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## The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

**Cicero, Marcus Tullius**

**Dublin, 1906**

Letters of the thirteenth year of Cicero's correspondence, epp. 95-118

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LETTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S  
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 95-118.

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A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

COSS. CN. CORN. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

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THE Letters of this year are chiefly to P. Lentulus Spinther, in Cilicia, and to Quintus Cicero, in Sardinia. In the former we have a detailed description of the intrigues which arose from the question who should receive the commission to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt. The accusation of Milo by Clodius before the people for *vis* led to many riotous scenes, of one of which, on February 6, we have a vivid description in a letter to Quintus (102, 2). By these scenes, in which Pompey occasionally appeared, he suffered considerably in loss of dignity; and the dislike entertained towards him by the Senatorial party was shown by their acquittal of his enemy Sext. Clodius when put on his trial (about March) by Milo for having burned down the Aedes Nympharum (105, 6).

Sestius was accused *de vi* in February, and tried in March. On the 11th he was acquitted unanimously, after Cicero had made a brilliant speech (the *Pro Sestio*) on his behalf. On the same occasion Cicero attacked one of the hostile witnesses, Vatinius, and (as he says) made mincemeat of him (*concidimus*) amidst the applause of gods and men (105, 1). This was the oration in *Vatinius* which we possess. Encouraged by this success, Cicero, as the spokesman of the Senatorial party, proposed on April 5 that on May 15 Caesar's measures about the Campanian land should be reviewed. This led to the celebrated conference of Luca (about April 18), and the formation of what is called the Second Triumvirate. We have treated of it at some length in the Introduction. To this Cicero and the Senatorial party were compelled to yield. On May 15 no discussion on the Campanian land was held, and nothing more than a somewhat spiteful refusal of a *supplicatio* to Gabinius

is recorded. Cicero was very much depressed at the turn affairs had taken, and bitterly laments the ignoble position in which he found himself (110, 1, 2). He composed about May some sort of a 'recantation' (*παλινοδία*, as he calls it) to Caesar, and in June delivered a brilliant panegyric on him in the oration *De Provinciis Consularibus*. Some little time before he had supported motions of the Senate granting Caesar pay for his legions and ten legati to assist him. Cicero had many unseemly squabbles with Clodius this year (cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 21): and by his persistent attempts to have the tribunate of Clodius declared void he incurred the hostility of Cato. Returning from Cyprus to Rome about November, Cato opposed Cicero strongly on this point; for if the tribunate of Clodius were held to be illegal, his appointment to the Cyprian business would be illegal also; and naturally he could not tolerate the idea of such a contingency. Part of the arrangement made at Luca was that the *comitia* should be postponed until the winter, when Caesar's soldiers could attend. The business of delaying the *comitia* (which should have been held in July) was undertaken by C. Cato and M. Nonius Sufenas. The *comitia* were postponed. In October the consul Marcellinus, with the Senate in mourning, held a public meeting in which he attacked Pompey. At the next meeting of the Senate he asked Pompey and Crassus whether they intended to be candidates for the consulship. Pompey said perhaps he would, if the anarchy necessitated it, in the interest of the State, not of himself; and Crassus said he would do whatever was for the good of the State. The senators, in consternation at the almost certain prospect of having Pompey and Crassus as consuls, made a kind of protest by abstaining from attending the *Epulum Iovis* held at the end of November (Dio Cass. xxxix. 30). The year ended, however, without the *comitia* being held.

In this year Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was betrothed to Furius Crassipes. It is uncertain whether the marriage ever took place: but if it did, it was not of long duration. In this year also Atticus, at the age of fifty-three, married Pilia. The chief speeches (besides those already mentioned) which Cicero delivered were *pro L. Calpurnio Bestia* (Febr. 11), *pro M. Caelio* (Apr. 4), *de Haruspicum responso* (May), *pro L. Cornelio Balbo* (autumn). Among his letters of this year is a famous one to Luceius (109), which Cicero himself considered 'most charming' (*valde bella*).

In this year Caesar defeated the Veneti, and later proceeded without much effect against the Morini and Menapii. His lieutenant Crassus conquered the greater part of Aquitania, and Sabinus the Unelli, who lived in the modern department of La Manche (Caesar, B: G. iii.).

95. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA. *Wiel. II 184*

(FAM. I. 1.)

ROME; JANUARY 13; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Rex Aegypti Ptolemaeus a suis regno eiectus ut per populum Romanum reduceretur in regnum largitionibus laborabat. Dicebatur carmen Sibyllinum obstare, quod vetabat regem cum multitudine reduci. P. Lentulus Ciliciae tum proconsul regem reducere cupiebat et rem per amicos suos Romae agitabat, cum alii Cn. Pompeio eam rem mandari vellent. Iam M. Cicero quid his de rebus in senatu actum sit P. Lentulum edocet.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satis facio omnibus, mihi ipse numquam satis facio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum ut quod tu nisi perfecta re de me non conquesti, ego quia non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt. Hammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis

1. *perfecta re*] 'only when the whole business was accomplished.'

*tua causa*] Ptolemy XII., nicknamed Auletes, King of Egypt, and father of Cleopatra and of the Ptolemy who afterwards ordered the death of Pompey, had been driven from his kingdom by his subjects, whom he had alienated by excessive taxation and oppressions of various kinds. Ptolemy, in the latter half of 697 (57), appealed to the senate to restore him. They were disposed to grant his request; but their difficulty was to decide between the rival candidates for the office of restoring the king. These were P. Lentulus Spintner, who as governor of Cilicia would naturally have been appointed, and, as a matter of fact, seems to have been commissioned by the senate to effect the restoration (§ 3); but Pompey craved some large military command which he had failed to obtain as corn commissioner. The senate did not wish positively to refuse Pompey (Dio

Cass. xxxix. 12); but in their hearts they were opposed to his appointment; and their hands were strengthened by the tribune C. Cato, who had recourse, as usual, to the forms of the state religion, and produced a Sibylline oracle forbidding that the king should be restored *cum multitudine hominum*. Thus the decision was postponed, and a *senatus auctoritas*, forbidding anyone to restore Ptolemy (Ep. 114, 4), tended further to shelve the matter. Eventually Ptolemy was restored by A. Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, on his own responsibility, but probably at the instigation of Caesar, after Ptolemy had promised a large bribe. See a full discussion on this Egyptian Question in the Introduction.

*In causa haec sunt*] 'the reasons (of my failure hitherto) are these.'

*creditores*] persons at Rome who made loans to Ptolemy's agent wherewith to bribe senators and others to further the king's interests.

causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobat. 2. Pompeium et hortari et orare, et iam liberius accusare et monere ut magnam infamiam fugiat non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus relinquit locum. Nam cum in sermone cotidiano tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam nec gravitate nec studio nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum †tibi esse iratum† scis. Is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam rettulit, ab eo deduci non potest. 3. Res ante Idus acta sic est—nam haec Idibus mane scripsi—Hortensi et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu—

Orabel,  
of p. 35

Orabel

*causa . . . velint*] 'are attached to him.' The whole phrase is *omnia alicuius causa velle*, Fam. xiii. 22, 1 (517); 55, 1 (232); but *omnia* is often omitted, as here and Att. xvi. 16a, 6 (767); Q. Fr. i. 4, 5 (72).

*religionis calumniam*] 'the religious sham.'

*malevolentia*] to Pompey, whom they did not wish to see invested with a military command.

*largitionis invidia*] 'disgust' at the wholesale bribery used by the king.

2. *infamiam*] 'discreditable imputations' (Jeans).

*contentione*] 'earnestness.'

*iratum*] Why? Perhaps (it is suggested) because Lentulus had moved the bill giving Pompey the corn commissioner-ship; and the optimates resented the grant of any exceptional power to Pompey. Dr. Reid (*Class. Review*, xi. 246) points out that Lentulus had many enemies, and even Cicero himself considered his conduct, in some points, open to censure (cp. Ep. 100, 3); and Marcellinus, like any right-minded man, may have been indignant at the flagrant jobbery and corruption which characterised this Egyptian business, and made it so odious at Rome at this time. But it is hard to believe that this sentence and the one which follows (*Is hac regia, &c.*) are right as they stand. The transition is very sudden from the statement that

Marcellinus is angry with Lentulus to the statement that he will be his supporter in all things except this Egyptian business. Dr. Reid proposes to add *tamen* after *Is*. Possibly we should read *Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis in hac regia causa, <qua causa>* (or *<qua>* which might have fallen out after *cā*) *excepta, &c.*; or to alter *iratum* to *gratum* or *non ingratum*. It is very difficult to believe that *tibi* is corrupt, or to accept the conjecture of Corradus *regi*, or that in Cratander's margin *tibiocini*, i.e. Ptolemaeo *Auletæ* (αὐλητῆ), however ingenious and attractive.

*quod instituit*] *quod* is relative.

3. *mea . . . retineat*] 'my view, as well as that of Lucullus and Hortensius, concedes to religious scruples the point about employing an army for his restoration—for else we cannot carry our point [and give the commission to you], but grants to you, in accordance with the terms of the resolution which you yourself put [namely, that the governor of Cilicia should restore Ptolemy], the restoration of the king, so far as you can do it without injuring the state [i.e. without the employment of an army, against the warning of the Sibylline books]; so that the senate retains you as the responsible person for the king's restoration, while the religious difficulty makes the employment of an army impossible.'

teneri enim res aliter non potest,—sed ex illo senatus consulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit ut regem reducas, quod commodo rei publicae facere possis, ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tris legatos decernit nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis qui cum imperio sint: Bibulus tris legatos ex iis qui privati sint. Huic adsentiantur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcacium qui Lupo referente Pompeio decernit, et Afranium qui adsentitur Volcacio. Quae res auget suspicionem Pompei voluntatis: nam animadvertetur Pompei familiares adsentiri Volcacio. Laboratur vehementer: inclinata res est. Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio omniumque Pompei familiarium studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt ut Pompeius cupere videatur: cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. 4. Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante quam profectus es ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac

*Lupo referente*] Lupus, a tribune, appears to have put the motion that Pompey should be appointed; and Volcacius was the first senator who expressed approval, and was followed by Afranius. For Rutilius Lupus, see Epp. 93, 1; 96, 2.

*suspicionem*] 'this circumstance confirms our surmise as to what the real wishes of Pompey are.'

*animadvertetur*] As *adverto* for *animadverto* is rare in the prose of the Ciceronian age (we do not know of any passages except Varro L. L. v. 166; x. 46), Lambinus is probably right in reading *animadvertetur*.

*Laboratur . . . est*] 'it is a great struggle; and we are losing ground.'

*Libonis . . . contentio*] 'the undisguised way in which Libo and Hypsaeus are rushing about and straining every nerve' (Jeans). L. Scribonius Libo was at this time a tribune; he was afterwards active on the side of Pompey against Caesar; his daughter was the wife of Sex. Pompey. P. Plautius Hypsaeus, a tribune, had been quaestor to Pompey, Att. iii. 8, 3 (64).

*adduxerunt*] That the plural should be used when the nearest subject (*studium*) is in the singular is very rare: see Lebreton, p. 5. He thinks the influence of *omnium*

*familiarum* led to the plural—rightly, no doubt—and the genitives *Libonis* and *Hypsaei* contributed.

*cui qui nolunt*] The dictionaries give no other example of *alicui nolle*: but *male velle alicui* is often found in the comic writers, e.g. Plaut. Asin. 841, Truc. 899. Somewhat analogous are Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53) *ego Fundanio non cupio*.

*ornasti*] 'supplied him with means' by bestowing on him the corn commissioner-ship (cp. § 2).

4. *debemus*] 'I am your debtor,' i.e. for services done to me and not repaid. Cp. note on *debuisssem*, Att. iii. 15, 4 (73).

*Gratiam . . . putant*] 'my influence is counteracted by the general surmise which I have spoken of (namely, that Pompey wants the commission for himself), because my friends think that in opposing my exertions on your behalf they are obliging Pompey.'

*Ut . . . versamur*] Mr. Jeans very cleverly gives the force of *ita . . . ut*, to the delicate use of which by Cicero attention has been often called. 'It must be remembered that we have to deal with a case which long before your departure was secretly inflamed by the

domesticis Pompei clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. Nos- tram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. Si esset in iis fides in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.

96. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER IN CILICIA. *W. II 188*

(FAM. I. 2.)

ROME; JANUARY 15; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Significat quid deinceps actum in senatu sit de causa regia Id. Ian., quae sententiae dictae, quo Pompeius, quo eius familiares animo sint, quae tribuni pl. frustra moliti sint.

## M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Idibus Ianuariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis et Canini tribuni pl. Eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem permovere. Itaque postridie placuit ut breviter sententias diceremus: videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas esse senatus, quod cum dicendo tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perspexeram. Itaque cum sententia prima

king himself, and the more intimate associates of Pompey, and afterwards made even worse by the open meddling of the ex-consuls, ending in the great disgust of everybody.' *Clam* refers to the corruption practised by Ptolemy, and makes for the conjecture *tibicini*, mentioned above; Marcellinus was probably one of those who were disgusted by the bribery to which the king had recourse. *Exagitatis* is 'made worse': cp. *tanta vis hominis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur*, Sall. Cat. 48, 5. *Invidiam* refers to the 'scandal' of which the whole affair was prolific.

*tui absentis praesentes tui*] Cp. note to Ep. 91, 7.

*in iis*] Here, as often, Cicero uses the plural though referring to only one person, Pompey. He thus mitigates the

asperity of a dangerous criticism. See note on Fam. v. 4, 2 (89).

1. *altercatione*] Lentulus Marcellinus, the consul, was for not employing an army (in the restoration of the king) or anyone who was invested with *imperium*; thus he excluded Pompey: Caninius wished to give the office to Pompey, who was to effect the restoration with two lictors (cp. Plut. Pomp. 49, where he is called Canidius).

*placuit*] sc. *nobis tui studiosis*; 'we your friends determined not to speak at length.'

*dicendo . . . appellandis*] 'not only in my speech, but also in the appeals and requests I made to individual senators.' The gerund and gerundive are not unfrequently used to express the circumstances

Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent, secunda Hortensi, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres, tertia Volcaci, ut Pompeius reduceret, postulatum est ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui quidem rei iam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo adsumum est: de tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia. 2. Proxima erat Hortensi sententia, cum Lupus tribunus pl., quod ipse de Pompeio rettulisset, intendere coepit ante se oportere discessionem facere quam consules. Eius orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est: erat enim et iniqua et nova. Consules neque concedebant neque valde repugnabant: diem consumi volebant: id quod est factum. Perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus pluris ituros, quamquam aperte Volcacio adsentirentur. Multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consilibus non invitis: nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt.

*Orak. s.  
von Brief*

in which an action occurs, the way and manner ('while,' so that something takes place at the same time): cp. Madvig, § 416, obs. 1. For examples, see Planc. 84 *Fit vestra diligentia qui causis ponderandis omnis fere repudiatis*. This is virtually, says Wunder, 'cum causas ponderatis et difficultatem earum agendarum ponderatis'; also Balb. 9; Mur. 17; Off. i. 5. Similar, too, is 90, 6 *meo nomine recitando*. Many more examples in a very learned collection in Lebreton, pp. 402-4.

*divideretur*] 'should be put as two separate questions' (cp. Asconius in Milon. § 14, p. 44, Orelli, and note on Att. v. 4, 2, Ep. 187). The questions in this case were these: (1) whether the warning of the Sibylline books should be observed; (2) whether the restoration of the king should be entrusted to a commission of three. The proposal of Bibulus did not deal expressly with the question *de religione*; that of Hortensius and that of Volcaci did. Therefore it was necessary to subdivide the resolution of Bibulus.

*ierunt in alia omnia*] 'voted with the *Noes*'; that is, were for anything but the measure proposed. The form was *qui hoc censetis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite*, Plin. Ep. viii. 14, 19. Cp. Fam. viii. 13, 2 (271); x. 12, 3 (838); also Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. 196. Lange, R. A. ii. 414.

2. *Proxima*] 'was brought on for discussion.'

*intendere . . . consules*] 'began to insist that he had the priority of the consuls in his right to call for an expression of the sense of the house on his motion.' It was the usual practice for the motions proposed by the presiding magistrate to have priority. But the question in the last resort rested with the magistrate who had most power, and he was certainly the tribune, as the tribune had the right of stopping any *relatio* whatever (cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. p. 140). We hear elsewhere of the tribunes putting motions in opposition to the consuls; e.g. Sest. 70, cp. Fam. x. 16, 1 (881). The question proposed by the consul appears to have been a general one as to the best way to effect the restoration of the king; while that of Lupus was the more definite one, whether or not Pompey should be entrusted with the duty. Lupus was desirous of having this definite point settled, and did not want to wait until some senator plucked up courage to advocate the appointment of Pompey, which was certainly unpopular with the senate generally; and Lupus, doubtless, surmised that many would be unwilling to vote definitely against Pompey, though they would be very glad to ignore him if he was not put forward specifically for the post: cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 955, 1; 986, 4.

*non invitis*] The insertion of *non* (the suggestion of Wes.) before *invitis* is quite necessary. The consuls preferred the motion of Bibulus; and they wished the

3. Hac controversia usque ad noctem ducta senatus dimissus est. Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cenavi nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum quam umquam antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere. Quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspicione cupiditatis: cum autem eius familiaris omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod iam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam iam pridem a certis hominibus non invito rege ipso consiliariisque eius esse corruptam.

4. Haec scripsi a. d. XVI. Kal. Febr. ante lucem. Eo die senatus erat futurus. Nos in senatu, quem ad modum spero, dignitatem nostram ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate retinebimus. Quod ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis aut salvis legibus aut denique sine vi posset. De his rebus pridie quam haec scripsi senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit: cui cum Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. Eam ad te missam esse arbitror. De ceteris rebus quidquid erit actum scribam ad te et ut quam rectissime agantur omnia mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo.

day to be spent in debate without any decisive vote; they saw that a *discessio* would be in favour of Hortensius' proposal, though they affected to look on the motion of Lupus and Volcaciis as likely to win (this to please Pompey); so they were glad to frustrate a *discessio* as far as possible; and welcomed the formal putting of the question to each senator, as likely to lead to the consumption of the whole day in the debate. *Multis partibus* is the *abl. mensurae*, Draeger, i. 562. An attempt which has been made to defend the mss reading by referring it to *multi* has been refuted by Dr. Reid in the *Classical Review*, xi. 244-6. For the frequent omission of *non*, see Müller's note to this passage (p. 3, l. 32), and in his ed. of the Epp. ad Att., p. 84, l. 27.

