 24-30.

A. U. C. 694 ; B. C. 60 ; AET. CIC. 46.

COSS. Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CELER, L. AFRANIUS.

THE letters of this year trace the course of the dissolution of that *ordinum concordia* which was the political aspiration of the *optimates* under Catulus and Cicero, who announces himself as the successor of Catulus on his death, which took place this year. Cicero complains (24, 3), 'Ille annus duo firmamenta rei publicae per me unum constituta evertit: nam et *senatus auctoritatem* abiecit et *ordinum concordiam* disiunxit.' The causes of this are to be found in the obstinate conservatism of Cato, and the unhappy position of Pompey with regard to his soldiers, to whom he had promised grants of land. To obviate the latter source of disunion, Cicero defended the Agrarian Law of Flavius, but without success. The Equites, already offended by the laws passed against judicial corruption and by the failure of their attempt to bring about the cancelling of the contract for farming the taxes of Asia, in which they found themselves unable to carry out their estimate, were further alienated by the perseverance of Cato, whose views Cicero describes as Utopian. The party of Hortensius and Lucullus Cicero contemptuously styles 'fish-fanciers,' as they seem to have abandoned politics and devoted themselves to the formation of aquariums. Cicero accordingly betrays symptoms of a desire to seek a coalition with Pompey, for which Atticus is

disposed to take him gently to task (*mollī brachio obiurgat*, 27, 6). The other topics of the letters of this year are the early and unsuccessful attempts of Clodius to become a plebeian, so as to be eligible for the tribunate; the rumours of war in Gaul; and an analysis of the advantages of a coalition with Caesar on the formation of the First Triumvirate. Cicero ultimately pronounces against such a step (29, 3), on the ground that it would be inconsistent with the spirit of his poem on the consulship (which he probably wrote this year), and of a memoir (*ὑπόμνημα*) of the same eventful year in Greek, which, he tells us, Posidonius thought so good, that he said he would hesitate to treat the same subject in Greek himself after it had been so well handled by Cicero.

The only other literary production of this year was his revision of an early translation of the 'Prognostica' of Aratus. His version of this poem possibly supplied materials to both Virgil and Lucretius.

The most remarkable letter of 694 (60) is his first letter to his brother Quintus (30), which is an Essay on Provincial Administration, probably suggested by his brother's 'Manual of Electioneering Tactics' (12).

Cicero visited the country in the beginning of the year, spending some time in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, but soon returning to Rome. On the Kalends of June he left Rome for Antium, but returned to the city at the end of the year. Atticus appears to have remained for some time at one of the Arpinate villas of Q. Cicero (Arcanum or Laterium) on his return from Epirus.

24. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 18).

ROME; JANUARY 20TH, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero queritur sibi deesse quicum libere quae sentiat communicet, cum Q. frater absit et a se etiam Atticus frustra maximo opere desideretur: de domesticis sollicitudinibus et de miserrimo rei publicae statu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil mihi nunc scito tam deesse quam hominem eum quocum omnia quae me cura aliqua adficiunt uno communicem: qui me amet, qui sapiat, quicum ego ita loquar ut nihil fingam, nihil dissimulem, nihil obtegam. Abest enim frater ἀφελίστατος et amantissimus. Metellus non homo sed

litus atque aër et solitudo mera!

Tu autem qui saepissime curam et angorem animi mei sermone et

1. *uno*] So Müller for *una* of the mss; *uno* is probably right, though its position is somewhat unusual.

ita loquar ut] Boot is perhaps right in understanding these words to be (like the immediately subsequent description of Metellus) a quotation from some poet; reading, with Peerlkamp, *ut mecum* for *ita*, we should have a troch. tetr. cat.—

— qui me amet, qui sapiat, quicum ego ut mecum loquar,

and *nihil fingam . . . obtegam* would be Cicero's explanation of *ut mecum loquar*.

ἀφελίστατος] 'ingenu, open-hearted.' He is thus contrasted with Metellus.

Metellus] I do not see why this passage should be regarded as corrupt. Cicero says, 'you and Quintus are away; and Metellus, whom I see more than anyone else (as may be gathered from the expression, *socio laborum*, applied to him in *Sest.* 131) is as unsociable as "sea-shore or waste of sky or deserts idle,"' quoting, no doubt, these last words from some lost poet. In § 4 of the next letter, he says in a most emphatic way, *Metellus est consul sane bonus, et nos admodum diligit*, so that but for his unsocial character Metellus might have

been a fair substitute for Quintus or Atticus. See also note on 26, 5. As to the extravagance of the metaphor, (1) it is a quotation from poetry, as is shown by its metre, for it has a cretic rhythm (Sternkopf wishes to read *aeres*, so as to make the second foot a cretic); (2) *non homo sed* is precisely the phrase used in connexion with a violent metaphor, as in *non hominem sed scopas solutas*, *Att.* vii. 13 b, 2 (308): *Catull.* 115, 8 *non homo sed vero mentula magna minax*, and often in Petronius, e.g. 38 *phantasia non homo*; 44 *piper non homo*. *Non homo sed* introduces a disparaging criticism: so on no arrangement of the passage can it be made to refer to Quintus. Moreover, the mention of some person of high position like Metellus is demanded by the words below, *nam illae ambitiosae . . . non habent*, 'for such unreal and political friendships (sc. as I have referred to) confer a sort of *éclat* before the world, but are not a source of any private and personal enjoyment.' [The objections to *Metellus* are (1) that it is unlikely that Cicero would introduce his name without adding *consul*, or at all events some other description; (2) Metellus does not seem to have been on terms of such intimate friendship with Cicero that his name

consilio levasti tuo, qui mihi et in publica re socius et in privatis omnibus conscius et omnium meorum sermonum et consiliorum particeps esse soles, ubinam es? Ita sum ab omnibus destitutus ut tantum requietis habeam quantum cum uxore et filiola et mellito Cicerone consumitur. Nam illae ambitiosae nostrae fucosaeque amicitiae sunt in quodam splendore forensi, fructum domesticum non habent. Itaque, cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus amicorum descendimus, reperire ex magna turba neminem possumus quocum aut iocare libere aut suspirare familiariter possimus. Qua re te exspectamus, te desideramus, te iam etiam arcessimus: multa sunt enim quae me sollicitant anguntque, quae mihi videor auris nactus tuas unius ambulationis sermone exhaurire posse. 2. Ac domesticarum quidem sollicitudinum aculeos omnis et scrupulos occultabo,

would be introduced in connexion with Quintus and Atticus. The statement in § 4 *Metellus . . . nos amat*, and 25, 4 *Metellus . . . nos admodum diligit*, would seem to mean no more than that friendly business relations existed between him and Cicero. I cannot bring myself to believe that *Metellus* is sound.—L. C. P.] Madvig (A. C. iii. 167) reads *mei Tullius*, supposing the reference is to the Tullius mentioned in Att. viii. 11 B, 4 (327). Ribbeck (Frag. Trag., p. 258) reads *mei*; *alius*. Sternkopf suggests *mei: ille* (sc. Pompeius). Matthiae for *Metellus* in this passage reads *En! tellus*, 'see what a world I am living in,' which seems to be utterly bad Latin. Schütz conjectures *mei, et nunc domus est 'litus &c.'* O. E. Schmidt reads *mei: ellus* (= *en ille*), i.e. lo! you, 'he (sc. Quintus) as absent is not a man. With him I can converse as little as with sea and sky.' Wesenberg rewrites the passage with a most perverted ingenuity: for *Metellus* he reads *Me tellus!* and supposes these, as well as the following words, to belong to the poetical quotation, which would thus run (with, be it observed, a false quantity in *aer*)—

*Me tellus! Non homo est, sed litus atque aer
Et solitudo mera.*

These are supposed by him to be words put into the mouth of Philoctetes in Lemnos by Accius in a tragedy on the subject. *Me tellus* (sc. *devoret*) is defended, he thinks, by *τότε μοι χάνοι* in Q. Fr.

iii. 9, 1 (160); and Philoctetes is supposed to call on the earth 'to gape open wide and eat him quick,' because he finds himself deserted and alone with the elements. Certainly nothing but the complete absence of auditors could excuse Philoctetes for such an unintelligible ellipse as *Me tellus* (sc. *devoret*).

tantum . . . consumitur] This is a careless expression for *requietem habeo tantum temporis quantum consumitur*, 'I find ease only during that time which I spend.' Cp. 26, 7 *quod . . . temporis datur*.

ambitiosae . . . amicitiae] A very brilliant reviewer of the 1st ed. of this volume, in the *London Times*, Aug. 14, 1880, thus renders this passage:—'My public friendships, like rouged beauties, are brilliant in a sort of way before the world, but give me no private enjoyment; and so, when my house has been crowded with its morning levée, and I have gone down to the forum with a whole retinue of friends, I cannot find in the whole through a single person with whom I can joke freely, or whisper as to an intimate.'

bene completa] Cp. *prima salutantes atque altera continet hora*, Mart. iv. 8, 1.

reperire] From this word to *visus est et talis*, almost the last words of the next letter, we lose the guidance of the Med., some leaves of the ms being lost.

2. *domesticarum . . . sollicitudinum*] "Perhaps from debt, or from a suspicion (afterwards realised) that Clodius was plotting his ruin," says Schütz. Perhaps rather from both causes. *Aculei* would

neque
Atque
tame
requie
tame
ut ea
exclam
post p
fabula
candae
profud
sed sp

refer to
dus: ep
rm, co
1, 1 (98)
ep. 31,
ullus sit
In re
factory
been p
Sternkop
and Leo
tamen v
cino effe
vulus, i
facere, n
kopf co
eius epy
nulari v
red. ad Q
hoc uic
fuit cu
certainly
raah to
sugges
certainly
others,
parallel
on this
quanguo
tas, tam
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remedia
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which is
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Adn. Cri
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neque ego huic epistulae atque ignoto tabellario committam. Atque hi—nolo enim te permoveri—non sunt permolesti sed tamen insident et urgent et nullius amantis consilio aut sermone requiescunt. In re publica vero quamquam animus est praesens †tamen voluntas etiam atque etiam ipsa medicinam efficit.† Nam, ut ea breviter quae post tuum discessum acta sunt colligam, iam exclames necesse est res Romanas diutius stare non posse. Etenim post profectionem tuam primum, ut opinor, introitus fuit in causam fabulae Clodianae, in qua ego nactus, ut mihi videbar, locum reseccandae libidinis et coercendae iuventutis, vehemens fui et omnis profudi viris animi atque ingeni mei, non odio adductus alicuius, sed spe non corrigendae sed sanandae civitatis. 3. Adfecta res

refer to the attacks made on him by Clodius: cp. *fuere non nulli aculei in Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium*, Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1 (93); *scrupulos* would refer to money: cp. 31, 1 *nummi potius reddantur quam ullus sit scrupulus*.

In re publica vero . . . efficit] No satisfactory correction of this sentence has been proposed. The best is that of Sternkopf (Elberfeld Progr. 1889, p. 19) and Leo (Ind. lect. Gotting. 1892, p. 10) *tamen vulnus etiam atque etiam ipsa medicina efficit*; though the expression *efficere vulnus*, instead of the simple and ordinary *facere*, seems somewhat strange. Sternkopf compares Post red. in sen. 9 *nec enim equissem medicina consulari, nisi consulari vulnere concidissem*; similarly, Post red. ad Quir. 15; and De Domo 12 *si tu in hoc ulcere tamquam inguen existeres, nonne fuit eo maior adhibenda medicina? Ipsa certainly refers to res publica*; but it is rash to expel *voluntas* as a gloss. We suggest the following correction, which certainly suits the context better than the others, and can call to its aid a very parallel passage not yet brought to bear on this difficulty:—*In re publica vero quamquam animus est praesens et voluntas, tamen etiam atque etiam ipsa medicinam effudit*: cp. 36, 1 *qui omnia remedia rei publicae effuderunt*. *Animus* and *voluntas* are attributes of the Republic which is personified, as is clearly shown by the words *ipsa medicinam effudit*. See Adn. Crit.

causam fabulae] ‘the Clodian scandal,’ Mr. Pretor renders, so as to avoid the confusion of metaphors, which Orelli and Koch would respectively remedy by

changing *causam* to *scenam* or *caveam*. We believe, however, that Cicero purposely used *introitus in causam* to indicate what we would express by saying, ‘the Clodian drama was the first that made its entry on the stage of public discussion.’ *Causa* is simply ‘a topic, or definite, practical subject of discussion’: cp. Top. 79 *Quaestionum duo sunt genera, alterum infinitum, definitum alterum; definitum est quod ὑπόθεσις Graeci, nos causam, appellamus; infinitum quod illi θέσις, nos propositum*. So in De Inv. i. 8, he defines *causam* as *rem quae habeat in se controversiam in dicendo positam cum personarum certarum interpositione*. *Fabula* is undoubtedly ‘a drama.’ Cicero is very prone to the use of the words in this sense, e.g. *Staienus . . . istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam*, pro Cluent. 84; *non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam confecissem*, Phil. ii. 34. So De Sen. 64 and 70. *Fabula* is, however, used for ‘scandal’ by Q. Cicero above, 12, 54.

reseccandae] a vox propria of the medical art; cp. Cat. ii. 11 *quae sanari poterunt . . . sanabo, quae reseccanda erunt*, &c. Cp. Soph. Aj. 581 *θρηνείν ἐκφῶδας πρὸς τομῶντι πῆματι*.

fui] Klotz reads *flavi* ‘ex cod. Crat.’; but as we have no confirmation of this statement, and are not quite sure to what codex Klotz refers, we have adhered to the ms reading, the more so as Cicero does not appear to use *flare* in the sense required, though he does quote *φυσᾶ*, 43, 2, in a similar connexion. Quintilian, xii. 16, 3, has *omisso magno semper flandi tumore*.

sed spe non] Here Klotz follows Rom.

publica est empto constupratoque iudicio. Vide quae sint postea consecuta. Consul est impositus is nobis quem nemo praeter nos philosophos aspicere sine suspirio posset. Quantum hoc vulnus? Facto senatus consulto de ambitu, de iudiciis, nulla lex perlata, exagitatus senatus, alienati equites Romani. Sic ille annus duo firmamenta rei publicae per me unum constituta evertit: nam et senatus auctoritatem abiecit et ordinum concordiam disiunxit. Instat hic nunc ille annus egregius. Eius initium eius modi fuit ut anniversaria sacra Iuventatis non committerentur. Nam M. Luculli uxorem Memmius suis sacris initiavit. Menelaus aegre id passus divortium fecit. Quamquam ille pastor Idaeus Menelaum solum contempserat, hic noster Paris tam Menelaum quam Agamemnonem liberum non putavit. 4. Est autem C. Herennius quidam tribunus pl. quem tu fortasse ne nosti quidem—tametsi potes nosse: tribulis enim tuus est, et Sextus, pater eius, nummos

Iens. Crat. and the Ravenna ms: and his reading gives a much more pointed sense than the vulgate: 'I thus spoke, not through spite against Clodius, but in the hope—I will not say of administering an alterative to the State, but—of effecting a radical cure of its disease.' He recurs to the metaphor from a diseased human organism which appears in *rescandae libidinis*. The vulgate is based on Z, which for *spe non* has *spero* or *spere*, and *et* for *sed*. It is *spe rei p. corrigendae et sanandae civitatis*. But *rei p.* is not at all necessary, and is ejected by Lambinus.

3. *constupratoque*] Cp. 22, 5.

Facto] For the *senatus consultum de ambitu*, see 22, 12; for that *de iudiciis*, 23, 8. *duo firmamenta rei publicae*] Here we have a very distinct statement of Cicero's political creed.

hic nunc ille] This is the reading of all the mss and edd. *Ille* is very unlikely to have been inserted by any copyist or gloss-writer, so it seems bad criticism to omit it. Klotz for *ille* reads *item*; but Boot (in ed. 1) points out that *ille* is the same as *talis* in Plaut. Capt. 593, where *illie hic* is *talis hic*, 'a man mad like him.' In Introduction ii. § 2, reference has been made to the great importance of a Plautine analogue, when a usage in the letters requires defence. [I should prefer to omit *ille* as having arisen from *ille annus* a few lines above. The Ravenna ms is said to omit *ille*.—L. C. P.]

Eius initium] The sacred rites of Iuventas were pretermitted this year, because Memmius initiated the wife of M. Lucullus into certain mysteries of his own (i. e. *stupravit*). The only plausible attempt to explain the *vis consequentiae* of this passage is made by Boot, who, quoting Liv. xxxvi. 36, 5, to show that it was a Lucullus who first dedicated the temple of Iuventas, suggests that the Luculli always presided at the sacred rites and games in honour of Iuventas, but this year declined to hold them on account of the domestic trouble of M. Lucullus. Memmius was curule aedile. It was to him that Lucretius addressed his poem.

Menelaus] 'The injured husband, M. Lucullus, divorced his wife. [But the modern Paris, Memmius, has acted even worse than the ancient, for] though the Paris of Ida treated with indignity only the husband (Menelaus), the modern Paris shows scant courtesy even to Agamemnon (i. e., the injured husband's brother.)' Not only did Memmius injure Menelaus (M. Lucullus) by his intrigue with his wife, but he injured Agamemnon (L. Lucullus, the brother of M. Lucullus) by resisting his claims to a triumph on his return from the East. *Liberum non putavit* is 'played him a scurvy trick,' 'did a knavish piece of work by him,' literally, 'did not treat him as a free man,' 'gave him a varlet's usage.'

4. *nummos*] His father was a bribery

vobis dividere solebat—is ad plebem P. Clodium traducit idemque fert ut universus populus in campo Martio suffragium de re Clodii ferat. Hunc ego accepi in senatu, ut soleo, sed nihil est illo homine lentius. 5. Metellus est consul egregius et nos amat, sed imminuit auctoritatem suam quod habet dicis causa promulgatum illud idem de Clodio. Auli autem filius, o di immortales! quam ignavus ac sine animo miles! quam dignus qui Palicano, sicut facit, os ad male audiendum cotidie praebeat! 6. Agraria autem promulgata est a Flavio, sane levis, eadem fere quae fuit Plotia. Sed interea πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὄναρ quisquam inveniri potest. Qui poterat, familiaris noster—sic est enim: volo te hoc scire—Pompeius togulam illam pictam silentio tuetur suam. Crassus verbum nullum contra gratiam. Ceteros iam nosti: qui

agent, *divisor*, and in this capacity used to pay out money to your tribe.

traducit] 'he is trying to transfer Clodium to the *plebs*' (by adoption).

idemque] 'and at the same time'; when *idem* means 'yet, nevertheless,' there is no copula.

ut universus] i.e., wishes to give the *adrogatio* or adoption to the *comitia centuriata*, though it was usually performed in the *comitia curiata*, Gell. v. 19, 6: cp. Gaius i. 99, with Poste's note.

Hunc] 'I gave him my usual reception in the senate, but the fellow is amazingly thick-skinned.'