3. *Hac controversia*] Apparently the dispute whether the motion of the presiding consul or that of the tribune should have priority.

*cupiditatis*] 'self-seeking.'

4. *ut potest*] = *ut potest fieri*, so *poterat utrumque*, Ep. 114, 7; *si posset*, Tusc. i. 23; *poterit*, Ep. 121, 2. So *solet* = *fieri solet*.

*popularem rationem*] 'the plan of bringing the question before the people.' Cicero means that he and his friends had secured tribunes to veto any such measure, and other magistrates to declare *se servaturos de caelo* (Watson). By the latter arrangement, the step could not be taken *salvis auspiciis*; and by the former, it could not be taken *salvis legibus*; cp. 98, 2.

*intercessit . . . intercessissent*] Observe the two different meanings of *intercedere* in such close proximity. The *auctoritas* of the senate was probably similar in purport to that given in Fam. viii. 8, 6 (223). That letter is an important *locus* for *senatus consulta*.

97. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA *471210*

(FAM. I. 3).

ROME; JANUARY (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

A. Trebonii equitis Rom. negotia, quae is habebat in Cilicia, P. Lentulo procos. commendat.

*M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.*

1. A. Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia et ampla et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper et suo splendore et nostra ceterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore. 2. Quae ne spes eum fallat vehementer rogo te, commendoque tibi eius omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam, in primisque ut quae T. Ampius de eius re decrevit ea comprobe omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes ut intellegat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse.

1. *magna . . . expedita*] 'important, widely-extended, and solvent business.'  
*splendore*] his distinguished position as an *eques*. Senators were not allowed

to engage in trade.

2. *T. Ampius*] He was the predecessor of Lentulus in the government of Cilicia; he was of praetorian rank.

98. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA W.D. 191  
(FAM. I. 4).

ROME; JANUARY 16 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Lentuli causam de Ptolemaeo reducendo calumniis impeditam queritur, sed, nisi vis interverterit, senatus populi que Romani studio posse sustentari indicat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. d. xvi. Kal. Febr. *cum* in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod iam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis pridie eius diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum *cum* sententia Volcaci, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis. Causam enim frequenti senatu, non magna varietate magna que invidia eorum qui a te causam regiam alio transferebant, obtinebamus. Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustio rem, paene etiam amicum. Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem ullam ante comitia esse laturos. Senatus haberi ante Kalendas Febr. per legem Pupiam, id quod seis, non potest, neque mense Febr.

1. *staremus*] 'stood our ground,' a military expression, like *inclinata* and *laboratur* in Ep. 95.

*adversariis nostris*] the tribunes and consulars especially.

*variis calumniis*] 'all kinds of obstruction.'

*non magna . . . transferebant*] 'there being no great diversity of opinion, but great indignation against those who wished to deprive you of the king's business.' The general feeling of the senate appears to have been against Pompey, and to that extent for Lentulus (cp. 95, 3; 96, 2); accordingly there is no need to alter *non* to *in* with Ernesti; and it seems better to take *eorum* as objective genitive, as *invidia* is hardly the word that would be used of an unprincipled minority.

*acerbum habuimus Curionem*] Young Curio at this time seems to have belonged to the Crassus party, of which C. Cato and Clodius were the most obtrusive members (Ep. 102, 4); and they were opposed to Lentulus, C. Cato being especially hostile.

*legem ullam*] For the law of Caninius, cp. Ep. 96, 1. Cato proposed a bill that Lentulus should be deprived of his

governorship (cp. 99, 2, *nefaria Catonis promulgatio*).

*ante comitia*] Koerner (p. 11) seems to think that these words prove that the comitial days of the latter half of January had not begun when this letter was written; and that therefore its date is the evening of the 15th, for the 16th and remaining days of January were comitial days. He considers further that Epp. 96-98 should be all regarded as one letter. He might have adduced as a parallel for a letter beginning with the introduction of a friend passing on to a narrative and discussion of other matters, Fam. 1, 8 (119); xiii. 77 (638); Brut. i. 15 (914). We should then put Ep. 97 before 96. But Ep. 96 seems as if it were completed: *ante comitia* only means before the elections are finished, and they did not take place before January 20 (Ep. 100, 2); and it is unlikely, as Rauschen points out (p. 38), that Cicero in the same letter would have expressed the same sentiment in such very similar words as he has done in 96, 4 and 98, 2 (*salvis auspiciis*, etc.).

*Pupiam*] which forbade the holding of the senate on *dies comitiales*.

toto nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus. 2. Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impediret quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire. Dignitatis autem tuae nemo est quin existimet habitam esse rationem ab senatu. Nemo est enim qui nesciat quo minus discessio fieret per adversarios tuos esse factum: qui nunc populi nomine, re autem vera sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio, si quae conabuntur agere, satis mi provisum est ut ne quid salvis auspiciis aut legibus aut etiam sine vi agere possent. 3. Ego neque de meo studio neque de non nullorum iniuria scribendum mihi esse arbitror. Quid enim aut me ostentem, qui, si vitam pro tua dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar meritorum tuorum adsecutus, aut de aliorum iniuriis querar, quod sine summo dolore facere non possum? Ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratum, praestare nihil possum: vi excepta possum confirmare te et senatus et populi Romani summo studio amplitudinem tuam retenturum.

*nisi . . . legationibus*] 'unless the hearing of embassies from foreign states is completely got through before the end of February, or deferred to a later period.' The Lex Gabinia, passed 687 (67), provided that the foreign ambassadors should have audience of the senate every day in the month of February.

2. *nomen . . . fictae rel.*] 'the introduction of this sham religious scruple.'

*ne quis*] This is a covert allusion to Pompey. The oracle was trumped up by the enemies of Lentulus; but they were more anxious to use it as a fetter for Pompey than for Lentulus.

*sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio*] As the Harleian ms (G) has *tiranno* after *sceleratissimo*, and as we find in that ms *tiranni* for *tribuni* (Ep. 96, 1), we may

safely alter *tiranno* into *tribunorum*, even though the word is not found in M or R; especially as in 100, 3 Cicero speaks of *latrocinio tribunorum*, 'villany on the part of the tribunes.'

*ut ne quid . . . possent*] cp. 96, 4.

3. *facere*] i.e. *queri*. This use of *facere* instead of another verb is quite common in Cicero's Epistles (see Index s. v. *facere*) and indeed in Latin generally. The Greeks rarely used *ἔργαν* in this sense: yet cp. Thuc. ii. 49 *τοῦτο ἔδρασαν ἐς τὰ φρέατα*.

*a vi, . . . praestare*] 'I cannot answer for what the effect of a riot may be.' If the tribunes succeeded by force in bringing the matter before the people, they might deprive Lentulus of his government.

Orskel  
of p. 46. 76  
28

99. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA W # 194  
(FAM. I. 5a).

ROME; BETWEEN FEB. 2 AND 6; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Subita C. Catonis promulgatio. Veretur ne causa regia P. Lentulo erepta deseratur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Tametsi mihi nihil fuit optatius quam ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a ceteris omnibus quam gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer, tamen adficio summo dolore eius modi tempora post tuam profectioem consecuta esse ut et meam et ceterorum erga te fidem et benevolentiam absens experirere. Te videre et sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate quam ego in mea salute sum expertus, ex tuis litteris intellexi. 2. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Sed tamen in eius *modi* perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis quam perfidiam timemus, et Catoni quidem, quoquo modo se res habet, profecto resistimus. 3. De Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti tuisque praesentibus cumulate satis facturum. Sed vereor ne aut eripiat causa regia nobis aut deseratur: quorum utrum

This letter, though in the mss. joined with Ep. 103, was plainly written at an earlier date, as the affair of Ptolemy is in the latter spoken of as virtually shelved, while here Cicero promises his best services towards furthering the interests of Lentulus in respect of it. Cato promulgated his law between Febr. 2 and Febr. 6 (Ep. 102, 1); and this letter must have been written between these dates; for in Ep. 103 Cicero first relates to Lentulus the events of Febr. 7. Accordingly it should properly come after Ep. 101 as far as chronology is concerned.

1. *in tua dignitate*] 'in a matter involving your public position,' i.e. the *causa regia*.

2. *Catonis promulgatio*] to recall Lentulus from Cilicia. This was of course a

source of great alarm (*summus timor*) to the friends of Lentulus; beside it, the question who should restore Ptolemy became quite a *minor cura*, a matter of trifling import. \*Render *nefaria* 'monstrous.'

*modi*] added by the old scholars. Such omissions are frequent. C. F. W. Müller gives a large number of most strange omissions in M in his note on this passage (p. 6, l. 22). Lehmann attempts to defend the ms reading by taking *eius* as subjective genitive, and *rerum* as objective, 'in the utter confusion of things which he has caused.' But that is a strange usage of *eius*.

3. *eripiat*] 'be taken from us' and given to Pompey.

*deseratur*] 'be let drop,' no one being entrusted with the restoration of the king.

minus velim non facile possum existimare. Sed, si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio nec mihi displicebat, ut neque iacere rem pateremur nec nobis repugnantibus ad eum deferri ad quem prope iam delata existimatur. A nobis agentur omnia diligenter ut neque, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus nec, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. 4. Tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi est omnem amplitudinem et dignitatem tuam in virtute atque in rebus gestis tuis atque in tua gravitate esse positam existimare: si quid ex iis rebus quas tibi fortuna largita est non nullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id maiori illis fraudi quam tibi futurum. A me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus et agendi et cogitandi. Utor ad omnia Q. Selicio: neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis neque fide maiore esse iudico neque amantiores tui.

*ala Legat. S. Pomp.*

100. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 2). *WT 197*

ROME, JANUARY 17; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri respondet de Lentuli et Sesti nominibus exigendis et Pomponianis inde dissolvendis, de Culleonis auctione, de Q. fratris aedificatione, de Clodi aedilitatis expectatione, de rege Alexandrino in regnum reducendo quod actum et decretum sit. Denique frater ut quam primum e Sardinia redeat rogat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

I. Non occupatione, qua eram sane impeditus, sed parvula lippitudine adductus sum ut dictarem hanc epistolam et non, ut ad te soleo, ipse scriberem. Et primum me tibi excuso in eo ipso in quo te accuso: me enim nemo adhuc rogavit 'num quid in Sardiniam vellem,' te puto saepe habere qui 'num quid Romam

*Selicio*] A banker: cp. Att. i. 12, 1 (17), and 158, 2, note.

*rem*] So Martyni-Laguna for *regem* of the mss: cp. 102, 1. The reading is very doubtful because it necessitates the alteration of *delatum* into *delata*, which has only the very slight support of Codex Guelferbytanus quartus. The suggestion of Wesenberg to add *negotium* after *eum* is very attractive. We are not at all

certain that *regem* may not be right, and think that *iacere* may mean 'to be ruined': cp. Att. ii. 6 fin. (33). It would then be necessary to read *delatus* for *delatum*.

4. *esse positam*] See Adn. Crit.

1. *num . . . vellem*] 'have I any commands for Sardinia.'

*sc. mit-  
tere*

velis' quaerant. Quod ad me Lentuli et Sesti nomine scripsisti, locutus sum cum Cincio. Quoquo modo res se habet, non est facilissima. Sed habet profecto quiddam Sardinia appositum ad recordationem praeteritae memoriae: nam ut ille Gracchus augur, postea quam in istam provinciam venit, recordatus est quid sibi in campo Martio comitia consularia habenti contra auspicia accidisset, sic tu mihi videris in Sardinia de forma Numisiana et de nominibus Pomponianis in otio recogitasse. Ego adhuc emi nihil. Culleonis auctio facta est. Tusculano emptor nemo fuit. Si condicio valde bona fuerit, fortassis non omittam. 2. De aedificatione tua Cyrum urgere non cesso. Spero eum in officio fore. Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter furiosae aedilitatis expectationem. Nam comitia sine mora futura videntur: edicta sunt in a. d. xi. Kal. Febr. Te tamen sollicitum esse nolo; omne genus a nobis cautionis adhibebitur. 3. De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine eum reduci periculosum rei publicae videri. Reliqua cum esset in senatu contentio Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur—in ea re nos et officio erga Lentulum mirifice et voluntati Pompei praecclare satis fecimus,—sed per obtrectatores Lentuli calumnia extracta est. Consecuti sunt dies comitiales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Quid futurum sit latrocinio tribunorum non divino, sed tamen suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perla-

*nomine*] Man. adds *de* before *Lentuli*. Then we may suppose that Lentulus and Sestius owed money to Quintus, which he was anxious to collect, so that he might with it defray a debt of his to Atticus; hence *nomibus Pomponianis* below. But it is perhaps better to adhere to the ms reading, and take *nomine* in the common sense of 'on behalf of.'

*Cincio*] an agent of Atticus.  
*Sed habet . . . memoriae*] 'but surely Sardinia must have some property of refreshing one's memory of the past.' The story about the father of the Gracchi which follows is told by Cicero in *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 11. Cp. *veteris memoriae recordatio*, *De Or.* i. 4; *memoriam recordavi*, *Arch.* 1.

*forma*] the plan, design of a house or villa which Numisius, an architect, had drawn for Cicero: for *forma* cp. 201, 1; and for Q. Cicero's buildings, cp. 106, 3.

*Tusculano*] Cicero had advertised his

Tusculanum for sale in the October of the previous year (*Ep.* 91, 7). Here he seems reluctant (*fortassis*) to sell unless he gets a very favourable offer. The view that the Tusculanum here mentioned was Culleo's, not Cicero's, is most unlikely. Cicero would have added *eius*.

2. *Cyrum*] the architect.

*furiosae aedilitatis*] of Clodius.

3. *videbatur . . . est*] We have punctuated this passage according to the suggestion of Lehmann (*Quaest. Tull.* 121, 122), and thus are not obliged to add *res* before *est*, for *causa* can be readily understood from *causam* above. No doubt Cicero, in *Ep.* 98, 1, has *res . . . extracta est*; but he uses *causa* for the same thing in the next sentence: cp. *Alexandrina causa* (103, 1). Render *calumnia* 'obstruction.'

*rogationem*] The bill of Caninius (*cp.* 98, 1) was that Pompey, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy: see *Plut. Pomp.* 49.

turum. In ea re Pompeius quid velit non dispicio. Familiares eius quid cupiant omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore, quamquam multa fecit qua re, si fas esset, iure ei suscensere possemus. 4. Tu, si ita expedit, velim quam primum bona et certa tempestate condescendas ad meque venias. Innumerabiles enim res sunt in quibus te cotidie in omni genere desiderem. Tui nostrique valent. XIII. Kal. Febr.

101. TO ATTICUS, RETURNING TO ROME (ATT. IV. 4a). *W II 196*

ROME; JANUARY 20; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Attico significat sibi pericundum Cincii nuntium fuisse de Attici adventu in Italiam.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Pericundus mihi Cincius fuit ante diem tertium Kalend. Febr. ante lucem. Dixit enim mihi te esse in Italia seseque ad te pueros mittere, quos sine meis litteris ire nolui, non quo habere quod tibi, praesertim iam prope praesenti, scriberem, sed ut hoc ipsum significarem, mihi tuum adventum suavissimum exspectatissimumque esse. Qua re advola ad nos eo animo ut nos ames, te amari scias. Cetera coram agemus. Haec prope-rantes scripsimus. Quo die venies, utique cum tuis apud me sis.

*multa fecit*] Lentulus was one of those to whose supineness or jealousy Cicero ascribed the inadequacy of his indemnification.

*si fas esset*] because Lentulus had been active in bringing about the restoration of Cicero.

4. *ita expedit*] See Adn. Crit.

*Qua re advola*] 'so fly to meet me, full of your affectionate regard for me, and of the assurance that it is fully returned.'

*utique . . . sis*] In a learned discussion

Heidemann (*De Ciceronis in Epistulis verborum Ellipsis usu*, pp. 93-101) examines the passages in which editors have in one way or another refused to allow in Cicero the second person of the present subjunctive to stand for the imperative. It is quite common in Plautus; see Prof. Sonnenschein's note to *Most.* 1129, and Dräger, i. p. 311. So that it is unreasonable to refuse it to the familiar style of Cicero's letters. Accordingly we have not added *fac* either here or in Ep. 158 fin.

102. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 3). *W II 200*

ROME, FEBRUARY 12 AND 15, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri exponit de iudicio T. Milonis a P. Clodio de vi accusati, de rebus in senatu actis, de P. Sestio bis accusato, de senatus consulto vi. Id. Febr. facta, de oratione pro Bestia a se dicta, de rebus domesticis.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Scripsi ad te antea superiora: nunc cognosce postea quae sint acta. A. Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IIII. Non. Febr. Milo adfuit: ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. *abstinere* Honeste discessimus. Prodicta dies est in VIII. Id. Febr. Interim

1. *superiora*] Up to Jan. 17, the date of his last letter to Quintus. Sternkopf (in *Hermes* 39, p. 401) shows that a letter of Cicero's relating the events of the latter half of January has probably been lost. It told of the election of Clodius to the aedileship, the first accusation of Milo by Clodius, C. Cato's bill about Milo, the *rogatio Canini de Pompeio* (100. 3), and other matters.

*Kal. Febr. . . . non est*] Sternkopf has rightly explained this passage. He leaves out *a* (of the mss) before *Kal.*, supposing it due to dittography. Cicero is relating the events of the several days. On the 1st a motion was made to postpone the audience of ambassadors to the 13th, but the matter was not settled on that day. *Reiciebantur* is a 'conative imperfect,' and *res* is the postponement.

*Milo adfuit*] Milo was being prosecuted by Clodius, who was aedile, in a *iudicium populi*. Mr. Greenidge (*Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time*, p. 345) has excellently described the procedure in such a case. The magistrate first held a preliminary investigation (*anquisitio*) before an informal meeting (*contio*) which he had summoned. This meeting was held anew on two subsequent days, on the latter of which the final form of the accusation was agreed upon and embodied in a bill. This was duly promulgated, and after the legal interval of a *trinundinum* brought

before the *comitia*. The *comitia* were preceded by a *contio*, at which the magistrate urged reasons for his charge; and as that *contio* was the fourth *contio* before which the accusing magistrate appeared, his exposition of the charge thereat is called *quarta accusatio*: cp. *Pro Domo* 45 *cum tam moderata iudicia populi sint a maiori-bus constituta . . . ne inprodicta die quis accusaretur, ut ter ante magistratus accuset intermissa die quam nullam inroget aut iudicet, quarta sit accusatio trinum undinum prodicta die, quo die iudicium sit futurum*, and Appian B. C. i. 74. The three preliminary 'accusations' against Milo occurred Febr. 2, 6, and 17 (see §§ 2, 3), while the *quarta accusatio* was fixed for May 7 (Ep. 106, 4). Mr. Greenidge goes on to notice that the first, second, and fourth of these days are *nefasti*, and the third, as being a festival, is marked *NP*; and subsequently (p. 457) he states that trials were held indifferently on *fasti* and *nefasti dies*, on comital days and on those marked *NP*; so that he justly considers that the opinion that *contiones* could not be held on *dies nefasti* cannot be sustained.

*Honeste discessimus*] 'we had the best of the fight,' 'we came off with the honours of war.'

VIII.] So Man. for VII. of the mss: cp. Ep. 103, 1 *apud populum a.d. VIII. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret*, where

reiectionibus in Idus referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus. Sed res multis querelis de re publica interponendis nulla transacta est. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando; vestitum filius mutavit. 2. A. d. VIII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius sive voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt, idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit—nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat—sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus clamor a nostris—placuerat enim referre gratiam—ut neque mente nec lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum hora VI. vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad horam VIII., cum omnia maledicta, versus denique obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset qui plebem fame necaret. Respondebant operae :

MG have *octavo* written in full. This leads also to the alteration of VIII. for VII. in § 2, of VII. for VI. at the beginning of § 3, and of VIII. for VI. in the senatorial decree quoted in that section; see Koerner, p. 13. Nothing is more frequent in manuscripts than blunders as regards numerals.

*ornandis*] *Ornare* is applied to provinces, meaning to provide the magistrates appointed for the provinces with the requisite supplies; Att. iii. 24, 1 (85). *legem*] cp. 99, 2.

*filius*] son of Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He assumed mourning to bespeak sympathy with his father, according to the custom which prevailed in ancient Rome.

2. *perpetua oratione*] ‘throughout his whole speech’; the abl. of *duration* is only used with a word of duration, esp. *totus, omnis*.

*peregerat*] The change of tense is strange. Cicero had perhaps intended to say ‘he had barely concluded when Clodius rose,’ but changed the sentence hastily. Madvig and Sternkopf, after Gulielmus, wish to read *perfringerat*, ‘after he had broken down opposition by the weight of his influence,’ quoting for the omission of the accusative Orat. 97 *haec (eloquentia) modo perfringit, modo irrepit in sensus*, where, however, the accusative *sensus* can be easily supplied

from the next clause. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit.

*sed*] For *sed* resumptive, cp. note to Att. i. 10, 1 (6).

*clamor a nostris*] sc. *factus est*: cp. below *ne quid in turba* (sc. *fieret*) and Att. xiv. 5, 1 (707) *ab aleatore furvus πολὺς* (sc. *fit*).

*referre gratiam*] ironically, ‘to return the compliment’; *retulisse gratiam* is ‘to return the compliment,’ ‘to give as good as one got,’ cp. Sull. 47 *quod si esses usu atque aetate robustior, essem idem qui soleo cum sum lacessitus; nunc tecum sic agam tulisse ut potius iniuriam quam retulisse gratiam videar*.

*consisteret*] ‘he lost all control over his faculties, his voice, and his countenance’: cp. *mente consistere*, Phil. ii. 68.

*interrogabat suos*] On the whole of this scene cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 18, 19; Plut. Pomp. 48 fin. This latter passage is worth quoting, τέλος δὲ, προελθόντος αὐτοῦ (Pompeius) πρὸς τινὰ δίκην, ἔχων (Clodius) ὑφ’ αὐτῷ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγείας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας μεστὸν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς ἐπιφανῆ τόπον καταστάς ἐρωτήματα τοιαῦτα προῦβαλλε, “τίς ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος; τίς ἀνὴρ ἄνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἐν δακτύλῳ κνῆται τὴν κεφαλὴν;” οἱ δὲ, ὥσπερ χάρος εἰς ἀμοιβαία συγκεκροτημένος, ἐκείνου τὴν τήβεννον ἀνασειλόντος, ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ μέγα βοῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο “Πομπήϊος.”

'Pompeius.' Quis Alexandream ire cuperet. Respondebant : 'Pompeius.' Quem ire vellent. Respondebant : 'Crassum.' Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico. Hora fere IX., quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urgere illi ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus; fuga operarum; eiectus de rostris Clodius, ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam: Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem aut in Pompeio defendendo—nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio—animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia prodixit diem. 3. A. d. VII. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. VI. Id. Febr. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est, ea quae facta essent a. d. VIII. Id. Febr. contra rem publicam esse facta. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit. De me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam

*descripsit* *hinc*  
 [Crassum] This is the first hint that Crassus desired the office of restoring Ptolemy. Perhaps it was merely an empty compliment to Crassus on the part of the bravoes of Clodius, who observed that Crassus was opposed to Milo, as we read in the next sentence, *Miloni animo non amico*. He was on the spot, *is aderat tum*, and that suggested the shout.

[*de rostris*] The scene of the riot was the forum. Clodius prosecuted Milo before the *Comitia tributa*.

[*ne quid in turba*] sc. *fieret*.  
 [curiam] sc. *Hostiliam*.

[*in posterum*] For *diem* omitted cp. *Fam.* x. 12, 3 (838), *Att.* x. 14, 3 (400).  
 [Quirinalia] Feb. 17.

[3. *ad Apollinis*] It is conjectured by Man. that the temple of Apollo was near the house of Pompey, who could thus more conveniently attend the senate, as he could more easily elude the violence of the Clodian roughs. We read in this letter that Pompey thought his life was in danger. But, no doubt, Sternkopf is right in thinking that the meeting was

held outside the *pomerium*, because Pompey could not, owing to the *imperium* which he held as *curator rei frumentariae*, attend any meeting of the senate held within the walls. The temple of Apollo was outside the walls (*Liv.* xxxvii. 58, 3).

[*a. d. VIII.*] So Manutius: cp. note to § 1. It is hardly likely, as was suggested in the previous edition, that we should read <ad> *a. d. VI.*; for in a formal document we should expect the anterior as well as the posterior limit of time to be specified. The serious disturbance occurred on the 6th (*a. d. VIII.*).

[*perfidiam*] cp. *Plut. Cic.* 31.  
 [*malevolorum*] that is, the enemies of Pompey, cp. 103, 1.

[*descripsit*] 'alluded to' Crassus without mentioning his name. He hinted that Crassus was plotting against his life, and that he would take better care of himself than Scipio Africanus the younger, 'who was murdered,' said Pompey, 'by Papius Carbo.' Cicero does not state that Carbo was the murderer of Scipio, but only that Pompey stated that he was:

suam fore quam Africanus fuisset quem C. Carbo interemisset. 4. Itaque magna mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit nobiscumque communicat insidias vitae suae fieri, C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari, Clodio pecuniam suppeditari, utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari; vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur: in ea multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus. 5. A. d. IIII. Id. Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio Pupinia de ambitu est postulatus et eodem die a quodam P. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus eique nos totos tradidimus,

this is shown by the mood of *interemisset*. If Cicero had wished to express his own opinion, he would have written *interemit*: cp. apud Hypanim fluvium qui ab Europae parte in Pontum *influit* (this is the observation of the speaker) Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum diem *vivant* (observation of Ar. reported by the speaker), Tusc. i. 94. Charges of being guilty of the murder of Scipio were brought against various persons merely as party spirit made such charges convenient. Ihne (*Röm. Gesch.* v. 456 foll.) comes to the conclusion that Scipio died a natural death. Pompey chose to ascribe the crime to C. Papirius Carbo, to whom he compares Cato, as the modern plotter of assassination. Mommsen (iii. 104) thinks that Scipio was murdered, and that 'the instigator of the deed must have belonged to the Gracchan party.'

4. *contionario illo populo*] Boot (Obs. Crit. 33) wishes to read <a> *contionario illo* (sc. *Clodio*), *populo*, &c., on the ground that Cicero generally uses *contionalis*, not *contionarius*, cp. Att. i. 16, 11 (22); and that in the *contiones* the *plebs* rather than the *populus* were prominent. We may reply that the word Cicero uses for a demagogue is *contionator*, not *contionarius*, cp. Cat. iv. 9 *quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem*; and that *contionario populo* indicated the inferior orders of the *populus*, not the majority of the *populus*, whose feelings Pompey would be slow to acknowledge were estranged from him.

*in ea*] 'for it,' i.e. the Quirinalia (the struggle which is to come off on Feb. 17). *Ea* has been universally changed to *eo*, which is supposed to refer to the trial of Milo; but *ea*, the reading of M, gives a far better sense. For the use of *in* cp. *invitavit in posteram diem*, Cic. Off. iii. 58; *solis defectiones praedicuntur in multos annos*, Div. ii. 17; *in tempus confecta, in diem vivere*, &c. We might also read *in eam*, sc. *manum*.

*ipsius*] Possibly Pompey is meant. But more probably the reference is to the forces of Clodius, and *copiis* is ablative after the comparative 'superior to the forces of Clodius.' For the ingenious suggestion of Sternkopf that we should add *Milonis*, transferring it from 93, 1, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note v.

*de Milone*] Cato would appear to have brought some charge against Milo for keeping a body-guard of gladiators and *bestiarum*: cp. 105, 5.

5. *Pupinia*] of the Pupinian tribe. *de ambitu*] The early scholars added *de*. Baier reads *ambitus*; but this construction is not Ciceronian.

*P. Tullio*] So Wesenberg reads for *M. Tullio*, comparing Schol. Bobiensis in Orat. pro Sestio (p. 292, l. 9, Orelli) *accusare de vi P. Clodius Sestium coepit inmisso velut principe delationis P. Albinovano*. His full name was P. Tullius Albinovanus.

*nos totos*] 'placed myself entirely at his service' (Jeans).

Miloni

idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure suscen-  
sere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus  
videremur, itaque faciemus. Sed idem Nerius index edidit ad  
adlegatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiam et C. Cornelium: †ista ei. Eodem  
die senatus consultum factum est, UT SODALITATES DECURI-  
ATIQUE DISCEDERENT LEXQUE DE IIS FERRETUR, UT QUI  
NON DISCESSISSENT EA POENA QUAE EST DE VI TENE-  
RENTUR. 6. A. d. III. Id. Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud  
praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu, inci-  
dique in eum locum in dicendo cum Sestius multis in templo  
Castoris vulneribus acceptis subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic  
προφκονομησάμην quiddam ἐνκαίρως de his quae in Sestium

*iure suscensere*] See Ep. 104, § 1; beyond his general moroseness of character, Sestius does not seem to have done anything to earn the dislike of Cicero. We read, however, in Cicero's letters from exile, Att. iii. 23, 4 (83), that Cicero much disliked the bill which Sestius drew up for his restoration.

*ut . . . videremur*] 'so that I am thought.'

*itaque*] here = 'and so,' not 'therefore,' and I mean to be as good as my word' (Jeans).

*ad adlegatos*] It would appear that *adlegati* were unofficial or semi-official negotiators as contrasted with *legati*, fully official negotiators. Here it is supposed that the *adlegati* were either people sent by Sestius to negotiate with Nerius (Madvig), or persons deputed by the praetor to receive or sift evidence in particular cases as a preliminary to a trial. This is not unlikely in the present case, as Nerius would appear to have been an obscure personage. (In Cluent. 39 the inferior mss give *inter allegatos*, but the right reading is almost certainly *alligatum*). Madvig conjectures *instare* for the corrupt *ista ei*: then the sense of the whole passage will be 'Nerius stated to the deputies sent by Sestius (or the praetor) that Vatia and Cornelius were threatening to accuse Sestius.' If we suppose the corrupt words not to belong closely to the sentence, we must understand that Nerius mentioned the names of Vatia and Cornelius as somehow connected with the trial. It has been also suggested that we should read *ad adligatos*, and interpret 'in addition to those already implicated': but that would be a most unusual form of

expression. Professor Ellis conjectures *adalligatos*, 'were compromised as well.' Mr. Warde Fowler (*Classical Review*, ii. 40) has suggested a most ingenious and learned interpretation of the passage. He would read with Wesenberg *edidit adligatos*, and translate 'named as witnesses.' What an obscure informer would want would be witnesses to confirm what he stated. And *adligati* does seem to have been an untechnical word applied to witnesses, cp. Isidore, Origines v. 23 *Testes sunt a quibus quaeritur veritas in iudicio quos quisque ante iudicium sibi placitis alligat: nec cui sit postea liberum aut dissimulare aut subtrahere se: unde et alligati appellantur*. Mr. Warde Fowler further considers *ista ei* to be a corruption of a gloss *testes*. It is just possible that *ad adlegatos* might be retained and *testes* read for *ista ei*. But the passage still remains doubtful. Wesenberg has proposed to read *et L. Bestiam*: but this is somewhat improbable, as Cicero defended Bestia on a charge of *ambitus* the next day. Mr. Warde Fowler has shown that in *edere* in this passage there can be no reference to the use of that word in cases of *sodalicia* (as was suggested in the former edition), for the Licinian Law on that subject was not passed until 699 (55).

SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE] 'political clubs and caucuses.' The *Sctum* was a declaratory act that all such assemblages should be subject to the penalties enacted under the *Leges de vi*. These would include electioneering clubs, which were, in all probability, especially aimed at by the *Sctum*: cp. Holden's Introduction to the *pro Plancio*, p. xxxii, § 21.

6. προφκονομησάμην] 'introduced be-

apparabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus, magno ad-  
sensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo  
scribo quod me de retinenda Sesti gratia litteris saepe monuisti.  
7. Pridie Id. Febr. haec scripsi ante lucem: eo die apud Pompon-  
ium in eius nuptiis eram cenaturus. Cetera sunt in rebus nostris  
huius modi *ut* tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas, plena dignitatis et  
gratiae: quae quidem tua, mi frater, patientia, virtute, pietate, sua-  
vitate etiam tibi mihi que sunt restituta. Domus tibi ad lacum  
Pisonis Liciniana conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus,  
post Kalendas Quint. in tuam commigrabis. Tuam in Carinis  
mundi <sup>nullas</sup> habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam *Ulbiensem*  
epistulam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes  
scire cupio maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum. Cura, mi  
frater, ut valeas, et quamquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam  
esse cogites. xv. Kalend. Mart.

forehand,' i.e. introduced a eulogy on Sestius as a sort of 'vaunt-courier' to my forthcoming speech in his defence.

7. *nuptiis*] the marriage of Atticus to Pilia.

*Cetera sunt*] Koerner (*op. cit.*, p. 15) supposes that the passage from these words to the end of the letter forms the fragment of another letter written to Quintus three days later (§ 7 *fin.*) than §§ 1-6, which was written on Febr. 12 (§ 7 *init.*), mainly on the grounds that there is a want of connexion between this passage and the preceding, and that it is unlikely that Cicero would not have related what happened on the Ides. But the senate was occupied on the Ides with hearing embassies (§ 1 *init.*), and Cicero may well have considered that they were of little interest to Quintus. Elsewhere we find that Cicero wrote portions of letters on different days, cp. Att. iii. 22 (81) and

Q. Fr. iii. 1 (148); and the fact that he may have done so here may have caused the slight want of connexion in the topics.

*etiam*] because *suavitas* was not to be expected from Quintus as much as the other qualities mentioned.

*lacum*] the ordinary reading is *lucum*: but Boot (*Obs. Crit.* 33) points out that *luci* generally bear the names of divinities, whereas *lacus* were called after men (e. g. *lacum Servilium*, *Rosc. Am.* 89).

*post Kal. Quint.*] The 1st July was the usual period for the expiry of the terms of occupancy of rented houses in Rome: *Suet. Tib.* 35 (*Man.*).

*mundi*] 'respectable tenants.'

*Ulbiensem*] from Ulbia or Olbia, the chief port of Sardinia. For the form cp. *Adn. Crit.*

*quamquam est hiems*] that is, the least unhealthy season.

Olbia auf  
Sard.

103. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA W II 208  
(FAM. I. 5b).

ROME; AFTER FEBRUARY 8; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Causa regia a Cn. Pompeio iam paene derelicta sibi videri scribit ut rex ad P. Lentulum restituendi sui causa se conferat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Hic quae aguntur quaeque acta sunt, ea te et litteris multorum et nuntiis cognosse arbitror: quae autem posita sunt in coniectura quaeque videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere. Postea quam Pompeius et apud populum a. d. VIII. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convicioque iactatus est in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe inimicorum magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus. Itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est—nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus nisi id quod per eandem religionem dari alteri non potest—videtur ab illo plane esse deposita. 2. Nunc id speramus idque molimur ut rex, cum intellegat sese quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, adsequi non posse et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abiectum fore, proficiscatur ad te: quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paullum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. Sed nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem. Nos tamen nihil quod ad eam rem pertineat praetermittimus. Ceteris iniuriis quae propositae sunt a Catone facile, ut spero, resistemus. Amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse video praeter Hortensium et Lucillum: ceteri sunt partim obscuri iniqui, partim non dissimulanter irati. Tu fac animo forti magnoque sis speresque fore ut fracto impetu levissimi hominis tuam Cato pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

This letter was written after the 8th February: cp. *in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe . . . est accusatus* with 102, 3 *eo die (vi Id. Febr.) Cato vehementer est in Pompeium iniectus*.

1. *sunt*] See Adn. Crit. *inimicorum*] So we read with Weinhold for *nimum* of the mss. He compares 102, 3 *auditus est magno silentio male-*

*colorum*. It is true that *nimum* = *valde*, 'very,' in Plautus often; e.g. Trin. 28, 34, 931, 936; but this usage is not found in Cicero. Lambinus, influenced apparently by this consideration, had suggested *omnium*.

2. *levissimi hominis*] Cato, who sought to deprive Lentulus of his government; cp. 102, 1.

Orakel, s.o.  
p. 35

104. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA W II 211

(FAM. I. 6).