5. *dicis causa*] 'Metellus is an excellent consul, and much attached to me, but he has lessened his weight by having made, as a mere matter of form, the same proposal (as Herennius made with deliberate design) about Clodium' (about giving the cognizance of Clodium's claim to the *comitia centuriata*). *Promulgatum habet* is a pregnant circumlocution for the perf.: cp. *inclusum habere*, Att. vi. 2, 8 (256); *cognitum*, Brut. 147; *deportatas*, 2 Verr. iii. 36; *domitas*, de Or. i. 194. *Habuerant leges promulgatas* occurs in Vat. 16. (There is a most elaborate article on *habere* with the perf. part. pass. in the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* ii. 372-343 by Ph. Thielmann.)

Dicis causa ('for form's sake,' 'for the sake of appearances') is the Greek *δῶτας* *ἕκαστι*: *dicis* is a genit. from the root *deik* of *deico*. Metellus did not see the significance of the bill of Herennius. Metellus opposed the bill when he saw its significance, which fact (not to refer to the

unnatural order of the words) puts out of court the reading of Schütz, *quod habere dicit causam promulgatum illud idem*.

miles] Perhaps an allusion to the fact that Afranius (cp. 10, 2, note) had been a lieutenant of Pompey in the East; but the contentions of the *comitia* are often alluded to by Cicero under military figures: cp., for example, 22, 1 minus quam soleam *proeliatum* sim . . . te quas ego *pugnans* et *strages* edidi . . . te spectatorem *pugnarum* desideravi.

Palicano] cp. 10, 2.

6. *Agraria . . . a Flavio*] See Addenda to the Commentary, Note iii.

πολιτικὸς] 'we have no one who has a conception, a dream, of what statesmanship is.' Or, perhaps, 'No one can point to, no one can even dream of, a real statesman.' *οὐδ' ὄναρ* = 'not even in a dream.'

togulam illam pictam] Boot quotes Vell. Pat. ii. 40, *Absente Cn. Pompeio T. Ampius et T. Labienus tribuni plebis legem tulerunt, ut is ludis Circensibus corona laurea et omni cultu triumphantium uteretur, scenicis autem praetexta coronaque laurea. Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit*. This bill was passed, 691 (b.c. 63). The words *et hoc sane nimium fuit* show how general was that feeling of contempt for the vanity of Pompey, which here betrays itself in the use of the diminutive form, *togula*: cp. note on 27, 8.

verbum nullum] Ellipse of *fecit*, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 2, 3 (150) *cum ille verbum nullum* (sc. *fecit*).

ita sunt stulti ut amissa re publica piscinas suas fore salvas sperare videantur. 7. Unus est qui curet constantia magis et integritate quam, ut mihi videtur, consilio aut ingenio, Cato: qui miseros publicanos quos habuit amantissimos sui tertium iam mensem vexat neque iis a senatu responsum dari patitur. Ita nos cogimur reliquis de rebus nihil decernere ante quam publicanis responsum sit. Qua re etiam legationes reiectum iri puto. 8. Nunc vides quibus fluctibus iactemur, et, si ex iis quae scripsimus tanta etiam a me non scripta perspicias, revise nos aliquando et, quamquam sunt haec fugienda quo te voco, tamen fac ut amorem nostrum tanti aestimes ut eo vel cum his molestiis pervenire velis. Nam ne absens censeare curabo edicendum et proponendum locis omnibus. Sub lustrum autem censi germani negotiatoris est. Qua re cura ut te quam primum videamus. Vale. xi Kal. Febr. Q. Metello L. Afranio coss.

7. *qui curet*] 'able to do good.'
legationes] The month of February was set apart for the receiving of foreign embassies.

8. *ex iis quae scripsimus tanta*] An attraction parallel to Att. xiii. 37, 4 (657) *de ceteris quae scribis ἀνεμοφθρητα*. The meaning is not exactly the same in *ex iis tantis quae scripsimus* and *ex iis quae scripsimus tanta*: the latter expression means, 'those topics which I have treated at such length,' 'with such emphasis'; the former would mean 'those important topics which I dwelt on in my letter.' Cicero wants here a neat phrase like our 'to read between the lines.' Mr. Pretor would omit *tanta*, because *tanti* occurs a few lines after. In the same way he treats *ille* above, § 3, and on the same grounds. This is rash. *Ille* in § 3, and *tanta* here, are exactly the sort of words to be omitted, though genuine, and exactly the sort of words *not* to be inserted *unless* genuine; for they make the passage more difficult, but admit of explanation on a careful view. Dr. Reid proposes *antea* for *tanta*.

quo] = *ad quae*.

pervenire] So the mss. Bosius, 'auctoribus antiquis libris,' reads *perfrui*.

ne absens censeare.] In early times the *incensus* was liable to arrest, imprisonment, and even loss of freedom or death: cp. Gaius i. 160; Livy i. 44, 1; Dionys. iv. 15; Cic. Caec. 99. According to late practice, as appears from this passage, the

citizen, who did not appear either in person or by his procurator, was rated by the censor's officers, and lost all power of objection to his rating. To prevent this in Atticus' case, Cicero put up placards everywhere (no doubt where Atticus had property or offices), notifying that the latter would not fail to appear for the census: see Mommsen, St. R. ii². 355. It appears to have become a practice for a Roman, if he found it convenient, to return himself at the census in a provincial town; but the practice was condemned in a speech of Scipio Africanus, delivered in 612 (142), and recorded by Gellius v. 19, fin. The force of *nam* is not clear at first sight. Cicero means 'come to see me; your business matters of course I shall look after, so do not think you must come for them.'

Sub lustrum] 'to have your name registered just before the lustration which closes the census is the part of too thorough-going a business-man.' Atticus was a knight who did a little money-lending, and not a regular *negotiator*. So it was not becoming in him to follow the example of persons regularly engaged in business, who made it a practice to register their property just before the close of the *census*, lest they should be entered as possessed of more or less than they really had. If he dealt in excisable articles, a tradesman would lose if the amount of his stock was overstated in the *census*; but if it was underrated, he might appear guilty of dishonesty.

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

ROME; MARCH 15, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

In summis occupationibus suis vult tamen M. Cicero Attico copiose et de rebus publicis et de privatis suis exponere. Et primum de rei publicae statu et imprimis de metu belli Gallici exponit, tum de rebus urbanis, maxime de lege agraria a Flavio tr. pl. proposita, dein significat de consilio suo in re publica inito et obtinendo, postea de negotio Attici ut a Sicyoniis pecuniam exigat per senatus consultum impedito scribit, tum de commentario consulatus sui Graece composito et Latine etiam nunc scribendo et de poemate eiusdem argumenti; addit de Q. fratre et Cossinio cui has litteras dabat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non modo si mihi tantum esset oti quantum est tibi, verum etiam si tam brevis epistulas vellem mittere quam tu soles, facile te superarem et in scribendo multo essem crebrior quam tu. Sed ad summas atque incredibilis occupationes meas accedit quod nullam a me volo epistulam ad te absque argumento ac sententia pervenire. Et primum tibi, ut aequum est civi amanti patriam, quae sint in re publica exponam: deinde, quoniam tibi amore nos proximi sumus, scribemus etiam de nobis ea quae scire te non nolle arbitramur. 2. Atque in re publica nunc quidem maxime Gallici belli versantur metus. Nam Aedui, fratres nostri, pugnam nuper malam pugnarunt et *Helvetii* sine dubio sunt in armis excursionesque in provinciam faciunt. Senatus decrevit ut consules duas Gallias sortirentur, dilectus haberetur, vacationes ne valerent, legati

1. *volo*] This is the conjecture of Baiter for *solo* of all the mss (except H, which has *soleo*).

absque] All the mss have *sine absque* (H has *sine et absque*), except Poggio's (m 1), which has *sine* without *absque*. It seems plain that the reading of the mss is a combination of *sine* and *absque*, and that one or other of these words must be ejected. Wölfflin decides for retaining *absque*, though *absque = sine* does not seem to occur elsewhere before the second century (Quintilian vii. 2, 44 has it, but in an erasure by a second hand). Praun (Archiv für lat. Lexik. vi. 202) follows him, saying 'usum Tullianum particulae hoc uno loco familiarissimo dicendi genere excusari.' So does Sternkopf. But Boot,

Baiter, Wesenberg, Schmidt, and others read *sine*, as does Lommatzsch in the new Teubner Latin Thesaurus. We have retained it with some hesitation as the less usual word and as a probable colloquialism. It occurs in Plautus and Terence in such phrases as *absque te esset*, 'were it not for you,' e.g. Bacch. 412, Phorm. 188.

2. *Gallici . . . metus*] 'alarm from Gaul'; *metus* is concrete, 'a cause of fear': cp. *nulli nocte motus*, Juv. iii. 198; *Lybici metus*, 'the Gorgon's head,' Stat. Th. xii. 606.

fratres nostri] *Soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant*, Tac. Ann. xi. 25.

pugnam nuper malam] See Adn. Crit.

cum auctoritate mitterentur qui adirent Galliae civitates darentque operam ne eae se cum Helvetiis coniungerent. Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius. 3. Atque hoc loco illud non queo praeterire quod, cum de consularibus mea prima sors exisset, una voce senatus frequens retinendum me in urbe censuit. Hoc idem post me Pompeio accidit, ut nos duo quasi pignora rei publicae retineri videremur. Quid enim ego aliorum in me ἐπιφωνήματα exspectem, cum haec domi nascantur? 4. Urbanæ autem res sic se habent. Agraria lex a Flavio tribuno pl. vehementer agitabatur auctore Pompeio, quae nihil populare habebat praeter auctorem. Ex hac ego lege secunda contionis voluntate omnia illa tollebam quae ad

τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον] The context seems to show that the proverb should indicate 'a good thing thrown away,' 'pearls before swine.' The words occur in a verse from the Phoenissae of Strattis preserved by Athenaeus, p. 160:

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφὸν,
ὅταν φακὴν ἐψητέ μὴ πικρὴν μύρον,

and are quoted by Aristotle, De Sensu, 443^b, 30. They also give the name to one of Varro's Menippean Satires *περὶ εὐγηρίας* (cp. Riese's edition, p. 230). This is certainly the verse which Cicero has in his mind, though we have not found it referred to by the commentators. Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, who had never held any office, is an unworthy associate of Metellus Creticus and L. Flaccus. Lentulus is the φακῇ (*lens*, whence the pun); the commission is the μύρον. There is no use in pouring unguents on lentils, and this important commission is thrown away on such an one as Lentulus. Mr. Pretor says this Lentulus had been consul in 682 (72). If that were so, he would have been no unfit associate for the other two. But it is fairly certain that he was the son of the consul of 682 (72), and became praetor in 695 (59). L. Flaccus had been praetor during Cicero's consulate. Q. Metellus Creticus was consul in 685 (69), and triumphed in 692 (62). Flaccus distinguished himself under Metellus in the Cretan War, *bellum Cretense ex magna parte gessit atque una cum summo imperatore sustinuit*, Flacc. 6.

Suidas, however, gives a different

account of the proverb; he says that the words refer to a *nouveau riche* who, abandoning his lentil fare, can now afford unguents, and with him agrees Ar. Plut. 1004:—

ἔπειτα πλουτῶν οὐκέθ' ἤδεται φακῇ,
προτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀπαντ' ἐπήσθη.

The meaning of the words on this theory would be 'a great piece of promotion for such an obscure person as Lentulus.' It is also possible that Cicero means here to speak *well* of Lentulus, and to describe him as an ornament to the commission, he being the μύρον, and the rest the φακῇ. A subsequent quotation in the same passage of Athenaeus would seem to favour this view. It is from the *Nekyia* of Sopotros:—

Ἴθακος Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον
πάρεστι· θάρσει, θυμέ.

But then there would be no pun; and it is so like Cicero to pun on a name: cp. *Guttam adspersit huic Bulbo*, Cluent. 71. Besides, Lentulus was in fact obscure. Accordingly, the first interpretation is most probably right. See Meineke (Com. Frag. ii. 780), who does not notice the account of Suidas.

3. ἐπιφωνήματα] 'why, indeed, should I look for the *bravos* of foreigners when I have such a supply at home?' The word ἐπιφωνήματα, in its grammatical sense, means 'an interjection': cp. *tua ἐκφώνησις ὀπερεῦ*, 'your cries of bravo' in Att. x. 1, 3 (378).

domi nascantur] cp. Fam. ix. 3, 2 (358) *sed quid ego nunc haec ad te cuius domi nascantur?*

privatorum incommodum pertinebant: liberabam agrum eum qui P. Mucio L. Calpurnio consulibus publicus fuisset: Sullanorum hominum possessiones confirmabam: Volaterranos et Arretinos quorum agrum Sulla publicarat neque diviserat in sua possessione retinebam: unam rationem non reiciebam ut ager hac adventicia pecunia emeretur quae ex novis vectigalibus per quinquennium reciperetur. Huic toti rationi agrariae senatus adversabatur, suspicans Pompeio novam quamdam potentiam quaeri. Pompeius vero ad voluntatem preferendae legis incubuerat. Ego autem magna cum agrariorum gratia confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones—is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium—populo autem et Pompeio—nam id quoque volebam—satis faciebam emptione, qua constituta diligenter et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabar. Sed haec tota res interpellata bello refrixerat. Metellus est consul sane bonus et nos admodum diligit. Ille alter nihil ita est ut plane quid emerit nesciat. 5. Haec sunt in re publica, nisi etiam illud ad rem publicam putas pertinere Herennium quemdam, tribunum pl., tribulem tuum, sane hominem nequam atque egentem, saepe iam de P. Clodio ad plebem traducendo agere coepisse: huic frequenter interceditur. Haec sunt, ut opinor, in re publica. 6. Ego autem, ut semel Nonarum

4. *liberabam*] 'I was for releasing from its operation'; so the other imperfections in this sentence. Mucius and Calpurnius were consuls in 621 (133), the year of the tribunate of Tib. Gracchus. The land which is principally referred to is the Ager Campanus.

Volaterranos] See Pro Domo, 79.
rationem] 'section of the act.'

ut ager] 'the purchase of the land with the foreign revenue coming for the next five years from the new tributary states' (i. e. the states which Pompey had made tributary by his conquests in the East); *ut emeretur* is the *definitive* subjunctive with *ut*, commented on in 12, 47.

agrariorum] *Agrarii* in Cicero always means the same as *agripetae*; so we must here render 'while thoroughly preserving the good will of the applicants for grants of land.' These were chiefly the soldiers of Pompey.

sentinam urbis exhauriri] In Rull. ii.

70 Cicero censures Rullus for saying *urbanam plebem nimium in rep. posse; exhauriendam esse; hoc enim est usus quasi de aliqua sentina ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur.*

solitudinem] τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἡρημωμένα αὐθις συνακίετο (Καίσαρ), Dio Cass. xxxviii. 1, 3. The parts chiefly referred to were probably the southern portion of Italy.

quid emerit nesciat] This is a proverb equivalent to our homely expression 'to buy a pig in a poke.' When Afranius bought the consulship (as we know he did from 22, 12), he did not know that his feebleness would prevent him from making any use of his purchase.

5. *frequenter*] always means 'in crowds' or 'at short intervals' in Class. Lat.; *frequenter* = 'frequently' is only found in Silver Latin.

6. *Nonarum illarum Decembrum*] The day on which the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices took place. *Nonarum*

illarum Decembrium iunctam invidia ac multorum inimicitiiis eximiam quamdam atque immortalem gloriam consecutus sum, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in re publica versari et illam institutam ac susceptam dignitatem tueri, sed postea quam primum Clodi absolutione levitatem infirmitatemque iudiciorum perspexi, deinde vidi nostros publicanos facile a senatu diiungi, quamquam a me ipso non divellerentur, tum autem beatos homines—hos piscinarios dico, amicos tuos,—non obscure nobis invidere, putavi mihi maiores quasdam opes et firmiora praesidia esse quaerenda. 7. Itaque primum, eum qui nimium diu de rebus nostris tacuerat, Pompeium adduxi in eam voluntatem ut in senatu non semel sed saepe multisque verbis huius mihi salutem imperi atque orbis terrarum adiudicaret. Quod non tam interfuit mea—neque enim illae res aut ita sunt obscurae ut testimonium aut ita dubiae ut laudationem desiderent—quam rei publicae, quod erant quidam improbi qui contentionem fore aliquam mihi cum Pompeio ex rerum illarum dissensione arbitrarentur. Cum hoc ego me tanta familiaritate coniunxi ut uterque nostrum in sua ratione munitior et in re publica firmior hac coniunctione esse possit. 8. Odia autem illa libidinosae et delicatae iuventutis quae erant in me incitata sic mitigata sunt comitate quadam mea me unum ut omnes illi colant. Nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit nec tamen quidquam populare ac dissolutum, sed ita temperata tota ratio est ut rei publicae constantiam praestem, privatis rebus meis propter infirmitatem bonorum, iniquitatem malevolorum, odium in me improborum adhibeam quamdam cautionem et diligentiam atque ita, tametsi his novis amicitiiis

depends perhaps on *diei* understood: cp. Att. iv. 1, 5 (90), *qui fuit dies Non. Sept.* = *Nonarum Septembrium*. *Ut semel* means 'when once for all.'

beatos] 'well-to-do.' For *piscinarios* cp. 24, 6; 27, 7.

7. *rerum illarum dissensione*] 'A quarrel on those matters.' Cp. *virtutis certamen*, Fin. v. 71, and the note of Madv. there; he compares *dissensio huius ordinis* = *ab hoc ordine*, Cat. iv. 15; *divinarum humanarumque rerum consensio*, Lael. 20; *hominis nobilissimi coniunctio*, Fam. iii. 10, 9 (261); *suffragatio consulatus*, Mil. 34.

8. *libidinosae et delicatae*] 'the dissipated *jeunesse dorée* of Rome.'

Nihil . . . asperum] 'I am never strait-laced, but neither do I ever seek popular favour by relaxing my principles.'

temperata] 'well-balanced'; *ita . . . ut* have here their usual meaning so . . . that, but the *ita tamen . . .* which follow are used in a more idiomatic way, 'involved as I am in my new friendships, yet I do not let them prevent me from having constantly in my ears the shrewd Sicilian's song.' Boot, however, with Poggio's ms and Hs (see Adn. Crit.), reads *tametsi* for *tamen*.

implicati sumus, ut' crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret
[Epicharmus] cantilenam illam suam

Νάφε καὶ μέμασ' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Ac nostrae quidem rationis ac vitae quasi quamdam formam, ut opinor, vides. 9. De tuo [autem] negotio saepe ad me scribis cui mederi nunc non possumus. Est enim illud senatus consultum summa pedariorum voluntate, nullius nostrum auctoritate factum.

vafer ille Siculus] 'that shrewd Sicilian,' Epicharmus. Cicero speaks of Epicharmus as *acuti nec insulsi hominis ut Siculi*, Tusc. i. 15. These words are rendered by Sir Wm. Hamilton in his notes on Reid—

Be sober, and to doubt prepense,
These are the sinews of good sense.