ROME; MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Consolatur P. Lentulum de tardo speratae rei progressu et exigua spe relicta ad animi magnitudinem adhortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Quae gerantur accipies ex Pollione, qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum sed praefuit. Me in summo dolore, quem in tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor fore ut infringatur hominum improbitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum et ipsa die, quae debilitat cogitationes et inimicorum et proditorum tuorum. 2. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis. Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas quam mea adflicta est, tamen est tanta similitudo ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem umquam timenda duxisti. Sed praesta te eum qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus. Illustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria. A me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta: non fallam opinionem tuam.

Plainly this letter, which contains no news, was written merely because Pollio happened to be going to Cilicia. The fact that there was nothing very important to speak about would tend to fix the date of this letter at some time shortly after the preceding. It would seem that Cato's law, which had been promulgated at the beginning of February (102, 1), was not being pressed vigorously, and Cicero anticipates that lapse of time will bring it to nought.

1. *Pollione*] C. Asinius Pollio, from whom we have three letters to Cicero, Fam. x. 31-33, and to whom is addressed the 1st Ode of Horace's Second Book. On Pollio see vol. vi, pp. lxxx ff.

*non . . . praefuit*] 'took not only a

part, but a leading part.'

*ipsa die*] 'simple lapse of time'; hence *dies* is fem.: cp. Mayor on Juv. x. 265.

2. *mea*] Aldus suggests *mea salus*, comparing 99, 1 *te . . . sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate quam ego in mea salute sum expertus*.

*a teneris . . . unguiculis*] ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων. Cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 24, *de tenero meditatur ungui*. On that passage Orelli agrees with Unger, who maintains the meaning of the phrase to be *from my very heart of hearts*, not *from the earliest years*. Pollux tells us that the tradition was, that the nerves had their *termini* under the nails. For other passages in favour of this interpretation see Orelli's note on Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 24.

105. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 4). *W II 212*

ROME; LATTER HALF OF MARCH; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de P. Sestio absoluto et de P. Vatinius in iudicio Sestiano vexato, de filii studiis, de suae et fraternae domus aedificatione, de Tullia Crassipedi despondenda, de rebus suis. Tum exponit de rebus Romanis et Lentuli Marcellini consulis in coercendis Clodianorum insanis conatibus studium promptum significat.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Sestius noster absolutus est a. d. v. Id. Mart. et, quod vehementer interfuit rei publicae nullam videri in eius modi causa dissensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus est. Illud quod

This letter, which, according to the Mommsenian arrangement, consists of Epp. 4 + 6, §§ 3-7, is resolved by Rauschen, p. 39 f., into fragments of two letters, the conclusion of one (= §§ 1, 2) and the beginning of the other (§§ 3-7) being lost. His arguments are interesting—(1) The acquittal of Sext. Clodius, § 6, occurred a few days before the delivery of the *Pro Caelio*, and that speech was delivered (Cael. 1) during the Megalesia (April 4 to 10), and before the Nones, therefore on the 4th. It was delivered before the Nones, because no mention is made of that speech in 106, which relates the events after the Nones, up to Cicero's departure on the 8th. It would be certainly curious if Cicero made no mention to his brother of the speech *Pro Caelio*. But he seems to have written a letter to Quintus on the 4th: ep. Q. Fr. ii. 5 init., *Dederam ad te litteras antea quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pr. Non April. esse desponsam ceteraque de re publica privataque perscriperam*. Rauschen accordingly considers that §§ 3-7 are the latter portion of that letter, and that the beginning is lost. Sternkopf (*op. cit.*, p. 405 ff.) thinks §§ 3-7 are the conclusion of a letter written towards the end of March; and that between that letter and Ep. 106 an epistle has been lost which was written on April 4. He thinks that §§ 3-7 cannot belong to the letter of April 4, for it would have mentioned the *Or. pro Caelio* in § 6. But it probably mentioned that oration in the earlier portion which is lost, and there was no need to refer to it again. (2) Again, the acquittal of Sestius, which occurred on March 11, is men-

tioned in § 1, in such a way that it is plainly the first information given to Quintus of that event. Are we to suppose that Cicero let a whole fortnight at the very least elapse from the acquittal of Sestius before he informed his brother about it? We reply that this may possibly have been the case. Letter-carriers cannot have been very frequently going to Sardinia, and possibly they went very irregularly. So there is no reason why we may not suppose that §§ 1-2 were written shortly after the acquittal of Sestius, and §§ 3 to 7 added afterwards to the letter before it was despatched. That will account for the second mention of the building operations (§ 3: cp. § 2), and the second allusion to public affairs (§ 4: cp. § 1). See what is said below with regard to Q. Fr. iii. 1 (148). Mommsen's arrangement of these letters fits so well, that one is loth to disturb it except under the most serious compulsion. For further, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note v. 1. *quod . . . interfuit*] sc. *nullam . . . esse*.

*Illud quod . . . iudicemur*] 'As to one thing that I know always distressed you—the fear lest I should give some enemy the chance of upbraiding me as ungrateful for not putting up with Sestius' unreasonableness in some matters as good-humouredly as possible—let me tell you I have gained by this trial credit for the highest gratitude.' Sestius seems to have been a cross-grained person, but Cicero owed him gratitude for his exertions in his behalf when in exile. For *humanitas*, 'the behaviour of cultivated society,' as opp. to *perversitas*, 'outré conduct,' cp. Off. i. 145.

tibi curae saepe esse intellexeram, ne cui iniquo relinqueremus vituperandi locum, qui nos ingratos esse diceret, nisi illius perver-  
sitate quibusdam in rebus quam humanissime ferremus, scito hoc nos in eo iudicio consecutos esse ut omnium gratissimi iudicaremur. Nam defendendo moroso homini cumulatissime satis fecimus et, id quod ille maxime cupiebat, Vatinius, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitrato nostro concidimus dis hominibusque plaudentibus. Quin etiam Paullus noster cum testis productus esset in Sestium, confirmavit se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur, et Macer ab Sesti subselliis surrexit ac se illi non defuturum adfirmavit. Quid quaeris? Homo petulans et audax, Vatinius, valde perturbatus debilitatusque discessit. 2. Q. filius tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animum adverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. Domus utriusque nostrum aedificatur strenue. Redemptori tuo dimidium pecuniae curavi. Spero nos ante hiemem contubernalis fore. De nostra Tullia, tui mehercule amantissima, spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse. Dies erant duo qui post Latinas habentur religiosi: ceteroquin confectum Latiar erat [Ep. VI. §§ 3-7]. 3. Ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam, quam tu soles dicere, bono modo

[*arbitrato nostro concidimus*] 'I cut him up just as I pleased'; cp. vol. v., p. li: see the *interrogatio in Vatinius*; and cp. § 6.

[*ab Sesti subselliis*] 'the benches on which sat the supporters of Sestius.' Cp. Fam. xiii. 10, 2 (481), where *utrisque subselliis* = 'counsel for defence and prosecution.'

[*illi*] *Paullo*, i. e. 'he said he would do as Paullus suggested.' *desse alicui* could not mean 'to fail to prosecute one.'

[*Homo petulans et audax*] 'the insolent bully.'

2. [*contubernalis*] 'under the same roof.' The houses of the two brothers adjoined each other.

[*De nostra Tullia*] 'I think I have concluded the betrothal of Tullia to Crassipes.'

[*Dies . . . erat*] These were two days after the *feriae Latinae*, which were kept as holidays, though the *Latiar* was itself over. Cicero mentions this to show why he could not celebrate the *sponsalia* before he wrote. *Ceteroquin* (see Adn. Crit.) is

common in the letters of Cicero, 'for the rest,' i. e. but for these two days, the festival is over. *Latiar* was another name for the *Latinae feriae* (Macrob. Sat. i. 16, 16). For the form *Preller* compares *Palatuar* (Festus, 348). For Sternkopf's reading of this passage, see note to 106, 2.

3. [*Ἀμφιλαφίαν*] One is tempted to render *embarras de richesse*, but the meaning is rather *affluence*, ἀμφιλαφῆς περιουσία, as Man. paraphrases the expression. The word also occurs in Q. Fr. ii 14, 3 (142). Quintus had probably regretted that they had not ampler means at their disposal to carry out their building schemes. Cicero says in reply: 'I too feel the want of that *affluence* which you speak about, but my feeling about Dame Fortune is tempered; I would gladly stand firm for her if she runs into my arms; but if she hides from me, I will not seek to start her from her covert.' Cicero strangely uses two metaphors distinctly taken from hunting in this passage: *excipere* is a well-known *verbum venatorium* like δέχασθαι (see Orelli on Hor. Carm. iii. 12, 12). It means properly,

desidero, sic prorsus ut advenientem excipiam libenter, latentem non excitem. Etiam nunc tribus locis aedifico, reliqua reconcinno, vivo paullo liberalius quam solebam: opus erat. Si te haberem, paullisper fabris locum darem. Sed et haec, ut spero, brevi inter nos communicabimus. 4. Res autem Romanae sese sic habent. Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediende collega; sic inquam, bonus ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitalis exemit omnis: nam etiam Latinae instaurantur: nec tamen deerant supplicationes. 5. Sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis, cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster. Nam ille vindex gladiatorum et bes-

Marcellin.  
feriae

'to stand the charge' of an animal at bay: *an tu putas venatorem irasci feris? atqui et fugientes persequitur et venientes excipit*, Sen. de Ira i. 11, 2; *id.* de Prov. ii. 8. Again, *excitare* is to rouse a hiding animal from its lair, 'to flush' some animal of the chase, *excitare feras* Cic. Off. iii. 68; *cervus nemorosus excitatus latibulis*, Phaedr. ii. 8, 1. For *bono modo*, 'with moderation,' cp. Cic. Ac. ii. 137; Att. xiii. 233 (637). *Maiorem in modum* is similarly used by Cicero.

*Etiam nunc*] 'even now (so far am I from laying by a fortune that) I am building on three different sites, and doing repairs besides.'

*opus erat*] Schütz and Sternkopf, objecting to the tense of *erat*, take *opus erat* with the following words: *opus erat, si te haberem, paulisper fabris locum darem* (Schütz reads *dare*, but the alteration is not necessary, as Sternkopf shows). But the force of the imperfect is something like this: 'I have arranged my life (my life now is) on a more generous scale: I had to do so' (in order to regain and retain my position).

*Si . . . darem*] 'If I had you with me, I would let in the carpenters for a while.' Cicero did not know in the absence of his brother what directions to give to the carpenters, or how much his brother was prepared to spend.

4. *exemit*] *Eximere diem* is, 'to deprive one of the time which one might claim as a right,' cp. 92, 3. Lentulus Marcellinus, with the connivance of his colleague Marcus Philippus, prevented Cato from bringing in his bills about Lentulus Spiather and Milo by the usual appeals to the State religion. Not only, we may presume, did he 'observe the heavens,' but he 'celebrated anew' (*instaurabat*)

the Latin festival. The great Latin festival came under the heading of *feriae conceptivae*, or festivals which did not fall on fixed days, but were celebrated annually on days fixed by the magistrates. The Latin festival was generally held in January. As no elections could be held on a feast day, the consuls, if they wished to postpone an election, could announce the *Latinae* for the day appointed for the *comitia*. Moreover, the *Latinae* could always be repeated, by alleging an omission or informality (however trifling, cp. Liv. xxxii. 1, 9) in the past celebration. This was the *ruse* by which the consuls now availed themselves of the State religion for obstructive purposes. Cicero seems to say this was a particularly audacious case. There were impending certain *supplicationes* or 'days set apart for public thanksgiving or humiliation.' On such days the *comitia* could not be held. The consuls might have announced a *supplicatio* for the days of the election. This would not have been so unmistakable a *ruse* as the fresh celebration of the *feriae Latinae*.

5. *imposuit*] 'played a trick on.' For this use of *imponere* cp. Fragm. Epistularum viii. 6 (vol. vi. p. 304) *populo imposuimus et oratores visi sumus*. The trick was this:—Cato had a gang of gladiators and beast-fighters whom he had bought from Cosconius and Atticus (cp. 107, 2) to protect him in the streets. He could not support these creatures, and found it very hard to keep them from leaving him. Milo, perceiving this, arranged with an acquaintance (not an intimate friend of his own, for that would have excited suspicion) to buy the gang from Cato. Racilius, who is styled 'the only one of our tribunes worth the name,' claimed to

tiariorum emerat de Cosconio et Pomponio bestiariorum, nec sine iis armatis umquam in publico fuerat. Hos alere non poterat, itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo. Dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine suspicione emeret eam familiam a Catone. Quae simul atque abducta est, Racilius, qui unus est hoc tempore tribunus pl., rem patefecit eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit—sic enim placuerat—et tabulam proscripsit SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITURUM. In eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. Hunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removet et eos, qui de Caesare monstra promulgarunt quibus intercederet nemo. Nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit sane quam refrixit. Neque enim res probatur et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur et hercule non est idem. Nam apud perditissimam illam atque infimam faecem populi propter Milonem suboffendit, et boni multa ab eo desiderant, multa reprehendunt. Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi quidem non satis facit quod eum nimis aspere tractat: quamquam id senatu non invito facit: quo ego me lubentius a curia et ab omni parte rei publicae subtrahō. 6. In iudiciis ii sumus qui fuimus: domus celebratur ita ut cum maxime. Unum accidit imprudentia Milonis incommode de Sex. Clodio, quem neque hoc tempore neque ab imbecillis accusatoribus mihi placuit accusari. Ei tres sententiae deterrimo in consilio defuerunt.

be the purchaser (acting in concert with Milo), and advertised the gang for sale again as 'the Catonian gang,' thus bringing Cato into public ridicule and contempt.

Cato is ironically called *vindex glad. et best.*, because he had sued Milo for keeping such a body-guard. We must suppose that Cato did not allow his body-guard to appear so prominently as Milo allowed his, and accordingly was not so open to prosecution. For *unus est = optimus est*, cf. Lehmann 'Quaest.', p. 87, and Holden on Planc. 95.

*removit*] 'prevented him from carrying.'

*monstra*] 'monstrous proposals': cp. *mera monstra narrabat*, Att. iv. 7, 1 (111).

*quibus intercederet nemo*] 'with no tribune there to interpose his *veto* to them' (*monstra*). The reason why Lentulus obstructed Cato and the others was that there was no tribune there to intervene; hence the subj. *intercederet*.

*Nam*] depends on an ellipse ('I refer especially to Cato and the supporters of ex-

travagant proposals in favour of Caesar), for the proposal of Caninius about Pompey is looked on very coldly.'

*quod . . . Caninius agit*] that is, the proposal that Pompey, with two lieutenants, should restore Ptolemy: cp. 96, 1.

*in*] 'on the score of.' Lentulus had proposed the conferring of the commissionership of supplies on Pompey, who was now striving to deprive him of the office of restoring Ptolemy, which was his due.

*non est idem*] 'he is not in his old position': cp. *ii sumus qui fuimus* below, § 6.

*suboffendit*] 'gives some offence,' is ἀπαξ εἰρημέvor.

6. *tres . . . defuerunt*] Only three votes were wanting for his condemnation, though the panel was most corrupt; they are called *iudices suos* just after, 'judges of his own sort,' 'favourable judges.' *Ei* refers to Milo, who would have carried his prosecution had not those votes failed to support him.

Itaque hominem populus revocat et retrahatur necesse est. Non enim ferunt homines et, quia cum apud suos diceret paene damnatus est, vident damnatum. Ea ipsa in re Pompei offensio nobis obstitit. Senatorum enim urna copiose absolvit, equitum adaequavit, tribuni aerarii condemnarunt. Sed hoc incommodum consulantur cotidianae damnationes inimicorum, in quibus me perlubente Servius adlisus est, ceteri conciduntur. C. Cato contionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo dies agendi essent exempti. Appius a Caesare nondum redierat. 7. Tuas mirifice litteras exspecto; atque adhuc clausum mare fuisse scio, sed quosdam venisse tamen Ostiam dicebant qui te unice laudarent plurimique in provincia fieri dicerent. Eosdem aiebant nuntiare te prima navigatione transmissurum. Id cupio et, quamquam te ipsum scilicet maxime, tamen etiam litteras tuas ante exspecto. Mi frater, vale.

*revocat*] 'demands a new prosecution.'  
*Pompei offensio*] 'the dislike with which Pompey is regarded.'

*Senatorum . . . condemnarunt*] The senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii* formed the panel, according to the law of Aur. Cotta, 684 (70). He was acquitted on the votes of the senate, the knights being divided, and the *tribuni aerarii* giving their votes against him. *Copiose* means that the majority in his favour among the senators and knights was greater than the majority against him among the *tribuni aerarii*.

*adlisus*] 'shipwrecked.' The metaphor is certainly from the wreck of a ship: we have *adlidi ad scopulos*, Caes. B. C. iii. 27; and *vir fuerit qui . . . non adliserit virtutem*, Sen. De Tranq. 5, 4. Whether Servius, who was perhaps Servius Pola—ep. 135, 2; Fam. viii. 12, 2 (279)—was

condemned, or barely escaped with much loss of character, the word *adlisus* hardly tells us.

*conciduntur*] see above, § 1.

*haberi*] The omission of the subject before the infinitive is quite common: cp. 155, 7, and note to 896, 4.

*Appius*] Claudius, the brother of P. Clodius.

7. *tamen*] in spite of the danger of a sea voyage. This makes plausible the conj. of Man., *Olbia* for *ostia* of M. But Sternkopf proposes to read *Ostiam*, as being virtually the mss reading, and because, where the Sardinian town is elsewhere mentioned in this correspondence, the form *Ulbia* seems to be used: see Adn. Crit. to 102, 7. This has much to recommend it. The news was brought from Sardinia to Ostia by mariners crossing to that port.