This version hardly reproduces the cynicism of the original, which implies that to trust anyone is to be in a state of intellectual drunkenness. The verse is quoted by Quintus in his *Commentariolum*: see above, 12, 39.

formam] 'a sketch.'

9. *De tuo . . . negotio*] What this *senatus consultum* was which seems to have been prejudicial to Atticus we cannot definitely determine. It was *not* a refusal of the senate to interfere between Atticus and the Sicyonians, for that would not have excited such general interest as to give rise to 'indignation meetings' (*convventus*), and is not borne out by the next letter (§ 4). The Sicyonians undoubtedly owed money to Atticus. Unluckily for Atticus, a clause was added to some *senatus consultum* passed for some other purpose, providing (we may perhaps infer) that debts incurred by *populi liberi* were not cognizable by Roman provincial governors. It cannot have been a clause conferring on the Sicyonians the *status* of *populi liberi*, for they seem to have already held this *status*; and the matter would have been dwelt on more fully had this privilege now been conferred on them for the first time. If the clause was to exempt them from taxation, how could this have affected Atticus, of whom Cornelius Nepos expressly records (6) *Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est*? He never took a contract nor went security. He cannot therefore have gone security to

the publicans for the payment of their taxes by the Sicyonians, and consequently could not have lost by their being exempted. It may be said, he had lent money to the publicans, and he feared that if they lost by the exemption of the Sicyonians they would be unable to pay him; but this is quite inconsistent with *tu si tuis blanditis tamen a Sicyoniis nummularum aliquid expresseris*. He could not hope to 'coax taxes from them' if they were exempt. But if we suppose that Atticus had lent them money, and finding them slow about paying, had intended to prosecute them, he would be greatly mortified by a clause such as I have suggested (following the *πρόσνευσις* of Boot). The objectionable clause was due to the Quixotism of Cato and Servilius, an imitator of his (ep. 27, 10). The next letter (§ 4) lends itself to this view. The *alia via* spoken of there may perhaps derive light from 40, 2, *tu si litteras ad Sicyonios habes*. Atticus hoped to get some official letter recommending them to pay. That Atticus, though he did not go security for anyone, yet advanced large sums of money for States on the faith of being repaid by them, seems probable from Att. xvi. 16a, 5 (767), where we are told that Atticus *pecuniam numeravit de suo*, to save from confiscation the lands of the Buthrotians, which had incurred the displeasure of Caesar.

pedariorum] The order in which senators were asked their opinions by the presiding magistrate being one fixed by custom, it followed that there must have been a large number of senators who, as a rule, were not asked their opinions, the subject of debate being exhausted before the question came to them. Such had the right to speak as well as vote, but generally did not press for the former. These were the *pedarii*, so called probably because they asserted themselves chiefly by

Nam, quod me esse ad scribendum vides, ex ipso senatus consulto intellegere potes aliam rem tum relatam, hoc autem de populis liberis sine causa additum, et ita factum est a P. Servilio filio qui in postremis sententiam dixit, sed immutari hoc tempore non potest. Itaque conventus qui initio celebrabantur iam diu fieri desierunt. Tu si tuis blanditiis tamen a Sicyoniis nummolorum aliquid expresseris, velim me facias certiore. 10. Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te: in quo si quid erit quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur, non dicam quod tibi, ut opinor, Panhormi Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, ideoque barbara quaedam et *σόλουκα* dispersisse: apud me si quid erit eius modi, me imprudente erit et invito. Latinum si perfectero, ad te mittam. Tertium poema exspectato, ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur. Hic tu cave dicas, *τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει*; si est enim apud homines quidquam quod potius

voting in the divisions (*pedibus ire in sententiam*). They were thus not a class that had any legal existence. See Adenda to the Commentary, Note iv.

esse ad scribendum] 'that the decree bears my signature' = *scribendo adesse*: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 5 (223). Senators who assisted the presiding magistrate in drawing up the decrees of the senate used to append their names thereto.

10. *misi*] probably an *epistolary* perfect, 'I send herewith.'

ut opinor, Panhormi] 'I send you herewith a memoir of my consulate, in Greek. If there is anything in it which to your Attic taste seems bad Greek or unclassical, I will not put forward the plea that Lucullus made to you—at Panhormus, I think it was—that he had introduced here and there a few barbarisms and solecisms, to show that the history was the work of a Roman. No: if there is any such slip in my work, it will be without my knowledge and against my will.' It is quite possible that we should render, 'I shall not say what Lucullus said, at Panhormus, to you (I think it was).' Some of his friends had told Cicero that at Panhormus Lucullus had made to him the remark quoted in the text. Cicero may have thought it was Atticus who had told him, but was not sure. *Opinor* and *ut opinor* in this sense would naturally follow the

words which they qualify: cf. Fam. xv. 6, 1 (278) *inquit Hector opinor, apud Naevium*. The comma is usually put after *Hector*; but surely it is more likely that Cicero felt an uncertainty about the speaker of the words in Naevius than about the authorship of the passage—that he said, 'Hector (I think, in Naevius,' rather than 'Hector, in Naevius (I think)': cp. also *Rhinton, ut opinor*, 26, 3. But *ut opinor* sometimes precedes the words which it qualifies, e.g. 29, 1 *primum, ut opinor, εὐαγγέλια*; and I think it is here better taken as referring to *Panhormi* than to *tibi*; it is more probable that Cicero should feel uncertain about where the remark was made by Lucullus than about the person to whom it was addressed. The subject of Lucullus' History was the Marsian war (Plut. Lucull. 1). We learn from Arch. 6 that he had been in Sicily. Perhaps it was Archias who reported the remark to Cicero. This is the Lucullus who is 'Agamemnon' in the last letter. On *Panhormi* see Adn. Crit.

Latinum] Perhaps this refers to Cicero's letter to Pompey on his exploits: see Sull. 67 *epistulam quam ego Cn. Pompeio de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi*.

poëma] See 29, 3, and De Div. i. 17, 18.

Hic] = *in hac re*.

τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει] The whole

[sit]
Quam
mus
nihil
coram
aliquo
et non
mihi

proverb
Arctus
sacrosan
tutes o
that is,
father'
his own
Cicero,
ing a v
always
There
nation
sage in
d'élav
rivi
écrit
al'c'est
Diogen
et i
Big
did no
which
'the
father
is no
planat
senten
'if th
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not e
ferenc
ance,
is a n
pressi
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pressi
to co
have
mens
such
in qu
give
omit

[sit] laudetur, nos vituperemur qui non potius alia laudemus. Quamquam non ἐγκωμιστικὰ sunt haec sed ἱστορικὰ quae scribimus. 11. Quintus frater purgat se mihi per litteras et adfirmat nihil a se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum. Verum haec nobis coram summa cura et diligentia sunt agenda: tu modo nos revise aliquando. Cossinius hic, cui dedi litteras, valde mihi bonus homo et non levis et amans tui visus est et talis qualem esse eum tuae mihi litterae nuntiarant. Idibus Martiis.

proverb is found in Plutarch's Life of Aratus (c. 1) τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί, 'none but poor creatures of sons will praise their fathers'; that is, 'if a man has to fall back on his father's distinctions, he can have none of his own to boast of.' This, applied to Cicero, would mean, 'you must be playing a very poor part now, since you are always falling back on your consulate.' There is much to recommend this explanation: see the continuation of the passage in Plutarch, τοὺς ἀφ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας, ὑποδυομένους δὲ προγόνων τιῶν ἀρεταῖς καὶ πλεονάζοντας ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπαίνοις ὑπὸ τῆς παροιμίας ἐπιστομίγεσθαι, and also the explanation of Diogenianus (viii. 46, p. 224, Gaisford) ἐπὶ τῶν προγονικῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα ἀπορία ἰδία προφερόντων. But perhaps Cicero did not think of the end of the verse, which he does not quote, and means, 'the proverb tells us not to praise our fathers; therefore, a fortiori, self-praise is no praise.' But in either case the explanation is unsatisfactory, and the next sentence is very strange. Cicero says, 'if there is among men anything better (than my consulate), let it be the subject of my eulogy, and let me be blamed for not choosing a different subject in preference.' This is a very arrogant utterance, and very strangely expressed (which is a more important objection). The expressions *apud homines* ('in the world,' cp. 46, 4) and *potius* are not the expressions which Cicero would have used to convey such a sentiment; he would have written, 'si est enim post *hominum memoriam* quidquam *splendidius*,' or some such words. It is to be observed that *sit* in *quod potius sit* is a conjecture; the mss give *si*. It is possible that *si* should be omitted, as having arisen from a ditto-

graphy of the last syllable of *potius*. The whole passage would then run, *si est enim apud homines quidquam quod potius laudetur, nos vituperemur qui non potius alia laudemus*, and admits of a much more robust interpretation than either of those already mentioned. Very probably Cicero actually did introduce into his poem an elaborate eulogy of his father, which he fears Atticus may condemn as a breach of taste, but which he is ready to defend in the words, 'if there is in the world (*apud homines*) any fitter subject for the pen of a son than the praise of a father, then (and then only) let me be blamed for not having chosen rather some other theme; though, indeed (he adds), my work is not a eulogy at all, but a statement of facts.' A fragment from this very poem is quoted by Cicero in a subsequent letter (29, 3), and it seems to us to corroborate strongly this view: the lines are—

Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,
Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.

The words which are italicised would seem to show that Cicero introduced into his poem a eulogy on his early training, in which, no doubt, he lauded his father to an extent which he thought some might condemn. In *De Orat.* ii. 1, Cicero speaks very highly of the early training imparted by his father, whom he describes as *optimi ac prudentissimi viri*. It will be observed that this new interpretation does not depend on the change in the text suggested above. This change is equally necessary even though the old interpretations be preferred; and our interpretation is as consistent as the old with the received text.

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

ROME; MAY (MIDDLE), A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero respondet epistolae ab Attico acceptae et laetatur quidem quod in causa familiari ac domestica sibi ac suis tantum humanitatis ille praestiterit, etiam in eo quod in ea epistula Atticus de re publica disputaverit maximam inter se et amicam consensionem intercedere neque se umquam a sententia sua recessurum. Dein significat senatus consultum quo negotia Sicyonia Attici impediuntur non facile posse tolli, laudat Metellum consulem, addit de commentario consulatus sui Graece scripto. Tum flagitat ab Attico ut bibliothecam a Ser. Claudio relictam et a L. Papirio Paeto sibi donatam diligenter ad se perferendam curet et ipsius Paeti negotia Attico commendat et ut ipse Romam veniat suadet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum e Pompeiano me Romam recepissem a. d. IIII Idus Maias, Cincius noster eam mihi abs te epistolam reddidit quam tu Idibus Febr. dederas. Ei nunc epistolae litteris his respondebo. Ac primum tibi perspectum esse iudicium de te meum laetor, deinde te in iis rebus quae [mihi] asperius a nobis atque nostris et

1. e Pompeiano] O. E. Schmidt (*Ciceros Villen*, pp. 53 ff.) gives a most attractive account of Cicero's Pompeianum. He thinks that it occupied the spot which is still pointed out as the Villa of Cicero.

perspectum esse] 'that you were well aware of the nature of my opinion of you,' as expressed in Ep. 23, 5, 6, 7; *iudicium* is used in the same sense in 23, 1.

a nobis atque nostris] I cannot believe that Cicero here accuses himself of any harshness towards Atticus, since he does not hint at such a thing in 23: therefore *nobis* cannot refer to Cicero. Nor can I believe that *nobis* means Quintus and *nostris* Pomponia. [The former is, I think, the right view, and that we should not alter or omit *mihi*. Atticus was irritated at the conduct of Quintus; and Marcus, in wishing to soften the resentment of Atticus, may have conceded that he himself was somewhat to blame in having defended Quintus. Then *nobis* will be Marcus, and *nostris* Quintus. Or possibly by *nobis* Cicero means his own immediate family, identifying himself with Quintus; by

nostris, those connected with his family, i.e. Pomponia.—L. C. P.] I think Boot's correction, *vobis*, has much to recommend it, especially if the words *aequid tantum causae sit ignoro* (23, 4) be explained as Boot has explained them; for, according to that explanation, Cicero hints that Atticus had no sufficient reason for his resentment, and therefore it would not be impossible that he should here ascribe harshness to Atticus. But *vobis* is not altogether satisfactory. The words *a nobis* are not likely to be wrongly inserted; and I think the passage admits of a less violent remedy. If *tibi* were substituted for *mihi*, or (better) *mihi* were omitted—*tibi* being easily understood—all would be right; for *nobis* would then refer to Cicero and *tibi* to Atticus: and Atticus certainly did see something to complain of in the conduct of Cicero, else why did he recapitulate his services to Cicero and the chances he had lost for his sake, as we know that he did? (see 23, 5). The passage would then be thus rendered: 'I am glad to hear of the great forbearance you have shown in that matter

iniucundius actae videbantur moderatissimum fuisse vehementissime gaudeo, idque neque amoris mediocris et ingeni summi ac sapientiae iudico. Qua de re cum ad me ita suaviter, diligenter, officiose, humaniter scripseris ut non modo te hortari amplius non debeam sed ne exspectare quidem abs te aut ab ullo homine tantum facilitatis ac mansuetudinis potuerim, nihil duco esse commodius quam de his rebus nihil iam amplius scribere. Cum erimus congressi, tum, si quid res feret, coram inter nos conferemus. 2. Quod ad me de re publica scribis, disputas tu quidem et amanter et prudenter et a meis consiliis ratio tua non abhorret—nam neque de statu nobis nostrae dignitatis est recedendum neque sine nostris copiis intra alterius praesidia veniendum, et is de quo scribis nihil habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non summissum atque populare—verum tamen fuit ratio mihi fortasse ad tranquillitatem meorum temporum non inutilis sed me hercule rei publicae multo etiam utilior quam mihi, civium improborum impetus in me reprimi, cum hominis amplissima fortuna, auctoritate, gratia fluctuantem sententiam confirmassem et a spe malorum ad mearum rerum laudem convertissem. Quod si cum aliqua levitate mihi faciendum fuisset, nullam rem tanti existimassem, sed tamen a me ita sunt acta omnia non ut ego illi adsentiens levior sed ut ille me probans gravior videretur. 3. Reliqua sic a me aguntur et agentur ut non committamus ut ea quae gessimus fortuito gessisse videamur. Meos bonos viros, illos quos significas, et eam quam mihi dicis obtigisse Σάρταν non modo numquam

in which you think you experienced harshness and unfriendliness from me and mine' (from Quintus and myself).

neque amoris mediocris] = *et amoris non mediocris*; and the *et* taken out of *neque* corresponds to the following *et* and *ac*.

officiose, humaniter] *officiose et humaniter* is the reading of M, but edd. rightly omit the *et*. When three or more co-ordinate words stand together, the last and last but one are *not* connected by a copula after the manner of modern languages. *Madv. Opusc. Acad. i.*, p. 333, and note on *Fin. iv.* 56.

2. *praesidia*] 'the enemy's lines.'

is de quo scribis] Pompey.

summissum atque populare] 'low and time-serving': cp. the depreciatory estimate of Pompey in 19, 4.

verum tamen] resumes after the parenthesis: cp. 6.

meorum temporum] 'my life.'

cum . . . confirmassem] 'When I gave stability to the wavering principles of a man of the highest position and moral and social influence,' i.e. Pompey.

aliqua levitate] 'some sacrifice of principle' (Pretor).

tanti] 'so important' (as to justify a sacrifice of principle).

3. Σάρταν] An anapaestic dimeter verse is preserved among the fragments of the *Telephus* of Euripides, in which Agamemnon admonishes his brother Menelaus to confine his attention to his own province: the words are Σάρτην ἔλαχες, κείνην κόσμει. Cicero quotes this proverb in the form Σάρταν ἔλαχες ταύταν

deseram sed etiam, si ego ab illa deserar, tamen in mea pristina sententia permanebo. Illud tamen velim existimes, me hanc viam optimatam post Catuli mortem nec praesidio ullo nec comitatu tenere. Nam, ut ait Rhinton, ut opinor,

Οἱ μὲν παρ' οὐδέν εἰσι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν μέλει.

Mihi vero ut invideant piscinarii nostri aut scribam ad te alias aut in congressum nostrum reservabo. A curia autem nulla me res divellet, vel quod ita rectum est vel quod rebus meis maxime consentaneum vel quod a senatu quanti fiam minime me paenitet. 4. De Sicyoniis, ut ad te scripsi antea, non multum spei est in senatu. Nemo est enim idem qui queratur. Qua re, si id exspectas, longum est. Alia via, si qua potes, pugna. Cum est actum, neque animadversum est ad quos pertineret et raptim in eam sententiam pedarii cucurrerunt. Inducendi senatus consulti maturitas nondum est, quod neque sunt qui querantur et multi partim malevolentia, partim opinione aequitatis delectantur. 5. Metellus tuus est egregius consul: unum reprehendo quod otium e Gallia nuntiarum non magno opere gaudet. Cupit, credo, triumphare. Hoc vellem mediocrius: cetera egregia. Auli filius vero ita se gerit ut eius consulatus non consulatus sit sed Magni nostri ὑπόπιον.

κέραι in Att. iv. 6, 2 (110). There his Sparta or 'peculiar province' is to follow the triumph; here it is to preserve the *senatus auctoritas* and the *ordinum concordia*. He is now the sole exponent of the optimate policy since Catulus is dead.

ab illa deserar] For *deserar* compare *desertus ab officii*, 15, 10; *a mente deserar*, 73, 2. But the *ab* is not here used in the same way; *Sparta* is personified, as referring to 'the party of the optimates.'

Rhinton, ut opinor] "The Roman writers on literature specify the Rhinthonica as a separate variety of Roman comedy: it was named after the farce-writer (φλυακογράφος) Rhinton of Tarentum, whose *ἰλαροτραγῳδία* were travesties of tragic subjects, but none of the names of the Roman adapters, nor any titles or remains of Roman Rhinthonica have come down to us. . . . The Amphitruo of Plautus was certainly not a Rhinthonica." Teuffel, *Roman Lit.*, § 18. For *ut opinor*, see on 25, 10.

Οἱ μὲν] 'some of the optimates are insignificant, others are indifferent.'

a senatu quanti fiam] 'I am by no means dissatisfied with the position I hold in the estimation of the senate.'

4. *idem*] So M. The ordinary reading is *iam*; but it is quite unnecessary to make the alteration: see Lehmann, *Quaest.*, p. 33, who quotes 53, 13 for the emphatic position of *idem*.

Alia via] We see by 40, 2, that the *alia via* to which Atticus looked was a letter to the Sicyonians, probably from the provincial governor of Macedonia. Boot says from the senate or consuls; but it is hardly likely that they would interfere in a comparatively trifling provincial matter.

neque . . . pertineret] See on 25, 9; the *populi liberi* were brought under the act by an inadvertence.

5. *Metellus tuus*] This shows that Metellus was a friend of Atticus as well as of Cicero—another reason why the mention of Metellus is appropriate in 24, 1. See also Sest. 131 *socio laborum periculorum consiliorum meorum*.

ὑπόπιον] 'a blot on the fame of

6. De m
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6. De meis scriptis misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum. Eum librum L. Cossinio dedi. Puto te Latinis meis delectari, huic autem Graeco Graecum invidere. Alii si scripserint, mittemus ad te, sed, mihi crede, simul atque hoc nostrum legerunt, nescio quo pacto retardantur. 7. Nunc, ut ad rem meam redeam, L. Papirius Paetus, vir bonus amatorque noster, mihi libros eos quos Ser. Claudius reliquit donavit. Cum mihi per legem Cinciam licere capere Cincius amicus tuus diceret, libenter dixi me accepturum, si attulisset. Nunc si me amas, si te a me amari seis, enitere per amicos, clientis, hospites, liberos denique ac servos tuos ut scida ne qua depereat. Nam et Graecis iis libris quos suspicor et Latinis quos scio illum reliquisse mihi vehementer opus est. Ego autem cotidie magis quod mihi de forensi labore temporis datur in iis studiis conquiesco. Per mihi, per, inquam, gratum feceris si in hoc tam diligens fueris quam soles in iis rebus quas me valde velle arbitraris, ipsiusque Paeti tibi negotia commendo de quibus tibi ille agit maximas gratias, et ut iam invisas nos non solum rogo sed etiam suadeo.

Pompey,' whose *protégé* Afranius was. This word literally means 'a black eye.' The Latin expression, which Cicero might just as well have used here, is *sugillatio*; we have *sugillatio consulum*, 'an insult to the consuls,' Liv. xliii. 14, 5.

6. *Puto te*] 'I fancy you regard my Latin writings with pleasure; but being a Greek, you look on this Greek essay with envy.'

7. *L. Papirius Paetus*] We have twelve letters of Cicero to this Paetus (Fam. ix. 15-26), written in a most friendly and cheerful vein.

amatorque] 'an admirer'; *amans* is 'an attached friend': cp. *amatores huic* (Caton) *desunt sicuti . . . Thucydidi*, Brut. 66. Ser. Claudius is called the *frater* of Papirius in next letter, § 12. Probably he was his cousin or *frater patruelis*. See 1, 1.

Cinciam] The Cincian Law, 550 (204), forbade presents beyond a certain amount. In De Sen. 10, it is called *legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus*. Tac. Ann. xi. 5 says it forbade the taking of fees or presents for pleading causes. There is no evidence that Cicero ever acted as advocate for Papirius. So the remark may be merely playful—a coincidence of

name in the friend of Atticus recalling the old law.

scida] 'A leaf,' from *scindo*. The Greek *σχέδη* was probably a late corruption of the Latin word. Mart. iv. 89, 4 *nee summa potes in scida* (al. *scheda*) *teneri*.

cotidie magis] This seems at first sight irregular for *in dies magis*; but there is a slight difference in meaning between (a) *cotidie magis conquiesco* and (b) *in dies magis conquiesco*: (a) may be rendered 'there is not a day but I feel my increased sense of recreation in literature,' that is, 'a greater sense than I used to have'; (b) would mean 'that sense becomes stronger and stronger every day.' In Att. v. 7, 1 (190) Cicero contrasts these two expressions—*cotidie, vel potius in dies singulos, breviores litteras ad te mitto*, 'I find myself day after day sending you shorter letters (than I used), or rather my letters are becoming shorter every day'; he goes on *cotidie enim magis suspicor*, 'for there is not a day but I feel an increased suspicion,' &c. Cp. *cotidie mitigamur*, 19, 3.

Per] Cicero affects *per* in tmesis: cp. *per mihi gratum*, 9, 3; *pergrata perque incunda* De Or. i. 205; *per enim magni*, Att. x. 1, 1 (378); *per videre velim = videre*

27. TO ATTICUS, IN GREECE, ON HIS WAY TO ROME
(ATT. II. 1.)

ROME ; JUNE, A. U. C. 694 ; B. C. 60 ; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero Attico scribit de commentariis consulatus sui Graece et ab Attico et ab ipso compositis, de orationibus consularibus suis : dein cur Atticum in urbem accesserit exponit : cupere P. Clodium tribunum pl. fieri sed impediri a Metello consule et a se frangi et reprehendi urbanis dieteriis : de lege agraria rem refrixisse : de sua et Cn. Pompeii familiaritate quae prosit rei publicae : Catonem non satis caute agere : de Favonii comitiis et accusatione Nasicae, de Luceio, de Sicyoniis qui Atticum laedant, de Amalthea sua, de Tusculano et Pompeiano, de 'Prognosticis' suis, de adventu Attici, de libris a Paeto sibi donatis ab Attico conservandis et mittendis, de Octavio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Kal. Iuniis eunti mihi Antium et gladiatores M. Metelli cupide relinquenti venit obviam tuus puer. Is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit. In quo laetatus sum me aliquanto ante de iisdem rebus Graece item scriptum librum L. Cossinio ad te perferendum dedisse. Nam, si ego tuum ante legissem, furatum me abs te esse diceres. Quamquam tua illa—legi enim libenter—horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt, sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso quod ornamenta neglexerant, et, ut mulieres, ideo bene olere quia nihil olebant videbantur. Meus autem liber totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnis eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia

pervelim, Att. xv. 4, 2 (734). This tmesis is common to the letters and dialogues of Cicero and the comic poets, e.g. Plaut. Cas. 370 ; Ter. And. 486 ; Hec. 58. It is also found in Gellius, but not in the speeches of Cicero.

1. *gladiatores M. Metelli*] This was the brother of Q. Metellus Creticus. The commentators raise a needless question here as to why he gave a gladiatorial show. We think we may gather from Att. iv. 4b, 2 (107) that it was a practice with wealthy Romans to buy gladiators as a speculation, to have them trained, then to give a show as a specimen of their powers, so as to dispose of them at a profit to the aediles for the public games.

cupide relinquenti] Cp. *cupide et libenter mentiar*, Rosc. Com. 49 ; *cupide reliquisset*, Suet. Tib. 11. In Fam. vii. 1, 3 (127), Cicero expresses a very enlightened dislike for such spectacles. He passed a law against the giving of games as an electioneering device, Vat. 37. The provisions of the *Lex Tullia de ambitu* were—(1) it made the *divisores* amenable to law ; (2) it forbade the giving of games as an electioneering device ; (3) it punished those convicted by ten years' exile: cp. Lange iii. 245.

ideo bene olere] *ecastor mulier recte olet ubi nil olet*, Plaut. Most. 273.

arculas] here 'paint-boxes' ; in Off. ii. 25, it means 'jewel-cases' : see on *ληκίθους*, 20, 3.

pigmenta consumpsit: quem tu Coreyrae, ut mihi aliis litteris significas, strictim attigisti, post autem, ut arbitror, a Cossinio accepisti: quem tibi ego non essem ausus mittere nisi eum lente ac fastidiose probavissem. 2. Quamquam ad me rescripsit iam Rhodo Posidonius se, nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα cum legeret, quod ego ad eum ut ornatius de iisdem rebus scriberet miseram, non modo non excitatum esse ad scribendum sed etiam plane perterritum. Quid quaeris? conturbavi Graecam nationem. Ita vulgo qui instabant ut darem sibi quod ornarent iam exhibere mihi molestiam destiterunt. Tu, si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae. Videtur enim posse aliquid nostris rebus lucis adferre. 3. Oratiunculas autem et quas postulas et pluris etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati te etiam delectant. [Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus quae Philip-

quem] This would seem to be a copy of the first sketch of Cicero's Greek work on his consulship, which he sent to Posidonius and calls ὑπόμνημα below. It was not so full or so highly elaborated as the final edition, a copy of which he sent to Atticus by Cossinius.

strictim attigisti] 'turned over': cp. De Or. ii. 201 *perquam breviter perstrinxi atque attigi*, and Cacl. 28 *extremis ut dicitur, digitis attigunt*.

2. Quamquam] 'however'; here, as often in Cicero, *quamquam* is merely a rhetorical particle of transition.

Quid quaeris? conturbavi] 'In a word, I have astonished them out of their wits,' 'I have brought them to their wits' end': cp. Fam. vii. 3, 1 (464) *vidisti me ita conturbatum ut non explicarem*. The prevailing sense of *conturbo* is 'to confuse': cp. Phil. ii. 32 *Quid est? num conturbo te? Non enim . . . intelligis*.

aliquid . . . lucis] 'some lustre,' 'éclat.'

3. Fuit enim mihi commodum . . . offerendam] There are many reasons for supposing the passage enclosed within brackets to be spurious. Orelli, who disbelieves in the authenticity of the last three speeches against Catiline, ascribes to Tiro those speeches, as well as this passage vouching for them. The arguments for its spuriousness are these:—(1) *civis ille tuus Demosthenes* smacks of the imitator, almost the parodist, of Cicero; (2) *refractariolo*

('polemical'), *abiungo, involgarunt* (which is a more probable correction than *indicarunt* or *invocarunt* of the Med.) are ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Cicero; (3) *σάμα* is not rightly applied to speeches having no internal bond of connexion but only the external common attribute of having been delivered in the consulate of Cicero; (4) *orationes consulares* should mean 'belonging to a consul,' or 'worthy of a consul' (as *consulare dictum* below), not 'delivered in the consulship'; (5) the omission from the list of the speeches *pro C. Pisone* and *pro L. Murena*. I have therefore bracketed the passage with Boot. [I confess to agreeing with Mr. Pretor in defending this passage, and for the most part for the reasons which he advances—(1) For *civis ille tuus* cp. 22, 4. (2) A forger would not have ventured to coin a word like *refractariolo*. The probable reading for *invocarunt* is either *indicarunt* of Manutius or *invocaram* ('I appealed to them' to make their disclosures) of Reid (for the use of the first person in the passage, note *deposui, emisi, habui*). (3) It would be difficult to prove the restriction on the use of *σάμα*. (4) For *oratio consularis* cp. *consularis loci* (§ 5), *consulares litterae* (Sest. 50), *consularis lex* (Sest. 135). (5) It is most improbable that a forger would have omitted the *Pro Murena*: whereas we may fairly infer from 34, 1 that Cicero did not give a complete list, and that Atticus noted the incompleteness and

picae nominantur enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes, et quod se ab hoc refractariolo iudiciali dicendi genere abiunxerat ut *σεμνότερός τις* et *πολιτικώτερος* videretur, curare ut meae quoque essent orationes quae consulares nominarentur. Quarum una est in senatu Kal. Ianuariis, altera ad populum de lege agraria, tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio, quinta de proscriptorum filiis, sexta cum provinciam in contione deposui, septima cum Catilinam emisi, octava quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione quo die Allobroges involgarunt, decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus. Sunt praeterea duae breves, quasi *ἀποσπασμάτια* legis agrariae. Hoc totum *σῶμα* curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te cum scripta tum res meae delectant, iisdem ex libris perspicies et quae gesserim et quae dixerim, aut ne poposcisses: ego enim tibi me non offerebam.] 4. Quod quaeris quid sit quo te arcessam ac simul impeditum te negotiis esse significas neque recusas quin, non modo si opus sit sed etiam si velim, accurras, nihil sane est necesse, verum tamen videbare mihi tempora peregrinationis commodius posse describere. Nimis abes diu, praesertim cum sis in propinquis locis, neque nos te fruimur et tu nobis cares. Ac nunc quidem otium est, sed, si paullo plus furor Pulchelli progredi posset, valde ego te istim excitarem. Verum praeclare Metellus impedit et impedit. Quid quaeris? Est consul *φιλόπατρις* et, ut semper iudicavi, natura bonus.

asked for the missing speeches. This last argument is due to Dr. Reid.—L. C. P.] *Fuit mihi commodum* is 'It seemed desirable.' The first two speeches referred to are the 1st and 2nd *contra Rullum*.

deposui] 'refused,' 'declined.'

emisi] sc. *ex urbe*.

aut ne poposcisses] 'else (if you did not take an interest in my deeds and words) you ought not to have asked me' (for the *oratiunculas quas postulas*, referred to above). In the imperf. and pluperf. the subjunctive is used *jussively* of a thing which ought to have been done, as *potius diceret*, Off. iii. 88; *saltem aliquid detraxisset*, Fin. iv. 57; the negative is *ne*, as *frumentum ne emisses*, Verr. iii. 195. A long list of the examples of this jussive subjunctive is given by Madv. on Fin. ii. 35. One of the best-known examples is *at tu dictis, Albano, maneres*, Virg. Aen. viii. 643. It is common in the comic poets

(who sometimes used *non* instead of *ne*) in the imperf., but never occurs in the pluperf. in the comic drama: Lorenz on Pseud. 273. A good example is *restitisses repugnasses, mortem pugnans oppetisses*, Sest. 45. Dr. Reid, on Sull. 25, says, 'A past imperative is an inconceivable thing; and the *ne* in passages like this is merely equivalent to *non*, as *ne* often was in early Latin.' The usage he explains as an elliptical conditional proposition. See Roby, § 1604.

4. *quo te arcessam*] = *ad quam rem*, 'for what purpose.' Klotz rightly restores *quo* of the Med for *quod*.

describere] 'to arrange the various periods of your foreign sojourns.'

istim] 'thither,' an archaism found only in Ennius, the comic drama, and Cicero's letters.

Metellus] Metellus, who at first looked on the proposal of Herennius to give the

5. Ille a
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Siolla H
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patricis
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witness for
in 24, 1)
Clodius, a
a point agri
45.

6. Ille
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for as it may
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red cum i
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meaning w
and with th
style. I
a conjectur
found acci
and then w
sedulitate
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fragment

5. Ille autem non simulat sed plane tribunus pl. fieri cupit. Qua de re cum in senatu ageretur, fregi hominem et inconstantiam eius reprehendi qui Romae tribunatum pl. peteret cum in Sicilia Herae aedilitatem se petere dicitasset: neque magno opere dixi esse nobis laborandum, quod nihilo magis ei licitum esset plebeio rem publicam perdere quam similibus eius me consule patriciis esset licitum. Iam, cum se ille septimo die venisse a freto neque sibi obviam quemquam prodire potuisse et noctu se introisse dixisset in eoque se in contione iactasset, nihil ei novi dixi accidisse: ex Sicilia septimo die Romam, ante tribus horis Roma Interamnam: noctu introisse, item ante: non esse itum obviam,

adoption to the *comitia centuriata* as a mere matter of form, opposed it when he saw its significance. This Metellus (whose unfitness for a confidant is put strongly in 24, 1) was the brother-in-law of Clodius, a fact of which Cicero makes a point against Clodius in Harusp. Resp. 45.

5. *Ille autem non simulat*] Clodius is really desirous of becoming a tribune; it is not a mere pretence to frighten me.

cum in Sicilia] See Adn. Crit. *Herae* depends on the testimony of Bosius, and may therefore be rejected, except in so far as it may seem to lie hid under *hereditatem*. I agree with Junius that, if *her-* indicates any lost word, we should read *cum in Sicilia heri aedilitatem se petere dicitasset*, 'when it was only yesterday that,' &c., a vigorous phrase found only in poetry elsewhere, but harmonising well with *inconstantiam* above, and with the vivacity of the epistolary style. But perhaps *hereditatem* is but a conjecture of the copyist, who perhaps found *aedilitatem* miswritten *aeditatem*; and then we should read *cum in Sicilia aedilitatem saepe dicitasset* (*se petere* being understood from *qui peteret*), the meaning being that it was inconsistent in Clodius to look for the tribunate now after declaring that it was his intention to seek the aedileship. He had already been quaestor. I think *Herae* is most probably sound. For the mention of the place at which a thing was said, cp. *Panhormi . . . dixerat*, 25, 10. [I should prefer to adhere to *hereditatem* of M¹ as M¹ does not make conjectures: and *aedilitatem* of M² does not square very well with a fragment of the *Or. in Clodium* which

runs (Schol. Bob., p. 333, Orelli), *Cum se ad plebem transire velle diceret, sed misero fretum transire cuperet*, as Dr. Reid has pointed out. I fancy that Clodius had repeatedly said that he was 'looking for' (*petere*) an inheritance in Sicily, that the 'crossing' (*transitio*) he would like to make would be over to that island; and that Cicero, in rallying him on his inconsistency, really censures him for his rapacity as a will-hunter. The only point in censuring him for giving up the canvass for the aedileship would be that it would be a very much more expensive office than the tribunate. If *aedilitatem* is read, I should suggest that *her-* may be the remains of *nuper*: cp. Adn. Crit. to 25, 2.—L. C. P.]

septimo die] Sternkopf thinks that from *Ex Sicilia* to *debut* are the actual words of Cicero in oratio recta. That involves changing *introisse* of the mss to *introisti*, but does not require any further alteration: see Adn. Crit. Clodius boasts of the dispatch with which he came from the Straits of Messina to Rome, and the modesty with which he entered the city. Cicero replies by ironically referring to the still greater dispatch he must have used when he travelled from Rome to Interamna in three hours, as he must have done if his plea of *alibi*, in the case of the Bona Dea, were true. Clodius swore that he was at Interamna at the time of the alleged sacrilege. Cicero swore that he saw him in Rome three hours before, cp. *Pro Dom.* 80; *Quintil.* iv. 2, 88.

in eoque] Cicero in his letters often uses *in eo*, &c., for the more regular *in ea re*, &c.: cp. *in hac esse*, for *in hac re esse*, in this section below.

ne tum quidem cum iri maxime debuit. Quid quaeris? hominem petulantem modestum reddo non solum perpetua gravitate orationis sed etiam hoc genere dictorum. Itaque iam familiariter cum ipso cavillor ac iocor: quin etiam, cum candidatum deducere, quaerit ex me num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare? Negavi. 'At ego,' inquit, 'novus patronus instituum, sed soror quae tantum habeat consularis loci unum mihi solum pedem dat.' 'Noli,' inquam, 'de uno pede sororis queri: licet etiam alterum tollas.' Non consulare, inquires, dictum: fateor, sed ego illam odi male consularem. Ea est enim seditiosa ea cum viro bellum gerit, neque solum cum Metello sed etiam cum Fabio, quod eos in hoc esse moleste fert. 6. Quod de agraria lege quaeris, sane iam videtur refrixisse. Quod me quodam modo molli brachio de Pompei familiaritate obiurgas, nolim ita existimes me mei praesidi causa cum illo coniunctum esse, sed ita res erat instituta ut, si inter nos esset aliqua forte dissensio, maximas in re publica discordias versari esset necesse. Quod a me ita praecautum

cum iri maxime debuit] 'when his course should have been checked.' A play on the two meanings of *obviam ire*: 'to go to meet,' and 'to check,' 'resist.' We might use 'go out to meet' in both senses.

hominem petulantem] 'the bully': cp. *ebrius ac petulans*, Juv. iii. 278.

cavillor] 'rally him.'

deducere] 'when we were escorting a friend of ours who was standing for office'; *deducere* is generally to escort to the *forum* or the *comitia*, to escort into the city; *reducere* is to escort home.