W. J. Ferrell  
 geg. Pompei

106. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 5). *6,1-3*

ROME, APRIL 8, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri significat de pecunia Pompeio in rem frumentariam decreta, de agro Campano quid in senatu actum sit, tum de M. Furio Flacco de collegio eiecto, de filiae et Crassipedis sponsalibus, de Q. puero viso, de aedificatione Q. fratris, de cena apud Crassipedem, de Cn. Pompeio viso, de itinere suo, de expectatione Q. fratris.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Dederam ad te litteras antea, quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pridie *Non.* April. esse desponsatam, ceteraque de re publica privataque perscripseram. Postea sunt haec acta. *Non.* Apr. senatus consulto Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. Sed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano clamore senatus prope contionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniae faciebat et annonae caritas. 2. Non praetermittam ne illud quidem: M. Furium Flaccum, equitem Romanum, hominem nequam, Capitolini et Mercuriales de collegio eiecerunt, praesentem ad pedes unius cuiusque iacentem. Exiturus [Ep. 6, §§ 1-3] a. d. VIII. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praeberi. Huic convivio puer optimus, Quintus tuus meusque, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit. A. d. VII. Id. April. veni ad Quintum

1. HS cccc.] i.e. sestertium quadringenties = 40,000,000 sesterces = about £340,000; taking 100 sesterces as equal to about 17 shillings of our money.

de agro Campano.] Caesar had in his consulship passed a law that the Campanian domain land should be divided amongst citizens who had three children: see Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 427. The annulling of this law was the chief aim of the optimates at this time: cp. 93, 1.

contionali] 'as uproarious as if it had been a public meeting.'

Acriorem . . . caritas] 'the scarcity of money and the high price of provisions embittered the debate.'

2. Capitolini] after the Gallic invasion, senatus consultum facit (Camillus) ludi Capitolini fierent . . . collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent, Liv. v. 50, 4, where see Weissenborn's note. The Capitolini were therefore a college of persons who had charge of the Capitoline games. They are mentioned in an inscription of Lanuvium (C. I. L. xiv. 2105) in connexion with the Mercuriales and Luperci.

Mercuriales] were a corporation of merchants; certamen consulibus incidere uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem (495 B.C.); senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit; utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum . . . mercatorum collegium instituere, Liv. ii. 27, 5. Their feast was on May 15.

Exiturus] In the old edd. this word immediately follows the words confectum Latiar erat; and Sternkopf retains it there, reading the whole passage thus: spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse: < sed > dies erant duo qui post Latinas habentur religiosi—ceterum confectum erat Latiar—< et > erat exiturus. He thinks exiturus can hardly refer to Cicero, for Cicero did not leave town for a few days after the betrothal. This is a very ingenious handling of the passage, and may perhaps be right. But it is not necessary to consider that exiturus must mean 'just as I was about to leave town'; it may mean no more than 'as I was about to leave town' before long. So we have not altered the arrangement of Mommsen.

perleviter commotus] 'slightly indisposed': cp. commotiunculis of a febricula

*Wiel. Ep. 215**Wiel. I. 215*

eumque vidi plane integrum, multumque is mecum sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum. Quid quaeris? Nihil festivius. Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est, sed haec coram agemus. 3. A puero ut discessi, in aream tuam veni: res agebatur multis structoribus. Longilium redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia: magis enim cerni iam poterat quam quantum ex forma iudicabamus: itemque nostra celeriter aedificabatur. Eo die cenavi apud Crassipedem. Cenatus in hortos ad Pompeium lectica latus sum. Luci eum convenire non potueram quod abfuerat. Videre autem volebam quod eram postridie Roma exiturus et quod ille in Sardiniam iter habebat. Hominem conveni et ab eo petivi ut quam primum te nobis redderet. Statim dixit. Erat autem iturus, ut aiebat, a. d. III. Id. Apr. ut aut Labrone aut Pisis conscenderet. Tu, mi frater, simul et ille venerit, primam navigationem, dum modo idonea tempestas sit, ne omiseris.

Wiel. Ep. 224 [Ep. 7.] 4. A. d. VI. Id. April. ante lucem hanc epistulam conscripsi, eramque in itinere, ut eo die apud T. Titium in Anagnino manerem. Postridie autem in Laterio cogitabam, inde, cum in Arpinati quinque dies fuisset, ire in Pompeianum, rediens aspicere Cumanum, ut, quoniam in Non. Maias Miloni dies predicta est, pridie Non. Romae essem teque, mi carissime et suavissime frater, ad eam diem, ut sperabam, viderem. Aedificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placebat. Fac, mi frater, ut valeas quam primumque venias.

from which Attica was suffering, Att. xii. 11, *fin.* (503); *cum leviter commotus esses*, Att. xiv. 5, 1 (707).

3. *forma*] See on 100, 1.

*Luci*] 'in the daytime': for this form cp. Plaut. Amph. 165, Aul. 748.

*Labrone*] Labro is unknown. Wesseling suggests <Sa>lebrone, a town mentioned in the Itin. Ant., p. 292, between Cosa and Populonium. Possibly under aut *Labrone* (*Lavrone*) is concealed aut <Te>lamone which was an important harbour in Etruria (Polyb. ii. 27, 2; Plin. H. N. iii. 50; Plut. Mar. 41: cf. C. I. L. xi., p. 416).

*Pisis*] *Pisae*, on the coast of Etruria. *simul et*] cp. note on Att. ii. 20, 2 (47).

4. Koerner (pp. 17-18) thinks that this may be a separate letter: and if so, that we should read *iii.* for *vi.* (in M the

symbol is given as *y*). For there is a repetition of his appeal to his brother to return speedily (§ 3) in § 4. But the appeal in § 3 is caused by the request to Pompey to send Quintus here as soon as possible; and Rauschen (p. 41) thinks that Cicero never begins a letter stating the exact date at which he is writing, though he often makes such a statement in the middle of a letter.

*eo die*] 'to-day.' This illustrates well the strange effect of the *epistolary tenses*.

*Laterio*] *Laterium* was the property of Quintus, and was in Arpinum. *Arcanum*, mentioned below, also belonged to Quintus, and lay between Aquinum and Arpinum, probably in the district of the latter town, where is the modern Rocca d'Arce.

*sustentari*] 'to be kept back till, kept in abeyance for, your return.' Cicero

Wiol. II p. 207

107. TO ATTICUS, IN ITALY, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME  
(ATT. IV. 4b).

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56;  
AET. CIC. 50.

De bibliotheca sua a Tyrannione, ope librariorum Attici, iam restituenda et de  
expectato Attici adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. Offendes <sup>Edwards</sup> designationem  
Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum  
reliquiae multo meliores sunt quam putaram. Et velim mihi  
mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos quibus Tyrannio utatur  
glutinatoribus, ad cetera administris, iisque imperes ut sumant

uses *sustentare* as a synonym of *prolatare*,  
which is sometimes found with it, Cat.  
iv. 6.

The letters to Atticus 107, 108, 110,  
112 and the letter to Luceius (109) were  
probably written at Antium during the  
latter part of April or beginning of May,  
when Cicero was sojourning there for a  
short time on his return from the tour  
through his villas sketched out in 106, 4.  
It would appear that the *quarta accusatio*  
(see note to 102, 1) of Milo by Clodius  
never took place; certainly we hear nothing  
of any conclusion to that prosecution:  
so that there is no necessity to suppose  
that Cicero returned to Rome for that  
trial, as he intended to do (106, 4). For  
further, see Paul Hildebrandt (*De Scholiis  
Ciceronis Bobiensibus*, pp. 27, 28).

1. *ad nos*] 'to me here in Antium.'  
See on next Ep. § 3 for a different use of  
*ad nos*.

*Offendes . . . bibliotheca*] M' reads both  
*in* and *bibliotheca*, but Ns have *bibliothecam*,  
while those mss which Lehmann calls  
OHP omit the word (cp. *De Epp. ad Att.  
recensendis*, p. 174). He thinks that we  
should omit the word, and also *in*. It  
would be simpler to suppose that *in* has  
got out of place, and that we should read  
*mirificam librorum meorum in bibliotheca*.  
Possibly the omission of the word *biblio-*

*theca* arose from its having been written  
in Greek letters, or in the form *bibliothecen*,  
as in Fam. xiii. 77, 3 (638). For the  
double genitive *designationem Tyrannionis  
. . . librorum*, see on 90, 2. The library  
to which Cicero refers was at Antium  
(cp. 112).

*duos aliquos*] 'a couple'; *aliquos* makes  
the number vague: cp. Plaut. Men. 950;  
*hos aliquos viginti dies*, 'the next three  
weeks or so'; *unos sex dies* is 'just one  
week,' Trin. 166; 'a fortnight' is *quin-  
decim dies*, Trin. 402, cp. *quinze jours*,  
in French.

*glutinatoribus*] 'for gluing together  
loose leaves (and) for other purposes.'  
*Asyndeton*, where there are only two  
members, is not infrequent; we have  
*amici, propinqui*, 2 Verr. i. 125; *opibus,  
viribus*, Tusc. iii. 6; so in contrasted  
adjectives used for classification, *publica  
privata, fanda nefanda, prima postrema*,  
&c. This *asyndeton* is the rule in refer-  
ring to colleagues in office—e.g. *L. Marcio  
Philippo, P. Lentulo Marcellino consulibus*;  
so in judicial language, *dare facere, aequum  
bonum*. A large number of examples  
are collected by Lehmann (*Quaest. Tull.*,  
p. 23).

The duty of the *glutinatores* would be  
to glue together the separate leaves of  
parchment of which the newly-written  
book consisted, so that they might be  
rolled round the central reed or stick

membranulam ex qua <sup>Tibol</sup> indices fiant, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, σιττύβας appellatis. 2. Sed haec, si tibi erit commodum. Ipse vero utique fac venias, si potes in his locis adhaerescere et Piliam adducere. Ita enim et aequum est et cupit Tullia. Medius fidius ne tu emisti λόχον praeclarum: gladiatores audio pugnare miri-

which formed the axis of the cylinder; they would also have to glue together leaves of old books which had become detached.

[indices] labels of papyrus or parchment, on which the title of the book was written, sometimes in deep red, *coccum* or *minium*; they were probably attached to the upper one of the two *cornua* or 'knobs,' which projected on both ends below and above the cylindrical roll which formed the book.

[σιττύβας] The reading of M is *sillabos*, and, accordingly, the reading *σιλλύβους* has been generally received. But in the two other passages (108, 3; 112, 2) in which Cicero speaks of these 'tags' or 'labels' which were fastened to the several volumes with the name of the book written or painted thereon, the readings of M and Z (also NP) plainly point to *sittyba* (first declension) as the form Cicero used (see Adn. Crit.). And this form is attested in the Greek lexica, e.g., Hesychius σιττύβα· δερματίναι στολαί, τὰ μικρὰ ἱμαθῆρια, which shows that they were leather labels. Again, Pollux vii. 70 σιττύβα· χιτῶν ἐκ δέρματος. (This is, doubtless, the correct accentuation; not *σιττυβα*.) It is true, of course, that there appears to be a collateral form *σίλλυβον*, e.g., Hesychius (p. 30, ed. Schmidt), *σίλλυβα· κροσσοί* (cp. Pollux vii. 64), οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀνθήμια, καὶ κοροκόσμια, καὶ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ δέρματα. But how such a collateral form arose, Lobeck (*Pathologiae Sermonis Graeci Prolegomena*, p. 290) regards as inexplicable; and it is not likely that Cicero would not have adopted the same form in the different passages in which he has used the word. Most probably, in the passage before us, the word was written in Greek; and if the top-stroke of T was made to slope slightly, the confusion with Δ would easily arise. See also Haupt's *Opuscula*, III., p. 411.

2. *adhaerescere* 'if you can stick in such places as this'; the word implies that to stay in a suburban retreat required a voluntary effort of the will. In Ep. 112, Cicero praises Antium, but an ex-

pression dropped by him in that letter (§ 2) shows that he was at first bored by the country: 'since Tyrannio has arranged my library, the house has ceased to be chaos, seems to have got a soul.' Pilia was the newly-married wife of Atticus.

[*Medius fidius ne*] *Ne* is found with many asseverative particles *medius fidius, edepol, mecastor*, especially in Cicero and the comic poets. It is used nearly always in connexion with a personal pronoun, or the demonstrative *ille, iste, hic*, and their adverbs; rarely with a possessive pron., as *edepol ne meam*, Ter. Hec. v. 3, 1 (799).

[λόχον] 'Certes, you have truly bought a fine troop.' It was the habit of wealthy Romans to speculate in troops of gladiators, whom they let out or sold to the aediles for the public games, and to private individuals for other purposes: for instance, we find, 105, 5, that Atticus had sold a gang of *bestiarii* to Cato. The reading of the mss here is *locum*, which is quite unintelligible. Atticus had not bought any property near Antium, so far as we know; and the reference here is plainly to the troop of gladiators, of whom Cicero goes on to speak. *Locum* could not mean 'the place where the gladiators were to fight,' for that was always the public amphitheatre, and could not be bought by Atticus. The usual reading is Ernesti's conj. *ludum*; but we cannot find that this word ever signifies a troop of gladiators; it invariably denotes the *school* in which they were trained. Now, it would be strange that Cicero should congratulate Atticus on having secured a good school or training-place wherein they could train for the forthcoming spectacles. If this is the meaning of the passage, we might as well retain *locum* of the mss. We have accepted the conj. of Bosius: *λόχος* would be a very natural term for a *troop, familia*, of gladiators, and might appear in the mss as *locum*, if written in Latin characters, as Greek words very often are in the letters.

[*pugnare mirifice*] I hear they are fighting splendidly (i.e. in practising for the games).

Ap. 73

Spicola  
 fice. Si locare voluisses, duobus his muneribus liber esses. Sed haec posterius. Tu fac venias, et de librariis, si me amas, diligenter.

## 108. TO ATTICUS, AT ROME (ATT. IV. 5). W. II 221

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56;  
 AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero de *παλινοδία* a se scripta, quam cum aliis prius quam cum Attico communicaverat se excusat et cur Optimatibus relictis ad hunc se potissimum applicet exponit, dein de rebus domesticis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ain tu? an me existimas ab ullo malle mea legi probarique quam a te? Cur igitur cuiquam misi prius? Urgebar

si . . . esses] 'If you had chosen to hire them out (already), you would have cleared your expenses by the two aedilician spectacles given this year.' Atticus could not have wanted the gladiators, except to hire them out or to sell them. We may suppose he did not think they were as yet sufficiently trained. Corradus, who would read *pugnasse*, suggests that Atticus had given a *munus* in honour of his uncle, who died the year before. Boot suspects, from the last words of Ep. 112, that the gladiators had not acquitted themselves well, and that the words here should be taken ironically; but the words of that letter do not justify this view.

*liber*] Boot compares *io, liber ad te venio*, Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 13. *Liberasses* is the ms reading. Boot, retaining *liberasses*, would (in pursuance of his theory about the ironical character of the sentence) explain the word as meaning 'you would have given them all their freedom'; that is, they would have fought so badly that they would all now be 'free among the dead.'

*diligenter*] For a verb of acting omitted cp. Att. v. 4, 2 (187) *De Torquato probe* (sc. *fecisti*), and often. So that there is no necessity to add *agas* with Müller, though after *amas* it might have fallen out, and *agere de* is often found: cp. Att. i. 6, 2 (2); ii. 7, 2 (34); iv. 16 *an* (144).

1. *Ain tu? me?* 'What! do you think there is anyone by whom,' &c. Boot may

be right in rejecting *an* before *me*, but it does not seem impossible to retain it. Seyffert read *Ain tandem?* cp. Tusc. v. 35. The meaning is, 'what! do you think there is any by whom I would rather have my writings read and liked than by you?'

*misi*] This was certainly the document which Cicero calls *παλινοδία*, or his 'recantation.' Many conjectures have been made identifying this with some one of the writings of Cicero. Some of these may be dismissed. It was not, as Ern. thought, the poem on his consulate, which was written much earlier: see Att. ii. 3, 3 (29); nor the poem *de temporibus suis*, to which he refers in Fam. i. 9, 23 (153) in words inconsistent with such expressions as *subringentur* here, when he says that in that poem 'his condemnation of others was gentle and sparing.' If the *παλινοδία* is to be identified with any of the writings of Cicero, and was not merely a letter or some direct communication to Caesar, it was either (as Mommsen suggested) the *or. de prov. consularibus*, of which the eulogy of Caesar's conquests in Gaul occupies a large part, or the *or. pro Balbo*, which may fairly be regarded as a bid for the favour not only of Caesar but of the whole triumvirate. It seems to us that, if it was not a letter, far the most likely hypothesis is that which sees the *παλινοδία* in the *or. de prov. cons.* The greater part of this speech from § 18 to 40 could hardly be better described than by

ab eo ad quem misi, et non habebam exemplar. Quid? etiam—  
dudum enim circumrodo quod devorandum est—subturpicula mihi  
videbatur esse *παλινοδία*. Sed valeant recta, vera, honesta consilia.

the word *παλινοδία*; it is an *amende honorable* to Caesar, and is largely a historical review of distinguished men who *cum suis inimicissimis in gratiam redierunt*. Thus Cicero declares for Caesar and the triumvirs, and recants his optimate creed. It is true that the *or. pro Balbo* contains (§ 61) a passage very similar in tone to the *or. de prov. cons.*, but the latter was written first; it is plainly alluded to in *or. pro Balbo*, § 61; and in a recantation, if anywhere, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*. Moreover, this was the first overture to Caesar made by Cicero since his exile, whereas he had supported the giving of the commissioner-ship of the corn-supply to Pompey, and had glorified him in the *or. pro Sestio*. See Mommsen, R. H. iv. 311, note.

But it is not by any means certain that the 'palinode' may not have been, as Dr. Reid has pointed out, a direct communication to Caesar. The way Cicero speaks of it, as cutting him off from retreat, could not refer to the mere publishing of the oration *de prov. cons.*, for the delivery of it was the act which committed him. And if a public speech was the 'palinode,' what Atticus says (*quae facerem, non etiam ut scriberem*) would amount to this, that Cicero should speak and vote in public in favour of Caesar, but should not publish his speeches—which is surely unlikely, whatever stress we choose to lay on the permanence of the 'written word.' And the words *urgebar ab eo ad quem misi* point naturally to a communication of a direct nature with Caesar, to which one of Caesar's friends (perhaps Pompey) had urged Cicero. The dates, too, are troublesome, if we regard the 'palinode' as an oration. It seems as if Cicero was making a tour through his villas during the latter end of April and the beginning of May (cp. 106, 4: cp. note to 107, 1), and did not return to Rome until towards the end of the month. During a sojourn at Antium in the course of this tour, probably towards the end of April or beginning of May, he wrote Epp. 107 to 110 and 112 (cp. introductory note to 107). If we suppose this to be the case, we must hold that Cicero did not deliver the *or. de prov. cons.* until his return at the end of May, and so the 'palinode'

could not be that oration. It is just possible, but most unlikely, that a preliminary sketch of the *or. de prov. cons.* is meant: a more direct surrender is far more probable. Rauschen, however, thinks that Cicero returned to Rome from his tour at the beginning of May; delivered the *or. de prov. cons.* in the beginning of June; and after that went down to Antium, whence he despatched 107 to 110 and 112. This is possible, and must be adopted if we suppose the 'palinode' to be the *or. de prov. cons.* But, on the whole, we confess to preferring the view that sees in the 'palinode' a direct communication to Caesar written at the end of April or early in May, when the messages of the triumvirs sent through Quintus reached Marcus Cicero.