Siculis locum . . . dare] The Sicilians seem to have looked on Cicero as their patron. He had been quaestor in Sicily. So also had Clodius, who appears to charge Cicero with want of attention to his Sicilian clients. 'I,' he says, 'will supersede you as their patron, and give them a place at the gladiatorial games. [Not that it is a simple matter for me], for though my sister is wife of the consul Metellus, and has command of all the space in the amphitheatre reserved for the consul, she will not give me more than mere standing-room—a single foot.' Cicero's reply is an obscene allusion to Clodius' intrigue with his sister. It was customary to reserve places at the games for friends: see Mur. 72 *quod tempus fuit . . . quo haec sive*

ambitio sive liberalitas non fuerit, ut locus et in circo et in foro daretur amicis et tribulibus?

Non consulare] 'unworthy of a consul.' Even this degree of refinement shows Cicero in advance of his age.

male consularem] 'so unworthy of a consul,' especially a consul whom Cicero admired and liked.

seditiosa] 'a shrew': for *seditio* used of matrimonial jars, cp. Ter. Andr. v. 1, 11 (830) *filiam ut darem in seditionem atque in incertis nuptias*. But, perhaps, as Mr. Pretor suggests, the word is used more generally and forcibly in reference to the public actions of Clodia, 'she is a mischief-maker,' or better 'a firebrand.' This Clodia is the 'Lesbia' of Catullus. *Ea . . . gerit* is a comic senarius; possibly a verse from some lost poet.

Fabio] probably a lover of Clodia.

in hoc esse] sc. *hoc agere, operam dare* *ne Clodius trib. plebis fiat*: cp. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 11, *omnis in hoc sum*. This is the reading of Med., which Boot has restored and explained.

6. *refraxisse*] 'to have hung fire.'

molli brachio] 'gently': cp. *levi brachio*, Att. iv. 16, 6 (= 149, 3).

ita res erat instituta ut] 'the position of affairs is such that.'

atque provi
rem sed ut i
quem de
gloriosius
conservatae
quam pro
Caesarem, e
num tantu
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esset proba
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ratione]
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atque provisum est non ut ego de optima illa mea ratione deciderem sed ut ille esset melior et aliquid de populari levitate deponeret : quem de meis rebus in quas eum multi incitarant multo scito gloriosius quam de suis praedicare. Sibi enim bene gestae, mihi conservatae rei publicae dat testimonium. Hoc facere illum mihi quam prosit nescio, rei publicae certe prodest. Quid si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem, num tantum obsum rei publicae? 7. Quin etiam, si mihi nemo invideret, si omnes, ut erat aequum, faverent, tamen non minus esset probanda medicina quae sanaret vitiosas partis rei publicae quam quae exsecaret. Nunc vero, cum equitatus ille quem ego in clivo Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram senatum deseruerit, nostri autem principes digito se caelum putent attingere si nulli barbati in piscinis sint qui ad manum accedant, alia autem neglegant, nonne tibi satis prodesse videor si perficio ut nolint obesse qui possunt? 8. Nam Catonem nostrum non tu amas plus quam ego, sed tamen ille optimo animo utens et summa fide nocet interdum rei publicae. Dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam. Quid

ratione] 'policy': cp. *optima causa* above = 'the cause of the *optimates*.'

populari levitate] 'his time-serving abandonment of principle.'

cuius nunc venti] 'who has the wind in his sails now.' Abeken observes that this is the first mention of the great Julius Caesar in the letters. It is not absolutely the first mention, for he is above spoken of in connexion with the Clodian sacrilege, and as meditating a coalition with Lucceius. It is, however, the first criticism of his political position; and it is remarkable that these should be words so suitable for the introduction of this great actor to the stage of politics. Cp. Fam. xii. 25, 5 (825) *quicumque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit*.

7. medicina quae sanaret] See on 24, 2. This mild remedy is described below; it is merely to effect *ut nolint obesse qui possunt*.

equitatus] These are here so called instead of equites, by a metaphor taken from military service. So *collocaram, signifero, principe*. Cicero called the equites into council with the senate in the temple of Concord at the Capitoline hill.

digito . . . attingere] Otto compares Symmachus, Epist. i. 52 (46), *ne ego digito, ut aiunt, supera convexa tetigissem*. The expression in Propertius i. 8, 43 *Nunc mihi summa licet contingere sidera plantis* is not quite similar: as Dr. Postgate points out, it rather means 'to walk as a god among the other gods.' Such phrases as *sublimi feriam sidera vertice* (Hor. Carm. i. 1, 36) are, however, closely parallel, as in both human stature rises to the divine.

ad manum accedant] See Mart. x. 30, 21-24; Plin. H. N. ix. 171.

8. in Romuli faece] translated ἐν τῇ Ῥωμύλου ἰσοστάθμῃ in Plut. Phoc. 3 init. We cannot therefore construe *in Romuli (πολιτείας) faece*, which would besides weaken the expression. But is not the phrase very strange? 'The dregs of Romulus' reminds one of the Plautine *hallex viri*. What one would expect is, 'the dregs of the city of Romulus,' *Romulea faece*; or would it be rash to suggest *Romulae faece*, rendering 'Cato speaks as if he were in the Fair City of Plato, not amid the lees of our degenerate Rome'? The diminutive form conveys contempt, just as in *togulam* (24, 6), and *vooulae*,

verius quam in iudicium venire qui ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit? Censuit hoc Cato: adsensit senatus. Equites curiae bellum, non mihi: nam ego dissensi. Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus? Fuit tamen retinendi ordinis causa facienda iactura. Restitit et pervicit Cato. Itaque nunc consule in carcere incluso, saepe item seditione commota, adspiravit nemo eorum quorum ego concursu itemque ii consules qui post me fuerunt rem publicam defendere solebant. Quid ergo? istos, inquires, mercede conductos habebimus? Quid faciemus, si aliter non possumus? an libertinis atque etiam servis serviamus? Sed, ut tu ais, ἄλις σπουδῆς. 9. Favonius meam tribum tulit honestius quam suam. Lucei perdidit. Accusavit Nasicam inhoneste ac modeste tamen: dixit ita ut Rhodi videretur molis potius quam Moloni operam dedisse.

'my poor voice' (50, 1). Juvenal's *turba Remi* does not defend *faex Romuli*, for *faex* unqualified is not equivalent to *turba*, but only when qualified, as in *faex urbis* (22, 11). *Faex Romuli* could only mean 'the *colluvio* brought together by Romulus to populate the city at its foundation,' and this is foreign to the antithesis. It is true that we find in Lucr. v. 1141 *Res itaque ad summam faecem turbasque redibat*, but would not this be a very strange expression in prose, and in a letter? For *faex* applied to the populace cp. also Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (105), Fam. vii. 32, 2 (229).

verius] 'fairer': cp. De Legg. ii. 11. *consule in carcere*] 'Though Flavius threw the consul into prison (for his opposition to the Agrarian Law), not one of the knights came near him (to assist him)—those knights who used to rally round the consul so staunchly that it was by their aid that my successors as well as myself used to maintain the constitution.' *Adspiravit* used absol. is strange; perhaps we should read *ad eum adspiravit*: cp. Pis. 11 (quoted by Mr. Pretor), and Fam. vii. 10, 1 (161). For the absolute use Boot compares Ad Herenn. iv. 45, a passage which is hardly parallel.

Quid ergo?] 'What then? are we to purchase the support of the equites? What else can we do if we cannot get it except by purchase? Are we to be the slaves of the freedmen, aye, and of the slaves who sway the popular assemblies?'

ἄλις σπουδῆς] 'But, as you say, enough of the *grand sérieux*,' i. e. let

us talk no more of these very weighty matters and in this earnest style.

9. *Favonius*] 'Favonius, in his suit for the praetorship, made a better fight in my tribe [the Cornelian] than in his own, but was rejected by the tribe of Lucecius' (in which we may presume the influence of Caesar was paramount, for Lucecius was a friend of Caesar, and therefore Favonius, the admirer and imitator of Cato (cp. 14, 6), would be rejected).

Accusavit] Favonius seems to have been unsuccessful in his candidature for the praetorship, and to have prosecuted Scipio Nasicus, his successful rival, for bribery. Cicero says, 'It was a shabby act to prosecute his successful rival, yet he conducted the prosecution with moderation; he spoke so badly that you would have thought he had spent his time in Rhodes in working at the *molae* instead of studying under Molon'—that is, one would have thought that he had been engaged in *servile* labour, and not in acquiring a liberal education. We cannot suggest any method of reproducing the pun on *molae* and *Molon*. Boot takes *molae* to mean *liba*, but it never bears this sense, and the mention of working at a mill as the typical penal task of slaves is very apt. The conjecture of Rinkes, who (adopting Malaspina's *molestae* for *modeste*) for *inhoneste* reads *honeste*, is very rash: *honeste* could not mean 'from a good motive merely, though bad in other respects'; it would give a comprehensive approbation to the whole transaction.

Mihi quod defendissem leviter susceperat. Nunc tamen petit iterum rei publicae causa. Luceius quid agat scribam ad te cum Caesarem videro qui aderit biduo. 10. Quod Sicyonii te laedunt, Catoni et eius aemulatori attribuis Servilio. Quid? ea plaga nonne ad multos bonos viros pertinet? Sed ita placuit; laudemus, deinde in discessionibus soli relinquamur! 11. Amalthea mea te exspectat et indiget tui. Tusculanum et Pompeianum valde me delectant, nisi quod me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, aere non Corinthio sed hoc circumforaneo obruerunt. In Gallia speramus esse otium. 'Prognostica' mea cum oratiunculis propediem exspecta. Et tamen quid cogites de adventu tuo scribe ad nos. Nam mihi Pomponia nuntiare iussit te mense Quintili Romae fore. Id a tuis litteris quas ad me de censu tuo miserat discrepabat. 12. Paetus, ut antea ad te scripsi, omnis libros quos frater suus reliquisset mihi donavit. Hoc illius munus in tua diligentia positum est. Si me amas, cura ut conserventur et ad

'With the best intentions' is expressed by *optimo animo utens* in § 8.

petit iterum] Boot interprets, 'he is again a candidate (probably for the tribunate this time), just to give the state a chance' (ironical). Perhaps, however, the words are not ironical, as there was no question that Favonius was patriotic, and that Cicero favoured his side in politics.

Luceius] cp. 23, 11.

10. *Sicyonii*] See on 25, 9.

Sed ita placuit] In M we find *Sed si ita placuit*; hence it has been conjectured that we should read *Sed st; ita placuit, st* being an interjection, 'hush,' found in Plautus (but it would appear not to be found with the indicative). In Fam. xvi. 24, 2 (806) *Sed si litteras tuas exspecto* of M has been also altered to *sed st*. But as the other principal mss in that passage omit *si*, and as 'hush' would be too colloquial, especially in such an ordinary matter as the expectation of a letter from Tiro, we expressed grave doubts as to its genuineness there. We think it is not genuine here either; and that *si* is a simple case of dittography after *s*; (= *sed*): cp. Gurlitt, N. phil. Rundschau, 1899, p. 433 ff.

deinde in discessionibus] We proposed formerly to add *ne* after *deinde*, and this certainly gives a better sense ('lest we be all alone when it comes to voting'). But this position of *ne* is awkward, and the mss reading as it stands admits of a possible

interpretation, 'afterwards let me be left in a minority of one.' (This phrase we take from Mr. Pretor.) Cicero apparently means that if he had opposed the motion he would have been the only opponent. Some emphasis should be laid on *deinde*. He will put off being in a minority of one until another occasion.

11. *vindicem aeris alieni*] Fam. v. 6, 2 (16).

aere non Corinthio sed] *aes Corinthium* refers to the Corinthian bronzes, which were much esteemed as articles of *virtu*; and *aes circumforaneum* to the debts which Cicero was obliged to incur to the Roman bankers. The play on the words is difficult to reproduce; perhaps one might render: 'The only drawback is, that I am over head and ears in bills as well as bronzes.'

speramus esse otium] 'we hope that peace prevails' (and that we shall soon hear of it). We can hope for things past or present when the *announcement* of issue is still future (Reid on Arch. 31).

Prognostica] his translation of Aratus' *Διοσσηα*. This was probably used both by Lucretius and Virgil.

12. *frater*] Ser. Claudius, 'his cousin,' or perhaps his 'half-brother': see 26, 7.

reliquisset] 'which (as he said) he had left'; this is the virtual *oblique*: see on 10, 3, *diceret*.

me perferantur. Hoc mihi nihil potest esse gratius et cum Graecos tum vero diligenter Latinos ut conserves velim. Tuum esse hoc munusculum putabo. Ad Octavium dedi litteras; cum ipso nihil eram locutus. Neque enim ista tua negotia provincialia esse putabam neque te in tocollionibus habebam. Sed scripsi, ut debui, diligenter.

28. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO ROME (ATT. II. 2.)

ANTIUM; DECEMBER, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero Attico Ciceronem suum commendat, Dicaearchum summis adficit laudibus, Herodem vituperat: deinde de adventu Antonii quaerit et Atticum ut pridie Kal. secum sit rogat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem nostrum. Ei nos *συννοσεῖν* videmur. 2. *Πελλαγαίων* in manibus tenebam et hercule magnum

Ad Octavium] 'I wrote to Octavius on your behalf. I had no conversation with him about your business; for when I saw him last, I did not know that your transactions extended to the provinces—I did not then look on you as a bit of a usurer. This C. Octavius (father of the emperor Augustus) was the successor of Cicero's colleague, Antonius, in the governorship of Macedonia. Atticus probably wanted his good offices in collecting his debts, especially the Sicyonian debt. *Tocullio* (diminutive from *τόκος*) is hardly 'a petty usurer,' which would be offensive, but 'a bit of a usurer,' which softens down the ugly name. Cicero was not aware that Atticus' transactions extended to the provinces, though he knew he had dealings in Epirus, Athens, Sicyon. So he did not think he could have any business in Macedonia. He calls Atticus 'a bit of a usurer,' on hearing that the area of his pecuniary transactions is wider than he had supposed. The *negotiores* had a bad name in the provinces. *Tocullio* is a contemptuous term, here used playfully.

With Sternkopf (Elberfeld Programme, pp. 20-22), we have dated this letter from Antium (cp. 27, 1). It was certainly not written in the Tusculum, as that town would have been on Atticus' way to Rome (cp. *quoniam huc non venis*).

1. *Ciceronem nostrum*] the son of Quintus, who was now ill: cp. note to 29, 3.

2. *Πελλαγαίων*] sc. *πολιτείαν*, 'an account of the constitution of Pellene,' by Dicaearchus: so *Κορινθίων* and 'Αθηναίων below.

magnum acervum] The Roman book consisted of strips of papyrus glued together, the last leaf being fastened to a stick, round which the whole was rolled. So that the more one had read of a book the more of the *papyrus* would be unrolled; and so it would lie on the floor at the feet of the reader, rising into a large heap according as more and more was unrolled from the stick. Cp. *milesima pagina surgit*, Juv. vii. 100. It must be remembered that each book of a work formed a separate roll (*volumen*). If, then, Cicero had read several *books* of Dicaearchus, there would be several *volumina* together on the floor. Ovid speaks of his *Metamorphoses* as *mutatae ter quinque volumina formae*, Trist. i. 1, 117. Two hundred *paginae* was the largest amount put on each roll (*volumen*).

The meaning of the word *umbilicus*, as applied to a *volumen*, is not quite ascertained. The expression itself would seem to point to the extremities of the cylinder round which the paper was rolled. According to Marquardt, when the ancients speak of *umbilicus*, they mean the cylinder

acervum Dicaearchi mihi ante pedes exstruxeram. O magnum hominem! et unde multo plura didiceris quam de Procilio. Κορινθίων et Ἀθηναίων puto me Romae habere. Mihi crede, si leges haec, dices 'mirabilis vir est.' Ἡρώδης, si homo esset, eum potius legeret quam unam litteram scriberet: qui me epistula petivit, ad te, ut video, comminus accessit. Coniurasse mallet quam restitisse coniurationi, si illum mihi audiendum putassem. 3. De lolio sanus non es: de vino laudo. Sed heus tu, equid vides

itself—the central stick; when they speak of *umbilici*, they mean the projecting extremities of the central stick, also called *cornua*. *Frontes* were the flat surfaces of the rolled paper at top and bottom of the roll; these were smoothed with pumice stone, and sometimes coloured to produce a pleasant effect. The expression *ad umbilicum adducere*, meaning 'to finish the writing of a book,' would seem to show that *umbilicus* was a 'knob' put into a cavity at each end of the rolled paper for ornament; which would be natural enough if the central stick was a little shorter than the roll of paper which enveloped it.

[*Dicaearchi*] Dicaearchus of Messene, a Peripatetic, was indeed a remarkable man. His theory of the soul is, to a great extent, in accordance with modern speculations. He held that the soul was a function of the organism, *μηδὲν εἶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸ πῶς ἔχον σώμα*. A consequence of this was, in his opinion, that the *bios πρακτικός* was superior to the *bios θεωρητικός* (43, 3). Accordingly his writings were naturally political, accounts of Hellenic constitutions, and such like works. In his *τριπολιτικός* he sought to show that a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, was the best constitution; and he found it in Sparta. It was probably from this work that Polybius took (vi. 2–10) the theory that Rome owed her greatness to such an admixture in her constitution, than which there is, according to Mommsen (iii. 467), hardly a more foolish speculation. Dicaearchus was a great favourite of Cicero, who calls him *deliciae meae* (Tusc. i. 77).

[*Mihi crede*] This is Boot's conjecture for *mihi credēs, leges*; *haec doceo, mirabilis vir est*, which is by no means certainly wrong: *credēs* and *leges* might be regarded as 'the polite imperative,' the future being thus used in Latin as the opt. with *ἄν* in Greek. Dr. Reid has suggested

mihi crede legens haec doceor, comparing *plura didiceris* above. For *mihi crede*, 'trust me,' 'take my advice,' cp. Index, s. v. *credere*.

[Ἡρώδης] was afterwards the instructor of Cicero's son, as seems to be shown by Att. xv. 16 a (746).

[*si homo esset*] a colloquialism common to Terence and Cicero. It here means 'if he had the ordinary sense of a man.' In other passages it sometimes has a moral sense—'if he had the feelings of a man.'

[*litteram*] γράμμα, a single letter of the alphabet. See note on 20, 3.

[*qui me epistula*] 'who has assailed me by letter (as with a missile), while he has engaged you hand to hand' (as with a sword). Herodes seems to have written a memoir of Cicero's consulate, and concerning it to have made some request of Cicero by letter, and of Atticus personally. Probably he desired to read it to them, as Cicero says *audiendum*, 'I should rather have chosen to be one of the conspirators than the suppressor of the conspiracy, if I thought I should have to pay such a price for my distinction as to listen to that fellow.'