*ab eo*] This probably means Pompey.

*Quid? etiam*] 'anything else? yes': see Att. i. 13, 6 (19); and *aliud quid? etiam*, Att. ii. 6, 2 (33).

*circumrodo*] 'I keep nibbling round my leek that I shall have to swallow' (Jeans). But Cicero had eaten the leek when he sent his recantation to Caesar. The meaning is, 'what I have to confess to you is a bitter pill; I shall have to swallow it, but you see I can only bring myself to nibble at it.' The confession is, 'that the recantation was somewhat ignominious.'

*valeant*] 'good-bye to': cp. Att. xvi. 15, 5 (807)—*quare ista valeant*. Thus the passage is usually understood, and it may well be right. The good old optimate policy has departed, owing to the treachery and worthlessness of the so-called optimates. But it is remarkable that, in a letter written not very long after this, Cicero applies two of these three adjectives to the conduct of Pompey, to whom he is now transferring his allegiance: *tantum animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet ut quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult ea mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur*, 119, 2. If he here applies the attributes *recta, vera, honesta* to the *consilia* of the triumvirs, then *valeant* must have quite the opposite meaning: 'let the straightforward, fair, honourable policy (of the triumvirs) prevail; you would hardly believe in the possibility of such

Non est credibile quae sit perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt esse et ut essent si quidquam haberent fidei. Senseram, noram, inductus, relictus, proiectus ab iis; tamen hoc eram in animo ut cum iis in re publica consentirem. Idem erant qui fuerant. Vix aliquando te auctore respicui. 2. Dices eatenus te suasisse qua facerem, non etiam ut scriberem. Ego mehercule mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret labi ad illos, qui etiam tum, cum misereri mei debent, non desinunt invidere. Sed tamen <sup>moderati</sup> fuimus <sup>Tuscul.</sup> ὑποθέσει, ut scripsi. Erimus uberiores, si et ille libenter accipiet et ii subringentur qui villam me moleste ferunt habere quae Catuli fuerat, a Vettio me emisse non cogitant: qui domum negant oportuisse me aedificare, vendere aiunt oportuisse. Sed quid ad hoc, si quibus sententiis dixi quod et ipsi probarent laetati sunt tamen me contra Pompei voluntatem dixisse? Finis sit. Quoniam qui nihil possunt ii me nolunt amare, demus operam ut ab iis qui possunt diligamur. 3. Dices: 'vellem iam pridem.' Scio te voluisse et me asinum germanum fuisse. Sed iam tempus est me ipsum a me amari, quando ab illis nullo modo possum. Domum meam quod crebro

with Titian-vira

Tuscul., p. 8.  
Strenu., Vill.  
34, 4

si debet velle  
Narbon., f  
p. 70

treachery as the leading optimates are guilty of.' Cicero had always complained of the want of *fides* in the leading optimates. What he now commends in the triumvirs is their straightforwardness. *Vera* is 'fair,' as in Att. ii. 1, 8 (27). The sentiment would then be τὸ δ' εἶναι *vukáto*.

*Senseram, noram*] sc. quae esset perfidia in istis principibus.

*inductus*] 'taken in as I have been': see on Att. iii. 15, 7 (73).

*fuerant*] 'They have now shown themselves to be just the same as they were in the matter of my exile.'

2. *eatenus te suasisse*] 'that your advice only had reference to my actions, but that you had not advised me to make a written confession of faith.'

*novae coniunctionis*] with the triumvirs. *modici fuimus ὑποθέσει*] 'moderate in the treatment of my theme.'

*illo*] probably Caesar. *subringentur*] *Subringi* (ἀπ. εἰρ.) is 'to make a wry face'; hence 'to be annoyed.'

*Catuli*] Cicero's Tusculan villa had belonged to Catulus, and originally to Sulla, Plin. H. N. xxii. 12. Cicero acquired it in 686 (68).

*vendere*] i.e. the site.

*quid ad hoc, si*] 'what is all that I have told you to the idea of their exulting in the fact that the very speeches which I made in furtherance of the optimate policy were alienating me from Pompey.' *Si laetati sunt* = 'if they exulted, as they did': see Fam. i. 9, 10 (153).

*Finis sit*] cp. *deplorandi quidem . . . sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quaedam*, Att. x. 4, 1 (382).

3. *asinum germanum fuisse*] Cicero calls himself 'a downright ass' for not having made common cause with the triumvirs long before. *Germanus* is a favourite expression with Cicero; we meet *germanissimus*, Ac. ii. 132; cp. *germana illuvies*, Plaut. Most. 40; *germanae gerrae*, Poen. 137. *Putus, purus putus* are used in same way in comic drama; cp. *Τίμων καθάρως*, Ar. Av. 1549. *Asinus* was used in later Latin as a type of obstinacy as well as of stupidity, as in *demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus*, Hor. S. i. 9, 20. Perhaps here, too, Cicero refers to his obstinate pertinacity in adhering to the optimates.

*Domum meam*] the house which was being rebuilt at Rome.

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*invisis, est mihi valde gratum. Viaticum Crassipes praeripit. Tu 'de via recta in hortos.' Videtur commodius ad te: postridie scilicet: quid enim tua? Sed viderimus. Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sittybis; eos velim laudes.*

*Crassipes*] 'Crassipes is forestalling all my travelling money,' that is, 'the expenses of Tullia's betrothal and her dowry are employing all my spare money.'

*Tu . . . viderimus*] 'You say in your letter to me you must come straight from the road to my suburban villa. I think it would be more convenient to go to your town house; I can go to your *horti* the next day; for what difference can it make to you? However, we can think it over.' This is Boot's view of the meaning of the sentence, and it is the only one which gives a tolerable sense, for *ad te* means 'to your town house,' as has been already pointed out.

*quid enim tua*] *sc. refert.*

*pinxerunt*] 'have beautified my library.' There were now no loose strips of parchment lying about. These were now glued together, rolled round the central reed, or stick, which was the axis of the cylinder formed by the rolled

parchment, and furnished with *indices* in scarlet letters, Mart. iii. 2, 11.

*constructione*] this is the putting together of the sheets for rolling them round the stick. Cicero here tells Att. that his *librarioli* have carried out his intentions expressed in the last letter: they have glued together the rolls of parchment, and have furnished them with *indices*. Hertzberg conjectured *constrictio*, comparing Mart. xiv. 37, who describes a *scrinium* in this couplet *constrictos nisi das mihi libellos admittam tinea trucesque blattas* (where, however, the best mss. read *selectos*), and Marquardt-Mau (p. 817, note 3) follow him. Hence it has been supposed that *constrictio* meant the tight fastening up of the rolls of parchment in *sittybae* or wrappers; but *constrictio* is not a technical term; *constrictos* in Mart. (if right) merely means tightly rolled. For *sittybae*, which seem to be the same as *indices*, cp. note to 107, 1.

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*cf. p. 99. 61*  
109. TO LUCCEIUS (FAM. V. 12).

*Nich. Ep. 226. Baruchor.  
59*

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56;  
AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero L. Lucceium scriptorem historicum non ignobilem haec epistula summa arte composita rogat ut de rebus a se in consulatu suo gestis et de discessu redituque libros componat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO, Q. F.

1. Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus, quae nunc expromam absens audacius: epistula enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod etsi mihi saepe ostendisti te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae.

109] This letter is extremely interesting, if for no other reason, because Cicero himself describes it as *valde bella*, Ep. 110, 4. We have in this letter an example of what seemed to Cicero a really *pretty* letter. We can see therefore that he saw nothing ignoble in asking for a verdict more favourable than the facts of the case would warrant. It would now be considered ungentlemanlike to ask for such a verdict from a friend who was engaged in writing a History. It would be a violation of an unwritten code which now exists, but did not exist in the time of Cicero. A modern, finding himself in the same circumstances as Cicero, would most probably intrigue for the favourable verdict of his friend the historian, but it is very unlikely that he would openly ask for it.

Still some excuse may be made for Cicero. Now that he had been compelled to abandon the optimate party and to attach himself to the triumvirs, his reputation must have been somewhat impaired; and a panegyric by an eminent publicist and historian might do something towards persuading the public that Cicero was still a great man; that probably his conduct was justifiable; and at any rate it would be a solace to hear his ancient glories trumpeted anew. Besides, however much Cicero knew the true principles of history (cp. note to § 3), we must remember that Roman historiography, as a rule, was

rhetorical rather than scientific (cp. Quintil. x. 1, 3): *Historia . . . est quidem proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum et scribitur ad narrandum non ad probandum, totumque opus non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur.*

Lucceius had prosecuted Catiline *inter sicarios* in 690 (64) for murder committed during the Sullan proscriptions, and some speeches of Lucceius against Catiline are mentioned by Asconius (p. 92, 10: 93, 9 Orelli). He stood unsuccessfully for the consulship for 695 (59): cp. Att. i. 17, 11 (23), and appears to have afterwards, like Sallust, devoted himself to history. Dio, the Alexandrian philosopher, who came to Rome in 697 (57), as ambassador of the Alexandrians, to oppose Ptolemy, lodged with Lucceius, and was murdered in his house (Cic. Cael. 51-56). He was a strong supporter of Pompey in the Civil War (cp. Att. ix. 11, 3 (367) and Caes. B. C. iii. 18, 3), but must have been pardoned by Caesar, as we possess a letter of his to Cicero, viz. Fam. v. 14 (585), written in 709 (45).

1. *Coram*] see on Ep. 115, 1.

*pudor quidam paene subrusticus*] 'a sort of almost country shyness.' For the opposite cp. Hor. Epist. i. 9, 11 *Frontis ad urbanae descendit praemia.*

*ignoscas*] 'pardon my impatience.' Cp. Att. xii. 26, 1 (562), *tuis occupationibus ignosco.*

Genus enim scriptorum tuorum etsi erat semper a me vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam meque ita vel cepit vel incendit ut euperem quam celerrime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quamdam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas ut vel auctoritate testimoni tui vel indicio benevolentiae vel suavitate ingeni vivi perfruamur. 2. Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum, sed quia videbam Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te paene esse perfectam, dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri, deesse mihi nolui quin te admonerem ut cogitares coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum, qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea quae dixi separaverunt, tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse, sed ad preparationem meam quiddam interest non te expectare dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus adripere. Et

*Genus*] 'the character of your writings,' i.e. 'your success in this branch of literature.' Cp. *genere litterarum mearum*, 115, 3. Cicero had seen a specimen of Lucecius' work, which greatly increased his admiration for the writer, and his desire to secure for himself a place in his History.

*res nostras*] 'the history of my consulship.' Cp. 110, 4.

*commemoratio posteritatis*] cp. *mea commemoratione*, Planc. 95. The genitive in connexion with *commemoratio* is usually an objective genitive, Phil. ii. 51; here *posteritatis* is a subjective genitive, 'the praises of future ages.' *Commemoratio* in Cicero always = *praedicatio*, never *recordatio*, cp. Reid on Arch. 29.

*vel auctoritate...perfruamur*] The meaning of the sentence is that Cicero wishes to enjoy, in his lifetime, that account of his exploits which, if he did not urge Lucecius to haste, might not be published till after his death. Cicero seems to feel sure that the account will be favourable; but he is not sure whether the commendation which he expects from Lucecius will be the authoritative expression of the historian's real judgment, or a token of friendly feeling on the part of a friend,

or, finally, an instance of the sweetness which characterises the whole disposition of Lucecius.

2. *susceptarum...institutarum*] The contrast is between adopting a resolution and beginning to put it into practice: cp. Att. i. 19, 6 (25), and Arch. 1.

*coniunctene*] 'to work into the context of your History.' What Cicero preferred was that Lucecius should publish a History of his consulate separately.

*Callisthenes*] The historian who accompanied Alexander the Great, and was executed by him (cp. Grote xii. 38 ff). He composed three historical works—1. Hellenica, from 387 to 337 B.C. 2. History of the Sacred War, alluded to here. 3. τὰ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

*Timaeus*] This historian, who flourished at the beginning of the third century B.C., besides his great work on Sicily, composed a narrative of the wars of Pyrrhus.

*Polybius*] As friend of Scipio Africanus, he composed an account of the Numantine War.

*ad locum*] 'to the proper place.' Cp. *epistulae offendunt non loco redditae*, 'delivered at an unsuitable time,' Fam. xi. 16, 1 (888).

*ac*] Copulative conjunctions are often

simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno iam animo quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro quam impudenter faciam qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam—potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua—, deinde etiam ut ornes me postulem. Quid, si illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? 3. Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae finis transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis et in eo leges historiae neglegas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime, plenissime quodam in prohoemio scripsisti, a qua te deflecti non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptate, eam, si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorque nostro plusculum etiam quam concedet veritas largiare. Quod si te adducemus ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. 4. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse, in quo et illa poteris uti civilium commutationum scientia vel in explicandis causis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommodorum, cum et reprehendes ea quae vituperanda duces et quae placebunt exponendis rationibus comprobabis et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, prodicionem notabis. Multam etiam casus nostri varietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo, te scriptore, tenere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam

used in Latin where we should use adverbative: cp. Sall. Jug. 107 *nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate Iugurthae*; Cic. Rosc. Am. 10; Arch. 11; Sulla 21, and Reid's note.

*persona*] 'personality,' 'personage,' the man in his public and recognised character: cp. Att. viii. 11 D. 7 (343), ix. 11 A. 1 (366); Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555): cp. note to Fam. vi. 6, 11 (488).

*qui . . . imponam*] 'in imposing.'

3. *bene et naviter*] There is no reason to suspect *et*: cp. Liv. xliii. 7, 3, though *bene naviter* is found in Seneca De Otio i. 4.

*sentis*] Note the indic. in Orat. Obliqua: cp. *concedet* below; and Lebreton's fine array of passages 365–372.

*leges historiae*] cp. Cic. De Orat. 62 *Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? ne quae similitudo?*

'nothing extenuate or set down aught in malice.' Cp. Plin. Ep. vii. 33, 10.

*gratiamque*] 'personal regard.'

*Herculem*] The celebrated apologue of Prodicus: Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 21.

*eam*] For this *epanalepsis*, cp. *illud quod . . . id te nunc etiam atque etiam rogo*, Fam. xiii. 57, 2 (204); *lex sumptuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit*, Ep. 94, 2: Cat. ii. 27.

4. *corpus*] a period of history having an intrinsic unity, 'a volume.' See on Att. ii. 1, 3 (27); Ep. 135, 4.

temporum varietates fortunaque vicissitudines: quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae: habet enim praeteriti doloris secunda recordatio delectationem. 5. Ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi evelli iubet spiculum, postea quam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum, ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga † redituque retinetur? Etenim ordo ipse annalium mediocriter nos retinet quasi enumeratione fastorum: at viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem: si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate. 6. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum even-

*habet . . . delectationem*] cp. *suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria*, Fin. ii. 105, Cicero's translation of ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μνησθαι πόνων, Eur. Frag. 131 (Nauck).

5. *Ceteris*] for the sentiment, see Att. ii. 7, 4 (Ep. 34), and the note there.

*Epaminondas*] cp. Fin. ii. 97.

*cum quadam miseratione delectat*] 'the pathetic charm of the scene.' Cp. De Sen. 52, *ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent*.

*fuga redituque*] But Themistocles did not return. Yet this cannot be a μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα of Cicero, though such are not rare. (In Div. ii. 63 there is a remarkable *lapsus memoriae*, even *Agamemno* for *Ulixes*.) For Cicero, in other places—e. g. Brut. 43; Att. ix. 10, 3 (365); Lael. 42—dwells on the fact that Themistocles did not return after his exile. It is quite impossible that in the word *reditu* Cicero refers to the fact that Themistocles was brought back to Athens after his death, and secretly buried there, though this is referred to in the passage above quoted from the *Brutus*. It has therefore been proposed to read *Alcibiadis* for *Themistocli*; or *interituque* (Ferrarius) or *exituque* (Kaysler) for *redituque*. Perhaps what

Cicero really wrote was, *Themistocli fuga, Coriolani fuga redituque*. Or, if it be objected that Cicero mentions no famous Romans in this letter, but only Greeks, we might, on the same principle of *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*, add < *Thrasylbuli fuga* >. Palmer proposed *Aristidi* for *Themistocli*. In two of the places quoted above (Att. ix. 10, 3 and Lael. 42) he couples Themistocles and Coriolanus. If the copyist, having written *Themistocli fuga*, happened to raise his eyes from his task, he would mentally note that he was to resume it after the word *fuga*; but if the word *fuga* occurred twice in the passage (the two being separated by only one word), the copyist might very possibly go on writing after the second *fuga*, not the first. This is such a prolific source of error in copyists that it would be desirable to have a term to denote it. Perhaps *parablepsy* would be a more convenient term than *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*.

*virī saepe excellentis*] For this position of *saepe* cp. Att. i. 14. 1 (20).

6. *sententia . . . ut . . . secernas*] 'if you come to the resolution of separating.'

*quasi fabulam*] 'a kind of drama.' For political events compared to a drama cp. Att. i. 18, 2 (24), Q. Fr. i. 1, 46 (30).

torumque nostrorum: habet enim varios actus multasque actiones et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor ne adsentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrarem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui quid sis nescias et qui non eos magis qui te non admirentur invidios quam eos qui laudent adsentatores arbitrere. Neque autem ego sum ita demens ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingeni gloriam consequatur. 7. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant: quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt; unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti

*actus . . . actiones*] The metaphor of 'drama' is kept up, 'acts and incidents (scenes).' Madvig altered *multasque actiones* into *mutationesque*.

*quid sis*] cp. *si unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*, 91, 2; *quid enim sum*, Att. iii. 15, 2 (73); *nihil ita est*, Att. i. 19, 4 (25). The meaning of the whole passage is: 'you know your own worth; you are more likely to suspect envy in those who do not admire you, than sycophancy in those who do; and I am not so stupid as to risk my future fame in the hands of one not fitted for the task—of one not capable of showing his own genius while praising me.'