3. *lolio . . . vino*] To explain this, or to choose between *vino* and *Vinio*, *lolio* and *Lollio*, we should have the letter of Atticus to which this is a reply. Dr. Reid, who adopts *lolio* from Ed. Iens. and Corradus, refers to Pliny H. N. xxii. 160, where *lotium* is mentioned as a cure for *podagra*.

[*Sed heus tu*] 'But, I say, don't you observe that the Kalends of January are approaching, and no Antonius; that the jury to try him for extortion is being empanelled? Such is the intelligence sent to me—that Nigidius threatens that he will serve a summons on any juror who does not attend.' This law seems to have been enacted by Cicero. See the very difficult passage Mur. 47, and Lange, iii². 245. Antonius was to be prosecuted by

Kal. venire, Antonium non venire? iudices cogi? Nam ita ad me mittunt. Nigidium minari in contione se iudicem qui non adfuerit compellaturum. Velim tamen, si quid est de Antoni adventu quod audieris, scribas ad me et, quoniam huc non venis, cenes apud nos utique pridie Kal. Cave aliter facias. Cura ut valeas.

29. TO ATTICUS ON HIS WAY TO ROME (ATT. II. 3).

ANTIUM; DECEMBER, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

De absolutione Valerii, de fenestrarum angustiis quas Cyri architecti culpae attribuit, de ratione rei publicae tractandae inde a mense Ianuario, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Primum, ut opinor, εὐαγγέλια. Valerius absolutus est Hortensio defendente. Id iudicium Auli filio condonatum putabatur, et Epicratem suspicor, ut scribis, lascivum fuisse. Etenim mihi caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant. Quid sit sciemus

Caelius on his return from Macedonia. P. Nigidius Figulus was one of the senators chosen by Cicero to take down the evidence of the informers against Catiline, Sull. 42. Cicero gives a flattering description of him in the beginning of the *Timaeus*. He was possibly the president of the court in the case, or one of the *subscriptores*; but he was not tribune, as Schütz says. He was praetor in 58, and so could not have been tribune from Dec. 59 to Dec. 58.

huc] To Antium, whence this letter was probably written: see introductory note.

apud nos] 'at my town house': cp. Att. iv. 5, 3 (108), where we should perhaps read *Tu 'de via recta in hortos'*; *videtur commodius ad te*, 'you tell me "come straight to my suburban villa." I think it would be better to go to your town house.'

1. *Primum, ut opinor*] 'First of all, good news, as I think you will consider it. Valerius has been acquitted, with Hortensius as his advocate. It is generally supposed that his acquittal was

a compliment to Afranius; and I suspect, as you say in your letter, that Epicrates has been going it. I did not like the look of his military boots and pipe-clayed bandage.' One might take *ut opinor* with *primum*, as Cicero seems fond of the collocation: cp. Fin. ii. 31 *a primo, ut opinor, animantium ortu*: Att. i. 18, 2 (24) *primus, ut opinor, introitus fuit in causam*, i. e. 'the first thing that happened since you set out was the Clodian affair.' εὐαγγέλια in classical Greek would be 'rewards for good news,' but Cicero follows the post-classical usage. Whether this is ironical, as Boot supposes, or there really was some reason why Atticus should welcome the acquittal of Valerius, we have no means of judging, knowing nothing about Valerius except that he was not the L. Flaccus whom Cicero, with Hortensius, defended in 695 (59). Here, and here only, Pompey is called *Epicrates*, 'our influential (successful) friend.' It seems to want point and colour as a *sobriquet*, especially as Cicero abounds in effective nicknames for Pompey, such as *Hierosolymarius*, *Alabarches*, *Sampsiceramus*. I have sug-

cum veneris. 2. Fenestrarum angustias quod reprehendis, scito te Κύρου παιδείαν reprehendere. Nam, cum ego idem istuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat viridariorum διαφάσεις latis luminibus non tam esse suavis. Etenim ἔστω ὄψεις μὲν ἢ α, τὸ δὲ ὀρώμενον β, γ, ἀκτῖνες δὲ δ καὶ ε. Vides enim cetera. Nam, si κατ' εἰδῶλων ἐμπτώσεις videremus, valde laborarent εἰδῶλα in angustiis: nunc fit lepide illa ἔκχυσις radiatorum. Cetera si reprehenderis, non ferēs tacitum, nisi si quid erit eius modi quod sine sumptu corrigi possit. 3. Venio nunc ad mensem Ianuarium et ad ὑπόστασιν nostram ac πολιτείαν, in qua Σωκρατικῶς εἰς ἑκάτερον, sed tamen ad extremum, ut illi solebant, τὴν ἀρέσκουσιν. Est res sane magni consili. Nam aut fortiter resistendum est legi agrariae, in quo est quaedam dimicatio sed plena laudis, aut quiescendum, quod

gested in *Hermathena*, vol. i., p. 201, that the word which should stand here is *Iphicratem*. The Athenian Iphicrates is well known to have invented a new sort of legging or military boot called Ἴφικρατίδες, so that Wellington and Blücher are not the first generals who have supplied bootmakers with a designation. Pompey must have affected some singularity in the colour or shape of his *caligae* and *fasciae* (for the mere wearing of such was usual, and would not have provoked remark), and hence Cicero nicknames him *Iphicrates*. E and I are very often confused in Latin mss, the horizontal strokes of the E, especially the middle one, being very short. Pompey is said to have worn the *fasciae* to conceal a sore in his leg.

2. *Fenestrarum*] 'You criticise the narrowness of the windows in my villa, where you lodged on your journey. Let me tell you that you are criticising *The Education of Cyrus*. For when I made the same remark to Cyrus, he said that the view of a pleasure-ground was not so pleasant when the windows were large. For let the point of vision be α, the object of vision β, γ, the rays δ, ε—of course you see what follows. For if the true theory of vision were the incidence of images on the eyes (the Epicurean theory), then the images would be hampered in the narrow space; whereas the emission of rays from the eyes (the converse doctrine) goes on merrily. If you have any other criticism, it won't go undisputed, unless it is some defect which can be remedied without expense.' Cyrus was Cicero's architect.

There is of course a play on the name of the historical novel composed by Xenophon, the *Cyropaedia*. Boot, objecting to διαφάσεις = 'view through,' a sense which it often bears, prefers *vi radiatorum*. But *vi* means 'violence,' and is quite unsuitable. The whole passage is a pretended demonstration of a jocular character, reminding one of the scene between Moses and the squire in *The Vicar of Wakefield*. He says, if the Epicurean theory were right, and material, though minute, copies of the object passed into the eye, there would be jostling in the narrow windows; but a rival theory (says he) is right: there is an emission of rays from the eyes, and that works splendidly (i.e. is not impeded by the narrowness of the windows); *nunc* is strongly adversative, as in *Fam.* i. 9, 15 (153), *nunc, ut Apelles*, 'whereas, just as Apelles,' &c., *nunc parvulos nobis dedit igniculos*, *Tusc.* iii. 2. The rival theory is Platonic. For a full account of this and other ancient theories of vision, see Grote's *Plato*, iii. 265, *note*.

non ferēs tacitum] neuter, 'you will not carry it off without remark'; so *Liv.* i. 50, 9; iii. 45, 6; but *tacita auferas* in *Plaut. As.* 816.

3. *Venio nunc ad*] 'I now come to January, and to my political platform (*ὑπόστασιν* ac *πολιτείαν*) in which, after the fashion of Socrates, I shall first give both alternatives, and then, finally, like the Socratic School, indicate the view I prefer.'

legi agrariae] Caesar's law, cp. 43, 1.

est non dissimile atque ire in Solonium aut Antium, aut etiam adiuvandam, quod a me aiunt Caesarem sic exspectare ut non dubitet. Nam fuit apud me Cornelius: hunc dico Balbum, Caesaris familiarem. Is adfirmabat illum omnibus in rebus meo et Pompei consilio usurum daturumque operam ut cum Pompeio Crassum coniungeret. Hic sunt haec: coniunctio mihi summa cum Pompeio: si placet, etiam cum Caesare: reditus in gratiam cum inimicis, pax cum multitudine, senectutis otium. Sed me κατακλείς mea illa commovet quae est in libro III.

*Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque pelisti,
Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.*

Haec mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta ἀριστοκρατικῶς Calliope ipsa praescripserit, non opinor esse dubitandum quin semper nobis videatur

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

Sed haec ambulationibus Compitaliciis reservemus. Tu pridie Compitalia memento. Balineum calferi iubebo, et Pomponiam Terentia rogat: matrem adiungemus. Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας adfer mihi de libris Quinti fratris.

Cornelius: hunc dico Balbum] a native of Gades whose citizenship Cicero successfully defended afterwards in 698 (56). He became consul in 714 (40).

Hic sunt haec] 'This course (to support the Agrarian Law) has the following advantages.' This passage shows very plainly that the triumphs made overtures to Cicero to join their party: cp. Prov. Cons. 41.

κατακλείς] 'wind-up,' 'conclusion,' *finale*, found in Att. ix. 18, 3 (376), and here restored by Turnebus for the corrupt *κατακρεσις* of M. Boot reads *κατάκλησις* in the sense of *exhortation*, and Bosius *κατάτασις* in the same sense (comparing *κατατείνειν δρόμον*). But the mss on which he founds his argument are fictitious: see Introduction iii; *clausula*, which is precisely the Latin for *κατακλείς*, is used in close connexion with *exhortation* in Fam. ii. 4, 2 (175), *ut ea clausula qua soleo, teque cohortabor*. This is a fragment of Cicero's poem on his consulate. The words *prima a parte iuventae* seem to show that he had eulo-

gised his father in the poem; see on 25, 10.

ambulationibus Compitaliciis] 'for our strolls at the Compitalia.' The *Compitalia* were *feriae conceptivae*, generally held shortly after the *Saturnalia*. From a comparison of this passage with the end of the preceding letter, we may infer that the Compitalia were held on January 1st. In 696 (58) they were also held on January 1st (cp. Pis. 8); and in 704 (50) on January 2nd: cp. Att. vii. 7, 3 (298). That fixes the date of this letter to December.

rogat] 'invites.'

matrem] sc. tuam.

Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας] Quintus had probably used this work of Aristotle's successor in drawing up his essay on the duties of a candidate for the consulship (12), above. Atticus had been staying at one of Q. Cicero's houses (probably Arcanum or Laterium) on his way back from Greece, where he had found young Quintus not very well in health: cp. 28, 1.

30. TO QUINTUS, IN ASIA (Q. FR. I. 1).

ROME; A. U. C. 694 (END); B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

Cum Q. Cicero iam per duo annos Asiam provinciam pro praetore administrasset eiusque administrationis fama minus secunda esse videretur, M. Cicero hac ipsa epistula qua ei in tertium iam annum imperium prorogatum esse nuntiat eum cohortatur ut famae suae consulat magis. Ipsa autem M. Ciceronis oratio duabus partibus constat quarum prior pertinet ad rem publicam atque ad ipsum Q. fratris imperium, qua ei praecipit ut et ipse summam integritatem et continentiam adhibeat et comitum omnium suorum modestiam praestet et in familiaritatibus hominum provincialium et Graecorum diligendis summa cautione utatur et gravem etiam servorum disciplinam obtineat, altera spectat ad ipsius Q. fratris officium atque humanitatem, qua eum vehementer adhortatur ut in suppliciis sumendis acerbiter moderetur et summam in iure dicundo aequabilitatem retineat, onera provinciae sublevet sumptusque ac iacturas minuatur, socios cum publicanorum ordine conciliet constituatque inter eos concordiam, iracundiam suam contineat ac naturae impetum reprimat.

MARCUS Q. FRATRI SAL.

I. 1. Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistolam multi nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo, tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi huius molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litteris non unis sed pluribus, cum iam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae decessionis adferebam, non solum ut quam diutissime te iucunda opinione oblectarem sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio ut rem posse confici

30.] This letter is closely imitated throughout by Pliny, Epp. viii. 24. It was probably written in December, as early in May, Cicero had received a letter from Quintus, in which he had heard of his appointment for the third year, cp. 43, 4; and it took probably more than two months for a letter to reach Asia in the winter.

1. *nuntii, fama denique . . . ipsa*] Ernesti supposes some words to have fallen out, as *denique* generally in Cicero ushers in the last term of a series, hardly ever consisting of less than three items; but we have in Rep. ii. 49 *qui sibi cum suis civibus, qui denique cum omni hominum genere nullam iuris communionem velit*. So

nemo bonus, nemo denique civis, Pis. 45: for the sentiment, cp. Fam. ii. 8, 1 (201).

annum tertium] Quintus had been already two years governor of Asia as propraetor. Since his tenure of power has now been extended to a third year, Cicero takes occasion to warn his brother against his besetting sin, and begs him to turn this unwelcome prolongation of office into a blessing, by making his last year memorable for the excellence of his government. The besetting sin of Quintus was excessive irritability. For a sketch of his character, see Introduction, i. § 2.

a praetoribus] who wished to have a provincial government vacant in the hope that they might themselves be appointed.

non diffiderem. 2. Nunc quoniam ita accidit ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quidquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre, sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. *Et* quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt, est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi. Factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. Quod ego, dum saluti sociorum consulo, dum impudentiae non nullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter, praesertim cum id commiserim ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere. 3. Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnis partis bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis sed ut tecum iam ipse certes, si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem ad excellentis in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, immo vero etiam posteris nostris adferet. 4. Quapropter hoc te primum rogo ne contrahas ac demittas animum neve te obrui tamquam fluctu sic magnitudine negotii sinas contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis. Neque enim eius modi partem rei publicae geris in qua fortuna dominetur sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo quod eodem tempore esse intellegerem etiam fortu-

2. *Quod ego*] Cicero confesses that he had made a mistake in neglecting his brother's request to oppose the continuance of his provincial government after the expiration of the *first* year of it; he did so for the sake of the allies, through a desire of opposing certain provincial bankers (Paconius and Tuscanus), who sought, on account of a personal grudge, to prevent the reappointment of Quintus, and because he hoped to see his own distinction enhanced by the good administration of his brother. 'In all this,' he says, 'I acted imprudently, especially as I incurred the risk that the second year of

government should entail a third'—as it actually did. For the impersonal *succederetur*, cp. Pis. 88, Fam. iii. 6, 2 (213).

3. *ad omnis partis bene audiendi*] 'to win "golden opinions from all sorts of people."'

4. *ne contrahas ac demittas animum*] 'not to let yourself be downcast or dejected.'

erigas] sc. *animum*. 'Be spirited and don't flinch from the weight of your affairs—nay, rather actually face them boldly.'

quod eodem] 'because I should see that, in getting a new lease of your govern-

nae potestatem in nos prorogatam. 5. Nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proeli dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendi aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus: quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt, ut, quem ad modum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen ut eadem dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. 6. Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum, deinde ex eo genere civium qui aut, quod publicani sunt, nos summa necessitudine attingunt aut, quod ita negotiantur ut locupletes sint, nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumis fortunas habere arbitrantur.

II. 7. At enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur.— Quasi vero ego id putem non te aliquantum negoti sustinere. Intellego permagnum esse negotium et maximi consili, sed memento consili me hoc esse negotium magis aliquanto quam fortunae putare. Quid est enim negoti continere eos quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris,

ment, you were giving fortune a new lease of her power over your affairs.'

5. *tranquillitas*] 'fair weather' harmonises with the rest of the simile: cp. *tranquillitates aucupaturi sumus*, Att. vi. 8, 4 (281): 'fair weather of such a kind as to be a positive pleasure to a vigilant pilot, though it might even shipwreck one who slept at his post.' *Etiam* is hard to explain. If it is right, it probably means that so charming was the weather encountered by Quintus, that his voyage was not merely safe (provided he did not sleep at the helm), but even quite a pleasure-trip, a delightful cruise; that is, so well disposed were the provincials (§ 6), and so safe was he from the freaks of fortune (§ 5), that his government (with ordinary care) would be not only easy, but a positive source of pleasure. It is impossible that *delectare* could be here used in the sense of 'to lull into a false repose.' This

sense would suit the context well, but could not be defended by usage. Could Cicero have written *allectare*?

6. *sociorum . . . civium*] The *socii* are the provincials. The *cives* are the Roman dwellers in the province, who were *publicani* or *negotiatores*, and would therefore be specially bound to Cicero as the champion of the equites and the *vindex aeris alieni*. See 27, 10.

summa necessitudine attingunt] See above, 12, § 56, *suos magnopere necessarios*, 'those to whom they are bound by the closest ties.'

7. *At enim*] "'But," some one may say, "even though these are the classes of which the province is composed, yet,"' &c. *At enim* introduces an objection. The answer is given in *quasi vero*, 'as if I ever supposed that your government entailed no trouble.' Observe the strong *chiasmus* in *existunt . . . consequuntur*.

sicut est difficillimum : tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero esse debuit, cuius natura talis est ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse, ea autem adhibita doctrina est quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorem, paullo cupidiorē publicanum comprimere non possis! Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur ut quemdam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent. 8. Atque haec nunc non ut facias sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas scribo. Praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. 9. Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis proteri homines, non sumptu exhauriri, non adventu commoveri? esse quocumque veneris et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, cum urbs custodem non tyrannum, domus hospitem non expilatorem recepisse videatur?

III. 10. His autem in rebus iam te usus ipse profecto eruditiv nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspectandum diligenter ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum sed omnis ministros imperi tui sociis et civibus et rei

vitiosissimam] 'most defective.'

Nam Graeci] 'For such will be the feelings with which the Greeks will look on such a life as you lead, that they will fancy that some character of old historic purity—aye, that some inspired and miraculous ruler has dropped down from heaven into the province.' *Nam Graeci* depends on an ellipse. Having mentioned the *negotiatores* and *publicani* as likely to be easily kept within bounds, he adds, the remaining element of the provincial population, the Greeks, I will not include in the same class—they will be filled with the highest enthusiasm for you, and will never need a controlling hand. The

Greeks were not chary of divine honours. They made Theophanes a god.

8. *nulla condicio pecuniae*] 'no pecuniary offer.' Cp. Hor. Carm. i. 1, 12. *Attalicis condicionibus*, 'by all the wealth that Attalus could offer.'

9. *in luce Asiae*] 'in the full blaze of Asia.' Cp. Brut. 32 *forensi luce caruit*.

in auribus] Cp. *in vestris auribus*, Fin. v. 75.

proteri] 'to be trampled under foot in your progress through your province.' *Proteri* is the brilliant conjecture of Ursinus for *perterreri*: if we preserved *perterreri* we should have a repetition involving an anticlimax in the words

publicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae, de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari, Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam de nostra laboret. 11. Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum sed eum quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum et tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus quoad per se neglegeret eas leges quibus esset astrictus, non ut ea potestate quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim cum hi mores tantum iam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnis sordis, excutere unum quemque eorum, sed quanta sit in quoque fides tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos eos quos tibi comites et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica dumtaxat finibus iis praestabis quos ante praescrispsi.

adventu commoveri immediately following. [I would keep the mss reading. There will be an anticlimax in any case.—L. C. P.]

10. *praestare*] 'to be responsible for all your staff, to the allies, the Roman inhabitants of the province, and the State.'

Tubero] L. Aelius Tubero is highly spoken of as a literary man by Cicero. In *Planc.* 100, Cicero calls him *necessarius meus*.

Allienus] A. Allienus was afterwards praetor, 705 (49), and governed Sicily as proconsul, 708 (46). To him are addressed *Fam.* xiii. 78, 79 (525-6).

Gratidio] M. Gratidius of Arpinum is mentioned by Cicero, *Brut.* 168, and *De Leg.* iii. 36. He was the brother of Gratidia, Cicero's grandmother. If Quintus' legate was this man's grandson, he would be a cousin of Cicero. Hence *amorem in nos fraternum*, 'cousinly.' So *soror* is often 'female cousin.'

ita . . . ut] See *Introd.* ii. § 2 B.

11. *sordidior*] 'a blot on your government': cp. *Att.* v. 21, 5 (250) *has a nostro Q. Titinio sordis accepimus*.

per se] 'in his private capacity,' 'personally.'

cum hi mores] 'considering what a bias the present state of society has towards undue laxity of principle and self-seeking.' Baier's conjecture, *levitatem*, is rejected by Klotz; *levitas* would be reprehensible even though not *nimia*: cp. *Gell.* xi. 18, 6 *remissa nimis lenitas*.

excutere] 'to turn inside out,' 'thoroughly sift and examine.' The metaphor is taken from shaking out the garments to look for concealed property.

Atque inter hos eos] *Hos* refers generally to the *ministros* mentioned above (§ 10). There does not seem to be any necessity to alter to *Atque interest hoc: eos, quos*, &c. with *Madvig* (*A. C.* iii. 193).

quos tibi comites] 'the companions and assistants in public business which the State has given you you must be responsible for, at any rate, within the limits just laid down' (*ferres eatenus quoad . . . uteretur*). These *comites* were like our *attachés* or secretaries of legation. Catullus was *comes* to Memmius. See *Arnold's Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 59.

IV. 12. Quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis sunt. Sed habes eos tecum quos possis recte facientis facile diligere, minus consulentis existimationi tuae facillime coërcere: a quibus, rudis cum esses, videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi: nam ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur: nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentio-rem. 13. Sint aures tuae *cae*, quae id quod audiunt existimentur audire, non in quas fide et simulate quaestus causa insusurretur. Sit anulus tuus non ut vas aliquod sed tamquam ipse tu: non minister alienae voluntatis sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo numero quo eum maiores nostri esse voluerunt qui hoc non in benefici loco sed in laboris ac muneris non temere nisi libertis suis deferebant: quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit licitor non suae sed tuae lenitatis apparitor, maioraque praeferrant fasces illi ac secures dignitatis insignia quam potestatis. Toti

12. *Quos vero*] 'But your private friends and your train of personal attendants, whom you have chosen yourself (such as lictors, scribes, criers, &c., who are afterwards spoken of), who are wont to be called a kind of governor's staff—for these your responsibility is wider—you are responsible for their words as well as for their conduct.'

quasi ex cohorte] 'a kind of governor's staff,' for they were not military. For *quasi*, cp. Att. ii. 17, 3 (44).

13. *Sint aures tuae cae*] 'let it be generally understood that you give ear only to what you do hear, and that you will not make your ears receptacles for false and slanderous whispers prompted by private interest': *cae* is added by Müller. Compare *et audio et quia cognovi existimo*, § 14; and *bene te ut homines nosse se loquantur et existimant*, 12, 50.

fide . . . insusurretur] See Adn. Crit.

Sit anulus] 'Let your signet-ring not be a mere utensil (article of wearing apparel, transferable to others), but let it be as inseparable from you as if it were your very self; thus let it be not the instrument of the will of others, but the proof that the act is yours.'

Accensus] The *accensus* was certainly

a menial; and this advice of Cicero's is directed against the *valet de chambre* government which was becoming usual, examples of which were the influence of Theophanes with Pompey, and of Statius with Quintus. The *accensi* were generally freedmen of the magistrates whom they attended.

non suae sed] 'let your licitor be not the dispenser of his own clemency, but the executor (instrument) of yours.' Cicero refers to the lictors' practice of taking bribes to mitigate the severity of the punishments which it was their duty to inflict. See Verr. v. 118 *Lictor Sestius cui ex omnium gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Quid? ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo quid dabis? ne diu crucietur, ne saepe feriatur*. But the zeugma in *apparitor* is somewhat awkward. Perhaps Cicero wrote *non suae sector*, *sed tuae lenitatis apparitor*, 'a trafficker in reprieves.' Lucan uses *sector* in this sense, *sectorque favoris ipse sui populus*, i. 178. This exactly expresses the required sense, and *sector* might have fallen out on account of its juxtaposition with a word so closely resembling it as *licitor*. After *suae*, Ursinus supplied *sacvitiae*, Lehmann *sedulitatis*.

denique sit provinciae cognitum tibi omnium quibus praesis salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit non modo iis qui aliquid acceperint sed iis etiam qui dederint, te inimicum, si id cognoveris, futurum. Neque vero quisquam dabit, cum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos qui simulant se apud te multum posse abs te solere impetrari. 14. Nec tamen haec oratio mea est eius modi ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum qui tibi bienni spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et Labeonem et audio et, quia cognovi, existimo, nihil est quod non et iis et si quis est alius eiusdem modi et committi et credi rectissime putem. Sed si quis est in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris.

V. 15. In provincia vero ipsa si quem es nactus qui in tuam familiaritatem penitus intravit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit vide; non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni, sed hoc sperare licet, iudicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involucris tegitur et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cuiusque natura: frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur, oratio vero saepissime. Quam ob rem qui potes reperire ex eo genere hominum qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti careant iis rebus omnibus a quibus nos divulsi esse non

qui aliquid acceperint] 'took a bribe'; *accepit* is used *absolutely* in this sense. See on 23, 8, and Index.

14. *avaritiae*] 'rapacity,' not 'avarice.' *Caesium . . . audio*] cp. Fam. iii. 10, 11 (261) *te censorum audiemus*.

offenderis] sc. *suspicionem avaritiae*. *nullam . . . commiseris*] 'do not leave your reputation in his hands in any respect.'

15. *frons . . . oratio*] cp. 12, 50.

Quam ob rem] 'wherefore how can you expect to find in such a class men who, for the sake of gain, will forego all these things from which we cannot tear ourselves away, and yet will entertain a sincere regard for you, a stranger, and not rather simulate such a feeling to gain their own ends?' The ellipse of *eos* is very awkward. *Hominum* would naturally be the antecedent to *qui*, which follows it. Yet the sense requires that

the antecedent to *qui* should be some word such as *homines* understood. We might then either (1) correct *hominum* to *homines*, or (2) insert *homines* after *hominum*. The latter course is perhaps preferable. The things *a quibus divulsi esse non possumus* are that city life and polite society which these Roman adventurers have exchanged for the dulness of provincial life through desire of gain. We see how Quintus pined in his province for Rome, and Marcus, during his provincial government, expresses quite touchingly his feeling of home-sickness: *ne provincia nobis prorogetur, per fortunas! dum ades quidquid providere potest provide; non dici potest quam flagrem desiderio urbis, quam vix harum rerum insulsitatem feram*, Att. v. 11, 1 (200). This is one of those traits which the ancient Roman seems to have had in common with the modern Parisian. See Introd. i., § 2.

possumus, te autem, alienum hominem, ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur, praesertim si iidem homines privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnis amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti amantiorem—feri enim potuit—quam temporis, hunc vero ad tuum numerum libenter ascribito: sin autem id non perspicias, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum magis, propterea quod et omnis vias pecuniae norunt et omnia pecuniae causa faciunt et, quicum victuri non sunt, eius existimationi consulere non curant.

16. Atque etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates praeter hominum perpaucorum si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi.* Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaeque coniungi dico oportere: nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt—non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus—et invident non nostris solum verum etiam suis.

VI. 17. Iam qui in eius modi rebus in quibus vereor etiam ne durior sim cautus esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo in servis esse censes? quos quidem cum omnibus in locis tum praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de genere multa praecipui possunt, sed hoc et brevissimum est et facillime teneri potest ut ita se gerant in istis Asiaticis itineribus ut si iter Appia via faceres,

permagnum] 'To me it seems that to find such would be a hard task.' *Permagnum* is used thus absolutely in Tusc. i. 111 *permagnum existimans tris Olympionicas una e domo prodire*. But perhaps we should read *permagni*: cp. § 22, *permagni hominis est*.

temporis] 'your position.' *Tempus* is used for *consulatus* in Fam. x. 1, 2 (787), *quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur facilis gubernatio est*: for its sense here, cp. § 31.

ad tuum numerum] i. e. *ad tuorum numerum*: cp. Phil. ii. 33 *adscribe me talem in numerum*; and Phil. xi. 25 *de suo numero*.

vias pecuniae] 'all the ways and means of making money.'

16. *Sic vero*] 'As things now stand,' in contradistinction to the preceding words, *si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni*. Possibly *istic*.

fallaces] The whole sentence would

serve as a good description of the natives of India under British rule.

neque tam fideles] 'not so trustworthy as one could wish.'

17. *Iam qui*] 'Now what do you think will be my opinions on the subject of slaves, considering how careful and particular I am in these matters, in which, indeed, I fear I am too strict?' Possibly we should read *Iamque* for *Iam qui*, and render, 'and now on a subject on which I fear I am too strict, but certainly would wish to be careful and vigilant—on the subject of slaves—what do you think my opinions are?' though we should wish for an adversative conjunction such as *tamen* with *cautus*. The meaning is, 'Now seeing that I am for vigilance, even where I may incur blame for over-severity, you may fancy that I am for great strictness in the matter of slaves.'

neve interesse quidquam putent utrum Trallis an Formias venerint. Ac si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis rebus et privatis: quae res ad officium imperi tui atque ad aliquam partem rei publicae pertinebunt, de his rebus ne quid attingat. Multa enim quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt.

18. Sed nescio quo pacto ad praecipendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea, cum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intellegam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen si ad ea quae faceres auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsi illa putavi fore iucundiora. Qua re sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae: tua primum integritas et continentia, deinde omnium qui tecum sunt pudor, dilectus in familiaritatibus et provincialium hominum et Graecorum percautus et diligens, familiae gravis et constans disciplina. 19. Quae cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris cotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio atque haec disciplina potest sustinere in rebus statuendis et decernendis eam severitatem qua tu in iis rebus usus es ex quibus non nullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus: nisi forte me Paconi nescio cuius, hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysi aut Phrygis potius, querelis moveri putas aut Tusцени, hominis furiosi ac sordidi, vocibus, cuius tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripuisti summa cum aequitate.

VII. 20. Haec et cetera plena severitatis quae statuisti in ista provincia non facile sine summa integritate sustineremus: quare sit summa in iure dicendo severitas, dum modo ea ne varietur gratia sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi re fert abs te

Trallis] *Tralles* perhaps here, certainly in Juv. iii. 70, is used as typical of a foreign place, as we say *Hong-Kong*. Horace uses *Gades* in the same way, and so Cicero *Pro Domo*, 80. For the acc. plur. in *-is*, cp. *Rull*. ii. 39.

18. *dilectus*] 'selection.' As regards the form of this word editors vary between *dilectus* and *delectus*.

19. *corruptrice*] 'demoralising.'
sustinere] 'to bear up against,' 'to counterbalance': cp. *tueretur*, § 21.
severitatem] 'strictness.'

nisi forte] This explains *cum magna mea laetitia*, 'those animosities which you have incurred to my great delight, for surely you do not suppose that I regard the complaints of Paconius and Tuscenius.'

hominis furiosi ac sordidi] 'a low, crazy fellow.'

cupiditatem] The 'thing desired' is rather strangely called 'the desire': cp. *Phil.* xiv. 8 *Antonius, insigne odium omnium hominum*, and 46, 2 *Pompeius, nostri amores*.

ipso ius dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet quibus tu eius muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia sed ea tota iuris dictione maxime sustineri. In qua scientiae praesertim provincialis ratio ipsa expedita est: constantia est adhibenda et gravitas quae resistat non solum gratiae verum etiam suspitioni. 21. Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satis faciendo ac disputando diligentia. Iis rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit, apud quem primum licitor quievit, tacuit accensus, quotiens quisque voluit dixit et quam voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines quae per vim et metum abstulerant reddere. Qui in magistratibus iniuriose decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat iure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis con-

20. *sustineri*] 'the bulk of the duties of a governor of Asia turns on (has as its basis) judicial functions.'

In qua] sc. *iuris dictione*. 'In which the theory of administration, especially that of the provinces, is in a nutshell': *provincialis* agrees with *scientiae*. *Scientia prov.* is 'provincial philosophy,' as we talk of 'political philosophy'; meaning a system of the principles on which provinces are administered—more theoretical than 'knowledge of the provinces.'

21. *lenitas . . . diligentia*] 'courtesy in pronouncing judgment, and application in convincing and reasoning with suitors.' The passage may be illustrated by a reference to the Or. pro Quinct. 30 ff., where the friends of Quintus objected to the justice of the decision of Dolabella the praetor, and were expelled by his licitors from the court—an instance of the absence of the qualities here enjoined. Manutius proposed *disceptando* for *disputando*. In Part. Or. 10, Cicero defines *disceptator* as *rei sententiaeque moderator*. So in *disceptando* would mean, 'in acting as umpire or arbitrator.' But the change spoils the sense.

C. Octavius] The father of Augustus: see 28, 12. He was at this time praetor in Macedonia, but the present passage refers to his conduct as praetor in the city before he went to Macedonia. Hence *nuper*. The words of Suetonius (Aug. 3) would appear to lead to a different con-

clusion. But Suetonius seems to have misunderstood this passage. There can hardly have been *Sullani homines* in Macedonia.

primum licitor] *Proximus* is the conjecture of Orelli for *primus* of the mss. The licitors walked in a line in front of the magistrate; and the one nearest to him is called *proximus licitor* in Liv. xxiv. 44, 10. But Orelli's conjecture is bad. There is no reason to correct *primus* of the mss: the *licitor* who is called *proximus* in Livy might well be called *primus* in the very same sense ('the head licitor'). But both *primus* and *proximus* are out of place here. Why specify the *licitor primus*? It may well be that *primum*, the conjecture of Malaspina, is the true reading: 'Before Octavius, for the first time, the licitor had nothing to do, the *accensus* nothing to say—everyone was allowed to speak as often as he wished, and as long as he wished.' It was the duty of the licitor to keep back the people from the tribunal—Octavius let them approach; it was the duty of the beadle to proclaim and enforce silence—Octavius allowed everyone to speak as often and as long as he wished.

illam] 'the following.'

Sullani] See *Addenda to the Commentary*, note iii.; cp. 25, 4.

eodem . . . iure] 'on the same principles.'

nisi multis] 'had it not been sweetened by the greatest courtesy.'

dimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. 22. Quod si haec lenitas grata Romae est ubi tanta adrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta populi vis, tanta senatus auctoritas, quam iucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur, ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus senatus, nulla contio? Qua re cum permagni hominis est et cum ipsa natura moderati tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi sic se adhibere in tanta potestate ut nulla alia potestas ab iis quibus is praesit desideretur.

VIII. 23. Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem iusti imperi, cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur (quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat: nullum est enim praetermissum in his officium diligentis et moderati imperi:) eaque si sic coluit ille qui privatus futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt iis quibus imperium ita datum est ut redderent, et ab iis legibus datum est ad quas revertendum est? 24. Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis qui praesunt aliis ut ii qui erunt in eorum imperio sint quam beatissimi: quod tibi et esse antiquissimum et ab initio fuisse, ut primum Asiam attigisti, constante fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo eius qui sociis et civibus sed etiam eius qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus praesit,

22. *cum permagni*] See Adn. Crit. *nulla alia potestas*] no other magistrate to whom to appeal against the praetorian power.

23. *Cyrus ille*] Cp. 53. 7. Cicero recognises the true character of this semi-historical novel. Its parallel in Latin literature is the life of Alexander by Q. Curtius. This sentence, proceeding step by step, finally issues an *anacoluthon*. Lambinus proposed to insert *Si* before *Cyrus*; by doing so, and omitting the *que* after *ea*, we shall have a correct sentence, *Si Cyrus ille . . . ea si sic coluit ille*. But even the *Si* before *Cyrus* may be dispensed with. 'If he, Cyrus, though destined never to play the part of a private citizen, so assiduously cultivated these

principles, how carefully must they be guarded by him to whom authority is given only on condition that it be again given up, and conferred by those laws under whose sway he must again return?' The laws are the causes or sources of the authority; hence *ab iis legibus*. *Ea* refers to *gravitas* and *comitas*, 'these qualities': cp. *hoc* in § 13, and *ea quae diversa sunt*, § 36, where *ea* refers to *publicani et socii*. See also *Tusc. i. 4* ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, *discabantque id omnes*, and note on *cum idem sis adeptus*, 12, 13.

24. *Ac mihi quidem*] 'to me it seems that governments have but one end—the greatest possible happiness of the governed.'

pecudibus] Cp. *Plat. Rep.* 345 D.

eorum quibus praesit commodis utilitatique servire. 25. Cuius quidem generis constare inter omnis video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam: nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus, vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas: urbis compluris dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas: nullas esse in oppidis seditiones, nullas discordias: provideri abs te ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrarentur, sublata Mysiae latrocinia, caedes multis locis repressas, pacem tota provincia constitutam, neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum sed multo etiam plura et maiora oppidorum et fanorum latrocinia esse depulsa, remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae, calumniam, sumptus et tributa civitatum ab omnibus qui earum civitatum finis incolant tolerari aequabiliter, facillimos esse aditus ad te, patere auris tuas querelis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo, toto denique in imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele, atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

IX. 26. Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio cum magnis nostris simultatibus Asiam liberasti! Etenim, si unus homo nobilis queritur palam te, quod edixeris NE AD LUDOS PECUNIAE DECERNERENTUR, HS CC sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur si omnium

25. *optimatum consiliis administrarentur*] This was a prominent feature of Roman administration under the Republic; a cardinal feature under the Empire.

fanorum] See Adn. Crit.

ministram praetorum avaritiae] The praetors used actually to suborn persons to accuse rich men before them, so that they might receive a bribe from the accused to procure his acquittal. This was *calumnia*. *Calumniari* is 'to bring false accusations.' *Calumniari* est falsa crimina intendere; *praevaricari* vera crimina abscondere; *tergiversari* in universum ab accusatione desistere, Dig. 48. 16, 1.

solitudinem] Cp. pro Quinct. 5 *quod si tu iudex nullo praesidio fuisse videre contra vim et gratiam solitudini atque inopiae*.

crudele] 'heartless.'

clementiae, . . . humanitatis] 'indulgence, suavity, and fellow-feeling.'