7. *gratiae causa*] as a mark of favour to Apelles and Lysippus.

*ignotis*] 'to strangers.' *Ignotus*, like *notus*, is sometimes active in meaning (e.g. 2 Verr. i. 19, Nepos, Ages. 8, 1);

while *ignarus* is sometimes passive, *mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant*, Sall. Jug. 18, 6.

*perhibendus*] 'deserves mention.' Hofmann compares Tusc. i. 28 *Tyndaridae fratres qui non modo adiutores in proelii victoriae populi Romani sed etiam nuntii fuisse perhibentur*. The curious order of the preceding words *Spartiates Agesilaus ille* for *Spartiates ille Agesilaus* has led to some conjectures: *Spartiates Agesilaus celebrer habendus* (Wölfflin); *minus est superstes Agesilaus ille perhibendus* (Mendelssohn): *minus est spectabilis Agesilaus ille perhibendus* (Schmalz).

*in eo genere lab.*] 'who have taken much pains in (securing commemoration of) that kind,' 'whose energies took that direction.'

*libellus*] the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon. *ad memoriae dignitatem*] 'to ennoble my story.'

atque in primis probati: ut mihi non solum praeconium quod, cum in Sigeum venisset, Alexander ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum 'laudari' se laetatur sed addit etiam 'a laudato viro.' 8. Quod si a te non impetraro, hoc est, si quae te res impederit—neque enim fas esse arbitror quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare—, cogar fortasse facere quod non nulli saepe reprehendunt: scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia: et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est si quid est laudandum, et praetereant si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnycorum, qui cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce se ipsi victores esse praedicent. 9. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus idque ut facias rogamus. Ac ne forte mirere cur, cum mihi saepe ostenderis te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam multis verbis petamus, illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio

[*praeconium*] cp. *bucinatorum*, 'trumpeter,' Fam. xvi. 21, 2 (786).

[*Sigeum*] see Arch. 24.

[*Hector ille . . . Naevianus*] cp. Fam. xv. 6, 1 (278). The whole verse is a troch. tetram. cat. from the *Hector Proficiscens*—*Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.*

8. [*impetraro*] So Wesenberg. The mss give *impetro*. No doubt, the present with fut. in apodosis can be easily defended: cp. *recipis* § 9; *suscipis* § 10; 166, 1 *si iniquus es . . . condemnabo*; but the fact that Cicero has the fut. perf. *impedierit* makes this case somewhat different from the others. But the matter is very doubtful. Lebreton (p. 190) keeps *impetro*.

[*abs te non impetrare*] Lehmann (*Quaest. Tull.*, p. 53) wants to add <*non impedito*> before *non*; but *non impetrare* means 'to be refused' without any reason assigned, simply that Luceius was unwilling to do the service, whether he had leisure to do it or not.

[*scribam ipse de me*] Cicero had written a memoir (*ἱστορικόν*) of his consulship in Greek: cp. Att. i. 19, 10 (25); ii. 1, 2 (27). In i. 19, 10 (25) he also speaks of a poem, and of a Latin memoir of his consulship. The latter was probably a short history or notes for a history (cp. § 10) of the consulship. Cicero may have kept it by him; and it may have occurred to him that, if he failed with Luceius, he would now finish and publish it.

[*multorum . . . exemplo*] Böckel quotes as examples Sulla, the dictator, M. Seaurus, P. Rutilius, Catulus (cp. Tac. Agr. 1; Cic. Brut. 112, 132).

[*praedicent*] 'declare.'

9. [*illa nos cupiditas*] This is the answer of Cicero: 'if you wonder why I now so earnestly urge my request, after repeated assurances on your part that you were going to write a minute history of the crisis of my career, (I answer), I am consumed by the feeling of impatience of which I spoke in the beginning of my

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scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus ut et ceteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. 10. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium: sin autem differs me in tempus aliud, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis et ea quae habes instituta perpolies nosque diliges.

110. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 6). *W II 235*

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56;  
AET. CIC. 50.

Lentulum, cuius obitus erat nuntiatus, non miserum esse scribit, miseros qui vivant et maxime se ipsum praediceat, qui deteriore etiam condicione sit quam ceteri. Deinde de scriptis suis, de Luceio a se ut suas res gestas scriberet rogato.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Lentulo scilicet sic fero ut debeo: virum bonum et magnum hominem et in summa magnitudine animi multa humanitate temperatum perdidimus, nosque malo solacio sed non nullo tamen consolamur, quod ipsius vicem minime dolemus, non ut Saufeius et vestri, sed mehercule quia sic amabat patriam ut mihi aliquo deorum beneficio videatur ex eius incendio esse ereptus. Nam quid foedius nostra vita, praecipue mea? Nam tu quidem,

letter, by an eager desire,' &c. The words *illa nos cupiditas* give the answer of Cicero; we should have expected *scito illam nos cupiditatem incendere*; but this ellipse is common in Cicero. For the meaning of *tempora*, see 153, 23. *Gloriola* ('bit of glory') is found only here and 134, 3.

10. *commentarios*] 'notes' which would give Luceius the *data* for his memoir.

*non cessabis*] the future is a polite imper., 'you will kindly use all diligence, and polish what you have, and believe me yours very sincerely'; *nos diliges* is one of the conventional *formulae* for winding up a letter.

1. *De Lentulo*] L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger, Flamen Martialis, had just died.

He is probably the same as the Lentulus mentioned Att. ii. 24, 2 (51), who with his son was accused by Vettius. He was one of the priests who adjudicated on the validity of the consecration of Cicero's house (Harusp. resp. 12), and one of the judges in the trial of Sestius (Vat. 25).

*sic fero ut debeo*] 'I feel his loss, as I have good reason to feel it. We have lost a true patriot in him, and a fine fellow, too, uniting remarkable strength of character with great charm of manner.'

*Saufeius et vestri*] The Epicureans would be withheld from grief by their belief that death is no evil. Cicero says this is not the thought that assuages his grief, but the reflection that a patriot like Lentulus is taken away from the evil to come.

etsi es natura πολιτικός, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem communi† fueris nonne.† 2. Ego vero qui, si loquor de re publica quod oportet, insanus, si quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus et captus, quo dolore esse debeo? Quo sum scilicet, hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid? si cessare libeat et in otii portum confugere? Nequiquam. Immo etiam in bellum et in castra? Ergo erimus ὀπαδοί, qui ταγοί esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi, cui utinam semper paruissem, sic video placere. Reliquum iam est, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει. Non mehercule possum, et Philoxeno ignosco qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Verum tamen id ipsum mecum in his locis commentor ut ista improbem, idque

*etsi es natura πολιτικός*] 'you, although by nature you have strong political feelings (and so must feel acutely the present state of things), do not personally feel the galling of the chain.' Then Cicero goes on to show how he himself was, in a peculiar sense, galled by the general state of slavery. Atticus had never taken part in public life; therefore Cicero says, 'though you are in heart a politician' (though not in act).

†*communi*] We have thought it better to obelise the words of the mss than to give a place in the text to the conjecture of Pius, *communi fruieris nomine*, 'you have the benefit of the general name of slave, which applies to all.' For other conjectures, see Adn. Crit. Perhaps we might read (keeping closer to the mss) *communi fruieris*. Nonne? 'you have a right to your share of the general slavery. Is not that so?' Then the word *fruieris* would be used, with bitter irony, in the juridical sense: 'No one can legally dispute your right to your share of the general slavery, though you have no claim to the peculiar and personal sense of degradation which is my privilege.' If we adopt the reading of Pius, we might paraphrase the sentence thus, 'You wear not in perpetuity a chain that binds yourself alone; you have but the temporary ownership of the name (of slavery) borne by the whole community.'

2. *quod oportet*] is 'what duty enjoins'; *quod opus est* is 'what expediency dictates.' Boot compares *hoc fieri et oportet et opus est*, Att. xiii. 25, 1 (640). Here the course which duty demands is to espouse, heart and soul, the optimate cause; the course which expediency sug-

gests is to make common cause with the triumvirs. So *opus esse, necesse non esse*, 'was desirable (expedient), but not indispensable.'

*Quo sum scilicet*] is the answer to the question, *quo dolore esse debeo?*

*ut non*] 'without seeming ungrateful' (to those who brought about my restoration from exile).

*ὀπαδοί... ταγοί*] Cicero, as usual, employs Greek words when he wishes to be very emphatic. In the same tone, we might say, 'Am I to shoulder the knapsack, after refusing to wield the *bâton*?'

*Sic faciendum est*] i.e. to declare war against the *optimates*, and approach the triumvirs.

*Σπάρταν*] See on Att. i. 20, 3 (26). Cicero's *Σπάρτα* or 'peculiar province' here is to support the triumvirs.

*Philoxeno*] Philoxenus of Cythera, a dithyrambic poet (b.c. 435-380), was consigned to the quarries by Dionysius of Syracuse, for criticising unfavourably the compositions of the tyrant. The story went that he was released, and given a chance of liberty by being again called on for a literary judgment on the works of his master. After reading a few verses, he turned and walked towards the quarries. Dionysius called out, 'Where are you going?' 'To the quarries,' was the reply of this model critic.

*ista*] If the text is sound, *ista* must refer to the policy of the leading *optimates*. And this fairly suits the context. Cicero says, 'I will not glorify the triumvirs, but I am prepared to condemn the *optimates*, my former political associates, and you will keep me up to this.' If we read with Schütz and Wesenberg against the

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tu, cum una erimus, confirmabis. A te litteras crebro ad me scribi video, sed omnis uno tempore accepi. Quae res etiam auxit dolorem meum. Casu enim trinas ante legeram, quibus meliuscule Lentulo esse scriptum erat. Ecce quartae fulmen! Sed ille, ut scripsi, non miser, nos vero ferrei. 3. Quod me admones ut scribam illa Hortensiana, in alia incidi non immemor istius mandati tui. Sed mehercule in incipiendo refugi, ne, qui videor stulte illius amici intemperiem non tulisse, rursus stulte iniuriam illius faciam illustrem, si quid scripsero, et simul, ne βαθύτης mea, quae in agendo apparuit, in scribendo sit occultior et aliquid satisfactio levitatis habere videatur. 4. Sed viderimus. Tu modo quam saepissime ad me aliquid. Epistolam Luceio nunc quam misi, qua meas res ut scribat rogo, fac ut ab eo sumas—valde bella est—

ms, *ista ne improbem* or *ista probem*, then *ista* means the conduct of the triumvirs; and a case can certainly be made out for this view. He had already gone a long way in this direction in the *De Prov. Cons.*, not to speak of the *παλιωδία* (cp. 108, 1); and 'not censuring the conduct of the triumvirs' well expresses the tone which Cicero adopted in the speeches of the period: cp. *Balb.* 60 ff; *Pis.* 79 ff; and *De Prov. Cons. passim*.

*Ecce quartae fulmen*] 'then comes the news in the fourth like a thunderbolt on me.' The fourth letter told of the death of Lentulus.

*ferrei*] This is the reading of M<sup>2</sup>, which has been variously emended by the edd. Orelli explains *ferrei* 'nimis patientes, ἀπαθείς, qui adhuc vivamus nec voluntaria morte nos liberemus.' 'We are so callous (as to live on).' So Mr. Shuckburgh, who compares Lael. 87 *Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?* cp. 48 and *Att.* xiii. 30. 2 (605). This is not a very natural expression; hence the number of conjectures (see *Adn. Crit.*). Kayser ingeniously refers to the *Iron Age* of Hesiod, *Op.* 174, 175:—

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ παύσονται καμάτων καὶ δόξος, οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ φθειρόμενοι χάλκας δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μέριμνας.

The meaning is, 'we are the *Iron Age* of Hesiod, steeped to the lips in misery.'

3. *Hortensiana*] This may have been some pamphlet touching the perfidy of Hortensius, of which Cicero often complains. If so, it is in favour of the interpretation given above of the ms

reading, *ut ista improbem*. But it is more likely that the pacific Atticus wished that Cicero should write something calculated to recreate friendly feelings between himself and his great compeer. Cicero, however, says that in any such work he would have to allude to the injuries he had received from Hortensius, and proceeds to show that any raking-up of old grievances was to be deprecated.

*illius amici*] 'of Hortensius, when a friend.'

*βαθύτης*] 'self-restraint,' as in *Att.* v. 10, 3 (198); vi. 1, 2 (252). We use the word 'deep' in the same way of a man who conceals his feelings from motives of prudence. 'Lest my self-restraint, which was shown in my conduct, should not appear so clearly in my writing.'

*et . . . videatur*] 'and lest such a mode of taking satisfaction might look a little weak,' that is, lest it might seem weak to put up with an injury, and then avenge it in a brochure. Bosius' conjecture, *ocultior* for *ocultior*, due to a misapprehension on his part of the meaning of *βαθύτης*, and only supported by his feigned *codices*, has vitiated the interpretation of this whole passage, as may be seen by referring to the edd. of Schütz and Billerbeck. The conjecture was in itself highly ingenious.

4. *valde bella est*] This is interesting as showing that Cicero took care, with some at least of his letters, to give them artistic finish and beauty. The letter is, indeed, a model of grace and ingenuity. See the first note on 109.

f p. 139  
 eumque ut appropere adhorteris et, quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias, domum nostram, quoad poteris, invisas, Vestorio aliquid significes: valde enim est in me liberalis.

111. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 7). *WI 239*

ARPINUM; APRIL (LATTER HALF), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De Q. puero, de Apollonio, de Metelli testamento non improbo, de rebus domesticis, de Milone admonendo, de Arpinatium fremitu de Laterio, de Cicerone puero.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil *ἐκαίροτερον* epistula tua quae me sollicitum de Quinto nostro, puero optimo, valde levavit. Venerat horis duabus ante Chaerippus: mera monstra nuntiarat. De Apollonio quod scribis, qui illi di irati! homini Graeco qui conturbat atque idem putat sibi licere quod equitibus Romanis: nam Terentius suo iure. 2. De Metello, *οὐχ ὅσῃ φθιμένοισιν*, sed tamen multis annis civis nemo erat mortuus, qui quidem . . . †tibi nummi meo peri-

*aliquid significes*] 'sc. eum tibi et mihi gratum facere.' (Ern.)

1. *ἐκαίροτερον*] 'more à propos.' *Chaerippus*] one of the suite of Q. Cicero in Asia, Q. Fr. i. 14 (30), perhaps the same as the Greek Chaerippus referred to in Att. v. 4, 2 (187), and Fam. xii. 22, 4 (813), 30, 3 (899).

*mera monstra*] 'his news was simply dreadful': cp. Att. ix. 11, 4 (367); 105, 5, and note on 154, 1.

*Apollonio*] Cicero ironically complains of the audacity of a Greek who usurps the sacred privilege of the *equites* of becoming bankrupt. Terentius and Apollonius were both, no doubt, debtors to Atticus. It was bad enough that a Roman *equus* should become bankrupt and stop payment, but in a Greek it was quite intolerable.

*qui*] cp. *qui illum di omnes perduint*, common in the comic drama (e.g. Plaut. Men. 451). It is a colloquial expression not found elsewhere in classical Latin, but found in Ennius (Ribbeck, Frag. Trag. p. 57).

2. *De Metello*] It is uncertain who this Metellus was. He cannot be Metellus

Creticus, whom Cicero always praises; nor the Metellus Nepos who was consul 697 (57), for he was alive in 700 (54). (Boot). Drumann (ii. 56) thinks he was the son of Metellus Creticus, and was the colleague of Trebonius (cp. Fam. xv. 21, 2 (450)), who, as quaestor, supported the adoption of Clodius.

*οὐχ ὅσῃ φθιμένοισιν*] *ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἐχέτασθαι*, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. Cicero uses this Greek quotation just where we should say *de mortuis*, or *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The word in Homer is *κατέμοισιν*: see vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 87. By a similar *μημιονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*, Cicero writes *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in de Div. ii. 63.

*qui quidem*] Some unfavourable criticism is suppressed.

*ibi*] This sentence and the next following are very obscure. The obscurity is possibly due to some fear lest the letter should be read by some inquisitive *tabularius* who might divulge its contents: cp. 113, 1; 148, 21; 159, 2. A kind of meaning has been extracted from them by the liberal assumption of a not very natural use of *oposiopesis*, and a not very graceful irony. The attempt to emend is

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culo sint: quid enim vereris, quaecumque heredem fecit, nisi Publium fecit? Verum fecit non improbe, quemquam fuit ipse.† Qua re in hoc thecam nummariam non retexeris: in aliis eris cautior. 3. Mea mandata de domo curabis, praesidia locabis, Milonem admonebis. Arpinatium fremitus est incredibilis de Laterio. Quid quaeris? Equidem dolui, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπά- ζετο μύθων. Quod superest etiam, puerum Ciceronem curabis et amabis, ut facis.

desperate; but we can hardly suppose that we have the real words of Cicero. Most edd., reading *quemcumque* and *fecit non improbe* (a doubtful phrase), and *quamquam*, take the meaning to be something like this: 'As to the money that Metellus owed you, I'll go security for it (that it will never be paid). His leaving P. Clodius his heir destroys your last chance. Yet his act in so doing was not one of his usual blackguard acts. After all, his heir was his next-of-kin. So you won't have the trouble of opening your coffers to put in that debt. You must be more cautious for the future.' But Cicero would hardly have expressed this meaning in so unnatural a way. 'You have no reason to fear his heir, whoever he may be, unless he be Publius,' is a very unnatural way of saying 'his making Publius his heir destroys your last chance.' Perhaps there is another *aposiopesis* after *ipse*. If Cicero refrains from characterising Metellus above, he may have done so again. We have no reason to believe he left P. Clodius his heir. Perhaps it is best to read *improbum* (of I), which is accepted by Wesenberg. We agree with Schütz that the whole passage is serious. Reading *improbum*, Cicero appears to mean: 'I warrant you will get back your loan to

Metellus. For what have you to fear, no matter whom he has made his heir, unless, indeed, he made Clodius his heir, [which he has not done]? But he has made no rake his heir, though he was himself—I won't say what. Wherefore you will have no occasion to draw on your coffers to recoup this loss. You will be repaid the loan by the respectable heir of Metellus. Let this affair teach you a lesson of caution for the future. If Metellus had not died, who knows if you would ever have been paid?'