26. *vectigali aedilicio*] Requisitions made by the aediles on the provinces for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the games.

cum magnis nostris simultatibus] 'at the cost of incurring great private animosity.'

Etenim, si] 'if one man of high position complains without any concealment that your decree has taken 200,000 sesterces out of his pocket, what would be the sum paid by the province, if they were taxed for everyone who gave games at Rome—a practice which was already being established?'

nomine quicumque Romae ludos facerent, quod erat iam institutum, erogaretur? Quamquam has querelas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppressimus (quod in Asia nescio quonam modo, Romae quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur), quod —cum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecunias decrevissent, cumque id et pro meis magnis meritis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet UT AD TEMPLUM ET MONUMENTUM CAPERE LICERET, cumque id quod dabatur non esset interiturum sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius quam populo Romano ac dis immortalibus datum videretur—tamen id (in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum qui faciebant voluntas) accipiendum non putavi cum aliis de causis tum etiam ut animo aequiore ferrent ii quibus nec deberetur nec liceret. 27. Quapropter incumbe toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem qua adhuc usus es ut eos quos tuae fidei potestatique senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credidit diligas et omni ratione tueare et esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis praefecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati saluti que servire. Cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus, non modo in quo ipso sit sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus a quibus accepimus. 28. Non enim me hoc iam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque iis rebus gestis in quibus non potest residere

hominum nostrorum] ‘our friends,’ said with irony and contempt.

illo consilio] The construction is rather involved by three parentheses: but we have endeavoured to make it clear by punctuation; it is *quamquam has querelas oppressimus illo consilio, quod tamen id non accipiendum putavi*, ‘yet these complaints I stifled by my policy of resolving not to accept (in spite of all the considerations which might have justified it, *tamen*) the money for a monument voted to me.’

nominatimque] διαρρήδην, ‘in so many words.’

lex] M. Gaston Boissier (*Religion Romaine*, i., p. 114) uses this passage to show that the Romans were disposed actually to encourage the provincials in paying

semi-divine honours to governors. To such a pitch did their obsequiousness go, that Theophanes, the protégé of Pompey, was deified by Mitylene.

dignitas] ‘real merit’ (i.e. on my part), ‘conduct deserving of a monument.’

quibus nec deberetur nec liceret] ‘who had earned no such honour, and in whose case it was not legal’ (as it was in mine).

27. *rationem*] ‘policy.’

humanitas] ‘culture,’ ‘refinement.’ This whole passage, *Cum vero ei generi . . . velimus expromere*, affords an instance of high-pitched sentiment such as rarely meets us in a Latin writer.

28. *praesertim in ea*] ‘especially since such has been my life and conduct, that they cannot afford ground for even a suspicion of remissness or shallowness’

inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita. Qua re praeter communem fidem quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur ut quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi apud eos ipsos quod iis didicerimus velimus expromere.

X. 29. Atque ille quidem princeps ingeni et doctrinae Platotum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti et sapientes homines eas regere coepissent aut ii qui regerent omne suum studium in doctrina et sapientia collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis et sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod fortasse aliquando universae rei publicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studi fuisset et temporis. 30. Qua re cura ut hic annus qui ad laborem tuum accessit, idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur. Et quoniam in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo, perforce ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim, si in promerendo ut tibi tanti honores haberentur quanti haud scio an nemini fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo maiorem in his honoribus tuendis adhibere diligentiam debes. 31. Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, vilis, si temporis causa constituerentur, levis: si vero, id quod ita factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in iis honoribus tuendis operam esse

(absence of deep convictions, want of principle). In saying that he owes his success to the study of Greek thought, he says he may make that declaration without shame, since his conduct has been such that it cannot lie open to the suspicion of having been influenced by the bad side of the Greek character, *inertia* and *levitas*: cp. Placc. 24 *homines levitate Graeci, crudelitate barbari*.

studiis et artibus] 'principles and qualities.'

praeter . . . praeterea] Cp. *praeterquam quod . . . praeterea*, Fin. v. 61. *expromere*] 'to exercise.'

29. *Plato*] De Rep. 473 D. This condition was fulfilled under Marcus Aurelius

and under Julian. Yet the world seems to have hardly achieved bliss even then.

fortasse aliquando] sc. *continget*, possibly; but we fear that *contigit* was what Cicero intended to be supplied, and that he refers to his consulate.

30. *ut hic annus*] 'that this year, which is a new period of labour for you, may give to Asia a new lease of prosperity.'

in deducendo] 'in striving to effect your release from provincial government': *deducere* is the term correlative to *decedere*: cp. *deportare*, De Sen. 1, and Reid's note.

tanti honores] explained in § 31.

31. *temporis*] see above, § 15, note.

ponendam. Qua re quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te iudiciis, tantis honoribus debeas cogitabis. Id autem erit eius modi ut consulas omnibus, ut medeare incommodis hominum, provideas saluti, ut te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis.

XI. 32. Atqui huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam adferunt publicani: quibus si adversamur, ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum et a nobis et a re publica diiungemus: sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos perire patiemur quorum non modo saluti sed etiam commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una, si vere cogitare volumus, in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnis cupiditates, suos coërcere, iuris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere, praeclarum magis est quam difficile. Non est enim positum in labore aliquo sed in quadam inductione animi et voluntate. 33. Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbiter adferat sociis intelleximus ex civibus qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de non nullis iniuriis portitorum querebantur. Qua re non ignoro quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querebas civium. Hic te ita versari ut et publicanis satis facias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, et socios perire non sinas divinae cuiusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est, tuae. Ac primum Graecis id quod acerbissimum est, quod sunt vectigales, non ita acerbum videri debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani suis institutis per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani

32. *Non est enim positum*] 'it does not depend on any laborious exertion, but merely on an exercise of resolution and will.'

33. *qui nuper in portoriis*] Q. Metellus Nepos abolished port dues in Italy to conciliate the Italians. These port dues were payable in harbour on exports and imports. The *portitores* are the customs-officers employed by the publicani to collect the dues: see 43, 1. It was their oppressive conduct which was more

offensive to the Italians than the port dues themselves.

publicis male redemptis] 'since they took the contract for the taxes of Asia at a loss' (as they afterwards found out, see 23, 9). For *male*, 'at a loss,' cp. Plaut. Pseud. 133 *male habiti, male conciliati*, 'kept at a loss, and bought at a loss.'

ita fuerunt] sc. *vectigales*. Cp. 53, 9, 71, 2 bis.

aspermari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint quod iis aequaliter Sulla discripserat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos quam nostros publicanos hinc intellegi potest quod Caunii nuper omnesque ex insulis quae erant a Sulla Rhodiis attributae confugerunt ad senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent. Quare nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere qui semper vectigales fuerunt, neque ii aspermari qui per se pendere vectigal non poterunt, neque ii recusare qui postulaverunt. 34. Simul et illud Asia cogitet, nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem adfuturam fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.

XII. 35. Quod si genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis consilio et prudentia tua reliqua videri mitiora. Possunt in pactionibus faciendis non legem spectare censoriam sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negotii et liberationem molestiae. Potes etiam tu id facere, quod et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate coniungas et ab iis de quibus optime tu meritus es et qui tibi omnia debent hoc petas ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem quae est nobis cum publicanis obtinere et conservare patiantur. 36. Sed quid ego te haec hortor quae tu non modo facere potes

sine publicano] Sulla laid an assessment of arrears and of war expenses on the cities of Asia; but they were obliged to resort to publicani to collect it. For a strong opinion against publicani, see Liv. xlv. 18, 4 *ubi publicanus esset ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.*

attributae] 'made tributary to.' *Contribuere* and *attribuere* are used in this sense by classical writers. Cicero generally uses *attribuere*.

34. *vectigalibus*] For the Roman justification of taxation in the provinces, see the *locus classicus*, in the speech of Cerealis, Tac. Hist. iv. 74.

35. *pactionibus*] 'the compacts or agreements made between the publicani

and the inhabitants of the province.' These had especial reference to the tithe-payments, which would, of course, vary with the harvest. The *lex censoria* contained the conditions on which the state revenues should be let out for the current *lustrum*; but the provincials might make special covenants with the publicani: for instance, they could substitute for the tithe a certain immediate payment, adjusted, of course, to the average harvests; they would thus get a speedy settlement, and would be saved from the annoyance of the constant dunning (*flagitatio*) of the tax-farmers.

obtinere] 'make good.'

tua sponte sine cuiusquam praeceptis sed etiam magna iam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere cotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates, quod quidem mihi idecirco iucundius est quod idem faciunt Graeci. Difficile est autem ea quae commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt voluntate coniungere. At ea quidem quae supra scripta sunt non ut te instituerem scripsi—neque enim prudentia tua cuiusquam praecepta desiderat—sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit: quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore.

XIII. 37. Unum est quod tibi ego praecipere non desinam neque te patiar, quantum erit in me, cum exceptione laudari. Omnes enim qui istinc veniunt ita de tua virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam. Quod vitium cum in hac privata cotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbiter naturae adiungere. Qua re illud non suscipiam ut quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus ea nunc tibi exponam, cum et nimis longus esse nolim et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere; illud, quod est epistolae proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur de iis rebus quas ignorat certior fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. 38. Sic ad nos omnes fere deferunt: nihil, cum absit iracundia, dicere solent te fieri posse iucundius, sed cum te alieuius improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Qua re quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus, ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur. Neque ego nunc hoc contendo, quod fortasse cum in omni natura tum iam in nostra aetate difficile est, mutare animum et, si quid est penitus insitum moribus, id subito evellere, sed te illud admo-

36. *societates*] sc. publicanorum.

ea quae] See note on § 23.

37. *cum exceptione laudari*] 'your praise to be qualified.'

illud . . . *illud*] 'one topic (ut . . . *exponam*) I will not enter on; but that

which is the chief end of a letter (ut . . . *fiat*), I do not think I ought to pretermitt.' Cp. Fam. ii. 4, 1 (175).

38. *ut ne*] Cp. 67, fin. *ut prorsus ne quid ignorem*.

neo ut, si hoc plene vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia quam providere ratio potuit ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares cotidieque meditare resistendum esse iracundiae, cumque ea maxime animum moveat tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam: quae quidem mihi virtus interdum non minor videtur quam omnino non irasci. Nam illud est non solum gravitatis sed non numquam etiam lentitudinis; moderari vero et animo et orationi cum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae, tamen est non mediocris ingeni. 39. Atque in hoc genere multo te esse iam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur: quae cum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati. Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas: quae tamen, ut in malis, acerbitati anteponenda est.

XIV. 40. Sed quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis—credo propterea quod tibi hominum iniuriae, quod avaritiae, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur—secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo et ratio et, ut ego arbitror, meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt, tertius annus ita debet esse emendatus ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam reprehendere. 41. Ac iam hoc loco non hortatione neque praeceptis sed precibus tecum fraternis ago totum ut animum, curam cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium laude undique colligenda. Quod si in mediocri statu sermonis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postularetur. Nunc vero propter earum rerum in quibus versati sumus splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex

quae quidem mihi virtus . . . non irasci]
 'To avoid showing anger deserves almost as much praise as not to feel it.' But St. Paul (Eph. iv. 26, 'be ye angry, and sin not') does not look on resentment as in itself a sin; and with him is Butler in his sermon on Resentment. So also Aristotle, when he makes ἀοργησία an ἑλλειψίς.

lentitudinis] 'a lymphatic, phlegmatic

temper.'

39. *iracundiae]* Cp. § 40, *avaritiae*, 'instances of rapacity.'

si . . . anteponenda est] quoted by Ammianus Marc. xxviii. 1, 40.

ut in malis] 'as a choice among evils.'

41. *Quod si in mediocri]* 'if our conduct were but to a moderate degree the subject of conversation and commendation.'

ista provincia adsequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est ut omnes boni cum faveant tum etiam omnem a nobis diligentiam virtutemque et postulent et exspectent, omnes autem improbi, quod cum iis bellum sempiternum suscepimus, vel minima re ad reprehendendum contenti esse videantur. 42. Qua re quoniam eius modi theatrum totius Asiae virtutibus tuis est datum celebritate refertissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, iudicio eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque elabora non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse sed etiam ut illa omnia tuis artibus superasse videare.

XV. 43. Et quoniam mihi casus urbanam in magistratibus administrationem rei publicae, tibi provincialem dedit, si mea pars nemini cedit, fac ut tua ceteros vincat. Simul et illud cogita, nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria iam laborare sed de parta dimicare, quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis fuit quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quidquam esset abs te separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu qui mihi iam partus est. Nunc vero sic res sese habet ut, nisi omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istinc respondeant, ego me tantis meis laboribus tantisque periculis quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti nihil consecutum *putem*. Quod si ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti, certe idem ut id retineamus praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac iudiciis

42. *theatrum*] Cp. Tusc. ii. 64 *nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est.*

totius . . . datum] See Adn. Crit.

ita resonans] 'so reverberating,' 'such a vehicle of sound.' The metaphor from the theatre is still kept up; Asia is compared to a theatre, the acoustic properties of which are so good that sound can be communicated to a great distance in it.

significationes] Cp. *ἐπισημαστας* above, 22, 11, and Sest. 105 *populi iudicii atque omni significatione florebat.*

43. *mea pars nemini*] for *nullius parti*, the *comparatio compendiaria*: cp. *iis* for *eorum iudiciis* in this section below. This is a brachylogy often found in Cicero and Plautus; sometimes in other writers, e. g. Caes. B. G. vi. 22, 4. We have examples of this usage in Cic. Tusc. i. 2; De Or. i. 15, 23; Fam. iv. 4, 1 (495); in

Plaut. Capt. 302 vis hostilis cum *istoc* fecit meas opes aequabiles. In Greek the usage is familiar in the Homeric phrase *κόμην Χαλκίτρεσσι δμοία*, and appears very strongly in the Herodotean *παραμύδα τοῦ πατρὸς ἑλλάσσω*, 'less than his father's.' See, also, Thuc. i. 71 *ἀρχαῖστραπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔστιν.*

reliqua] 'future.'

quae quidem] 'the acquisition of which fame was not so great an object as is its maintenance when once acquired.'

istinc] is used because Cicero is thinking of the report of his brother's words and deeds brought from Asia to Rome.

adiuvisti] probably by the *Commentariolum*.

Non est tibi . . . liberatum] 'we must possess ourselves of the favourable estimation and judgment, not only of the present, but even of future generations;

qui nunc sunt hominum sed iis etiam qui futuri sunt: quamquam illorum erit verius iudicium obtrectatione et malevolentia liberatum. 44. Denique illud etiam debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere: quod si esset, tamen non neglegeres, praesertim cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui: sed ea est tibi communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris: in qua cavendum est ne, si neglegentior fueris, tibi parum consuluisse sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris.

XVI. 45. Atque haec non eo dicuntur ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim perpetuo quae fecisti ut omnes aequitatem tuam, temperantiam, severitatem integritatemque laudarent. Sed me quaedem tenet propter singularem amorem infinita in te aviditas gloriae, quamquam illud existimo, cum iam tibi Asia sicuti uni cuique sua domus nota esse debeat, cum ad tuam summam prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse quod ad laudem attineat quod non tu optime perspicias et tibi non sine cuiusquam hortatione in mentem veniat cotidie. Sed ego, quia, cum tua lego, te audire, et quia, cum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor, ideo et tua longissima quaque epistula maxime delector et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior. 46. Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema

and yet [we have not so much reason to fear their verdict, for] their judgment will be fairer than the verdict of our contemporaries, uninfluenced as it will be by detraction or malice.' For *iis* see note on *mea pars nemini* above. We can explain *quamquam* only by supplying the unexpressed train of ideas as above.

illorum] refers not (as is usual) to the thing more remote in the sentence, but to the thing more remote in actual fact, and therefore more remote in the mind of the reader: cp. Liv. xxx. 30, 19 *melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria*, HAEC (pax) in tua, ILLA (sperata victoria) in deorum potestate est.

44. *monumentis*] either the honours done to Quintus, and referred to above, § 31, or (as Manutius supposes) a history on which Quintus was engaged. This history is mentioned in 43, 4 *ut Annalis suos emendem*.

sed etiam] The words *non solum* are

inserted by all editors (against the mss) before *tibi parum consuluisse*; but *sed etiam* may stand in a subsequent clause without any such phrase as *non solum* in the foregoing: see note on Att. iii. 15, 5 (73).

45. *currentem*] Cp. Att. v. 9, 1 (195); vi. 7, 1 (270) = *σπεύδοντ' ὀτρύνειν*.

in te] 'for you,' 'in your case': cp. Tusc. i. 108 *hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non neglegendus in nostris*; Q. Fr. ii. 4 (6), 5 (105) *Pompeius in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur*.

sicuti uni cuique sua domus] Cp. Juv. i. 7 *nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus Martis*.

Sed ego . . . longior] We have in these words, and in the words *quod si . . . unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti*, in § 43, an unmistakable intimation, as we think, that this letter is designed as a sort of repayment for Ep. 12.

46. *in extrema parte et conclusione*] This he calls *clausula* in Att. vi. 3, 3 (264).

parte et conclusione muneris ac negoti tui diligentissimus sis ut hic tertius annus imperi tui tamquam tertius *actus* perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur. Id facillime facies, si me cui semper uni magis quam universis placere voluisti tecum semper esse putabis et omnibus iis rebus quas dices et facies interesse. Reliquum est ut te orem ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnis valere vis, diligentissime servias. [Vale.]

Somewhat parallel too is the Greek word *κατακλείς* in 29, 3.

[*tamquam tertius actus*] This simile would be appreciated by the author of the *Erigona*, *Electra*, *Troades*, and other tragedies. We can see in the letter of Quintus above (12) very clear indications of the effect of his tragic studies on his style, especially in §§ 9, 10, 11. We are told in Q. Fr. iii. 5 (6), 7 (155) that Quintus wrote four tragedies in sixteen days. In using the words *tertius actus* Cicero seems to have before his mind not the Roman play, which was divided into

five acts, but the Greek, which usually falls into three; the third act is then the last, as the third year was the last of Quintus' government. For a similar metaphor drawn from the stage, cp. Sest. 120 (*Aesopus*) . . . *semper partium in rep. tamquam in scena optimarum est.*

[*perfectissimus*] Adjectives, participles, and adverbs compounded with *per* do not, as a rule, admit of degrees of comparison. Hence *perdifficillimum*, Liv. xl. 21, 4, is justly corrected. But we find *perfectissimus* in Brut. 118, Orat. 3 and 47; and *perditissime*, Verr. iii. 65.