It will be observed that the passage thus explained falls in well with our theory of the meaning of the next letter.

3. *praesidia*] 'some guards.' Milo was to be given a hint to have his retinue ready for emergencies. Cicero very properly wanted to *resist force by force*. *fremitus est incredibilis*] 'you can't conceive how they grumble.'

*Laterio*] an estate of Q. Cicero near Arpinum. He had done something which was very annoying to the Arpinates. It seems most probable, from subsequent letters, that it was the diverting of a watercourse which led to the ill-feeling. Cicero says, 'I was much distressed. *But little he recked my rede*' (quoting from Hom. Od. i. 271).

cf p. 70  
Dr. V. 335, 18

112. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8a). WI 257

ANTIUM; MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Epistula de variis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multa me in epistula tua delectarunt, sed nihil magis quam patina tyrotarichi. Nam de rauduseulo quod scribis,

μήπω μέγ' ἔπης, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδης.

Aedificati tibi in agris nihil reperio. In oppido est quiddam de quo est dubium sitne venale, ac proximum quidem nostris aedibus. Hoc scito, Antium Buthrotum esse Romae, ut Coreyrae illud tuum. Nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius: εἴη μοι οὔτος φίλος οἶκος. 2. Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit

1. *patina tyrotarichi*] This 'dish of potted fish and cheese' is a proverbial expression for a spare diet (also called *λιτότης* by Cicero), as may be seen from *Fam. ix. 16, 7, 9* (472). The meaning of the whole passage probably is: 'I was pleased to see by your letter that you take a philosophical view about the money lent to Metellus; you say, "To a man of my simple habits such a loss is not serious; I can easily recoup myself by plain living." For as to the money lent (and the chances of repayment, to which I referred in my last letter), the aphorism you quote is very applicable—*Don't halloo till you're out of the wood.*' These words from the 'Tyro' of Sophocles are quoted by Plato, *Soph. 238 A*, in the same sense: 'Do not boast till you see the end,' lit. 'until you see him fulfilling (the promise).' Nauck (p. 276) points out that the proverb refers ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζόντων τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένους· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πρὶν ἀποθανόντα ἴδης, ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰς τέλος ἀγαθόντ' ἴδης, μὴ θαυμάσῃς τὸν μεγάλην καυχώμενον. We should say 'don't count your chickens before they're hatched,' or 'don't halloo till you're out of the wood.' This explanation of the meaning of the whole passage quite falls in with the view adopted in the notes on the letter before this. Many other views have been taken of Cicero's meaning in this passage, but they rest on the vaguest conjecture.

*rauduseulo*] An old word for a coin; lit. 'a little lump (of metal)': cp. *Fest. p. 265*, who says the word is used for a coin, *quia in mancipando cum dicitur "rauduseulo libram ferito" asse tangitur libra.* *Aedificati*] 'anything in the shape of a building.' Such is the force of the neuter participle. Atticus had told Cicero to look out for a house for him in the neighbourhood of Antium.

*proximum*] It is impossible to decide whether this word indicates topographical nearness to Cicero's house (as seems more probable), or whether *proximum* is used, as in *Att. ii. 6, 2* (33), to signify that it is 'nearly as pleasant.'

*Antium Buthrotum esse Romae*] 'Let me tell you that Antium is the Buthrotum of Rome, as your Buthrotum is the Buthrotum of Coreyra.' Cicero wishes to say that Antium is to Rome as Buthrotum to Coreyra, but not having our traditional phrases to express relation, he is bound to have recourse to a rather awkward expression. Ern. reads *Antium esse Romae ut Coreyrae Buthrotum illud tuum*, a construction which would, we think, be hard to parallel in Cicero, though it closely resembles modern usage.

εἴη μοι] 'be this my home, sweet home.' Cicero refers to the Greek proverb, φίλος οἶκος οἶκος ἄριστος, 'there's no place like home.' The attempt to explain the vulg. reading, εἴη μισητὸς φίλος οἶκος, 'let my home on the Palatine

mens addita videtur meis aedibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysi et Menophili tui fuit. Nihil venustius quam illa tua pegmata, postquam mi *sittybae* libros illustrarunt. Vale. Et scribas ad me velim de gladiatoribus, sed ita bene si rem gerunt; non quaero male si se gesserunt. 4p. 56

113. FROM Q. METELLUS NEPOS, IN SPAIN,  
TO CICERO (FAM. V. 3).

MONTH UNCERTAIN, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Q. Metellus queritur de contumeliosis in se contionibus necessarii cuiusdam sui, fortasse P. Clodii: a M. Cicerone in rebus suis adiuvari cupit.

Q. METELLUS NEPOS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Hominis importunissimi contumeliae, quibus crebris contionibus me onerat, tuis erga me officiis leniuntur et, ut sunt leves ab eius modi homine, a me despiciuntur libenterque commutata persona te mihi fratris loco esse duco. 2. De illo ne meminisse quidem volo, tametsi bis eum invitum servavi. De meis rebus ne vobis multitudine litterarum molestior essem, ad Lollium perscripsi de rationibus provinciae quid vellem fieri, ut is vos doceret et commonefaceret. Si poteris, velim pristinam tuam erga me voluntatem conserves.

be (in comparison with this) despised,' is plainly futile. The text is the conjecture of Peerlkamp. It is only necessary to look through the Adn. Crit. to see that the copyists of Cicero's letters were absolutely ignorant of Greek, and never but by chance wrote down words which even could be Greek.

2. *mens*] 'my house seems no longer chaos.' Cicero, in making *mens* 'the principle of order,' was perhaps thinking of the Anaxagorean *νοῦς*: *pegmata* = 'book-shelves.'

*sittybae*] See note to 107, 1.

*Vale*] is often followed by a postscript: see Att. v. 19, 2 (220). Professor Ellis (*Hermathena* (1887), p. 133) retains the ms reading *postquam misit libros illustrarunt valde*, 'As soon as he sent in (these bookcases), they set off my books extraordinarily.' He also thinks that *et scribas* may stand for *exscribas*, 'I wish you would copy out any notes you have made about the gladiatorial shows.'

*ita . . . si*] 'only if.' *gesserunt*] The form of the 3rd plu. perf. in *-ere* is almost unknown in Cicero: though *dedere*, Fam. x 19, 2 (879), and *successere*, De Leg. i. 6, are found. So that it is highly probable that Wesenberg is right in reading *si se gesserunt*. See Adn. Crit.

1. *hominis importunissimi*] most probably P. Clodius, who resented Metellus' good-will to Cicero.

*fratris*] 'cousin'; the father of Metellus and the mother of Clodius were brother and sister.

2. *bis*] See Ep. 92, 3.

*Lollium*] not to be identified (as by Billerbeck) with the Lollius referred to in the speech *pro Domo*. It is not probable that the Lollius there mentioned would now be on friendly terms with Cicero and Metellus: see *pro Dom.* §§ 13, 14, 89.

Wid. II 241. Barst Char. 65

114. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, PROCONSUL OF  
CILICIA (FAM. I. 7).

ROME; JULY, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De litterarum ad P. Lentulum crebritate, de amicorum fide, de causa regia, de suis consiliis, de constantia tenenda, de suo et rei publicae statu, de Tulliae nuptiis, de Lentulo filio.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Legi tuas litteras quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias: quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse quem tu me esse voluisti; alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum diiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt ut eas audeam temere committere. Quotiens mihi certorum hominum potestas erit quibus recte dem, non praetermittam. 2. Quod scire vis qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. Unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque re perspecta et cognita scribere, vehementer quosdam homines et eos

1. *quorum alterum . . . colloquar*] The first *alterum* refers to the clause (*quod*) . . . *perspicias*; the second refers to *quod . . . rebus*. 'The latter—my strong affection for you—is my bounden duty, if I am to deserve my present position, which you were so instrumental in securing for me; the former—my regularity in corresponding with you, far apart as we are in place and circumstances—is a pleasure.' *Ut te diligam = te diligere*, and is parenthetical: see on Ep. 12, 42. The sentence may be paraphrased, 'the latter—my love for you—is a duty; the former—my regular correspondence with you—is a pleasure.' Hofmann explains *intervallo locorum et temporum*, 'now that we are so far separated, and have not seen each other for so long,' which is, of course, quite possibly the meaning, and its conjunction with *locorum* would support it; but the rendering given above to *temporum*

is one which it often has in the letters (cp. § 8 below), and Hofmann's version would seem to demand some such word as *tanto* before *intervallo*.

*id . . . causae*] This construction, very common in ante-classical writers, is not infrequent in Cicero; we have *hoc causae est*, Verr. iii. 109; *quid causae censetis esse*, De Or. ii. 92: cp. *quid negoti est*, Tusc. i. 11; *quid eius sit*, Att. xvi. 4, 3 (771); *hoc litterularum*, Att. xii. 1, 1 (505); *quid hominis sit*, Att. vii. 3, 9 (294). Similar is the gen. in *quod eius, iam loci, ubi gentium*, &c., Draeger, i. 449. Roby, ii. xliii, regards this use of *causae* as an example of predicative dative.

*certorum*] 'trustworthy': cp. Att. v. 21, 6 (250). *Certus* sometimes seems to be the same as *πισ*, but never is so; the meaning in such cases (e. g. 96, 3) is 'men whom I well wot of, but do not name'; *recte* is 'safely.'

maxime qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem, ut, quos tu rei publicae causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent, quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Raecilium et fide et animo singulari. Nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem benefici tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae. 3. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studi erga te aut officii aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime non solum a me provocatus sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse; cui quidem litterae tuae quas proxime miseras, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, non nihil suspicantem propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis te ab se abalienatum illa epistula retinuisti. Qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero lectis tuis litteris

2. *simillimamque . . . rationem*] 'that your political position is very analogous to what mine was, though the circumstances are so different.' That is, 'you, though high in office, are the victim of secret jealousy, as I was when I was exiled.'

*ut . . . oppugnarent*] 'in the fact that they are your avowed enemies whom,' &c. The clauses *ut . . . inimici* give the points in which the cases of Lentulus and Cicero were similar; the points of dissimilarity are dwelt on in § 8.

*Hortensium . . . Lucullum*] cp. 95, 3.

*Raecilium*] 93, 2, 3; 105, 4.

*officii . . . sententiae*] 'my advocacy of your claims will be looked on more as the discharge of an obligation to you than as an expression of my real view of the merits of the case': cp. 95, 4. The meaning would have been more clear if Cicero had written *magis* instead of *maiolem*. So Horace (Carm. iii. 20, 7) *tibi praeda cedat maior an illi*, 'rather

than to him,' where *maior an illa* can hardly be the right reading.

3. *communicare*] The object of this transitive verb is *de te*, which is virtually equivalent to *sermones de te*: cp. Fam. iv. 4, 5 (495). But the word is used absolutely: cp. Clu. 47: Vatin. 3. For an almost exhaustive list of transitive verbs used absolutely in Cicero, see the fine collection in Lebreton, pp. 156-166.

*temporibus illis*] Pompey had retired to his own house to avoid the violence of Clodius, 102, 2.

*liberalitate*] your generosity in proposing to give Pompey the corn-commissionership.

*opinionem suae cupiditatis*] the impression that Pompey wanted for himself the commission to restore Ptolemy: cp. *ut Pompeius cupere videatur*, 95, 3; and 100, 3.

*suspiciosissimo*] 'even in the Caninian episode, when his feelings towards you

perspectus est a me toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare. 4. Qua re ea quae scribam sic habeto me cum illo re saepe communicata de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatus consultum nullum exstat quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit, eaque quae de ea scripta est auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet ut magis iratorum hominum studium quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperi dignitatis Ptolomaïde aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam, ut, eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolomaeus redeat in regnum: ita fore ut et per te restituatur, quem ad modum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. 5. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis proba-

might well have been misconstrued,' that is, when Caninius proposed that Pompey, with two lieutors, should restore Ptolemy: cp. 100, 3.

4. *sic habeto*] It seems hardly possible that Cicero should suddenly pass into the indirect form of narrative in the apodosis of the sentence—that he should have written, in fact, *te perspicere posse*, when the structure of the sentence demanded *tu perspicere potes*. Does not *te perspicere posse* depend on *sic habeto me scribere*? The indicatives *exstat . . . habet* are then regular, as they are the words of Cicero himself, and give a general objective view of the situation; while *possis videatur*, &c., are in the conjunctive, depending on *te perspicere posse*, and giving the grounds on which Lentulus could himself form a better judgment on the situation than his friends at Rome. The whole passage would then mean: 'You may take this as my deliberate conclusion, which is in accordance with the opinion of Pompey and has the weight of his authority, and which is the result of many interviews with him—Since there is no *Setum* depriving you of the commission, and since the *Senatus auctoritas*, which (you know) was vetoed, can only be regarded as the expression of party feeling, not the deliberate judgment of the Senate—that

you, as governor of Cilicia, can take a clearer view than others of the extent of your powers, and your chances of success; and that it is demanded by your dignity, and the dignity of our empire there, that you (if circumstances should give you the chance of holding Alexandria and Egypt) should proceed to Alexandria, having left the king at Ptolemais or some place in the neighbourhood, so that, when you have pacified and garrisoned Alexandria, Ptolemy may return to his throne.' The plan was, that after the military operations had all been finished, Ptolemy would be brought back, and thus the Sibylline oracle would be satisfied in the letter. *Esse (tuae dignitatis)* depends on *sic habeto me scribere*, and *proficisci* depends on *esse (tuae dignitatis)*; lastly, *fore* in the next clause depends on *sic habeto me scribere*.

*de illius ad te sententia*] For the order of the words, cp. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi*, Att. i. 2, 1 (11): see Madv. 467 a.

*Ptolomaïde*] in Syria (now Acre), or possibly the city in Cyrenaica.

*initio*] i.e. in the decree passed in 697 (57) that the next governor of Cilicia should restore Ptolemy: cp. 95, 3.

5. *sententia . . . videremus*] 'our approval of this view did not prevent our perceiving.'

of p. 35

batur ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimatu-  
 rum; si cecidisset ut volumus et optamus, omnis te et sapienter  
 et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et  
 temere fecisse dicturos. Qua re quid adsequi possis non tam  
 facile est nobis quam tibi cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est  
 iudicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit posse  
 te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum: si dubium sit, non  
 esse conandum. Illud tibi adfirmo, si rem istam ex sententia ges-  
 seris, fore ut absens a multis, cum redieris ab omnibus collaudere.  
 Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem  
 religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudam adhortor,  
 sic a dimicatione deterreo redeoque ad illud quod initio scripsi,  
 totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu  
 homines esse facturos. 6. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae pericu-  
 losa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis qui  
 per provinciam atque imperium tuum pecunias ei credidissent  
 fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuveres:  
 eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae ut illius reditum  
 vel adiuvando confirmares vel neglegendo impedires. In hac  
 ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat tu facillime opti-  
 meque perspicias: quid nobis placuisset ex me potissimum putavi  
 te scire oportere. 7. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis fami-  
 liaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodi gratularis, minime  
 miramur te tuis ut egregium artificem praeclaris operibus laetari:  
 quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas—gravio-  
 re enim verbo uti non libet—, qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa  
 retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt: quorum malevolentis-  
 simis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturna-

*eventu*] So GR and M below, § 5; but here M has *evento*: cp. *eventis*, § 9; *eventi*, Att. iii. 8, 4 (64).

*offensum*] 'if there were any hitch'; so *offensio* below is 'a slip,' 'a mishap.' Hofmann quotes Verr. v. 131 *multi viri fortes . . . et terra et mari saepe offenderunt*, and De Imp. Cn. Pomp. 28. Cp. *πράξιον*.

6. *placebat illud*] 'our advice in that case is.'

*praestitisset*] *Praestare* is properly 'to go security for,' 'to guarantee.' *Praestare fidem* is 'to guarantee (the fulfilment of) an undertaking'; Fam. v. 11, 2

(676) *quamcumque ei fidem dederis praestabo. regionem*] Hofmann explains this word as meaning *Lage*, 'situation,' 'lie': cp. Balb. 64; Liv. xlii. 50, 7.

*eam esse*] governed by some word like *videmus*, taken from *placebat*.

7. *ut egregium artificem*] The thought is the same as in Att. ii. 21, 4 (48), 'in the state of things which you have brought about you must feel the delight of an artist in his masterpiece.' Cicero ascribes mainly to Lentulus his restoration and subsequent triumph over Clodius: cp. post red. ad Quir. 11; Sest. 144.

*perversitas*] 'wrong-headedness' (Jeans).

sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simis obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus: sed tanta est in plerisque levitas ut eos non tam constantia in re publica nostra delectet quam splendor offendat. 8. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo quia non solum temporibus his quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatique favisti, simulque quod video non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae: in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi: quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam: multum enim interest utrum laus imminuatur an salus deseratur. Me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret tua virtute perfectum est; curasti enim ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri quam demptum de fortuna videretur. 9. Te vero emoneo cum beneficiis tuis tum amore incitatus meo ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare, magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memo-

*depulsos*] 'driven from my old standpoint of principle, not indeed into forgetting my position, but into taking thought for my security.'

*Poterat*] sc. *feri*; see on 96, 4.

*levitas*] 'paltriness,' 'little-mindedness,' 'lack of principle.'

8. *temporibus*] 'position.'

*iam olim*] It is not known to what previous services of Lentulus Cicero is alluding.

*non . . . meae*] 'that it was not my want of nobility which excited dislike' (Watson).

*quem tamen*] 'yet in your case too' (though you were a noble of exalted rank): cp. *ita molesta ut tamen sine pernicie*, Att. ii. 21, 1 (48); *multae tamen artis*, 131, 4. For *evolare* Watson compares De Orat. ii. 209.

*laus imminuatur*] This would be the case of Lentulus if refused the commission.

*salus deseratur*] This was the fate of Cicero when exiled.

*meae*] sc. *fortunae*.

*demptum de fortuna*] This word seems not to refer to *fortune* in the sense of *property*, but to mean *position*. In later Latin *fortuna* referred specially to the position of the Emperor: *libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum loquuntur*, 'they prefer to address us as Emperors than as men,' Tac. H. i. 15.

9. *emoneo*] This is the reading of the mss. Professor Ellis also reads it in Avianus Fab. 3, 4 *Talibus alloquiis emonuisse datur*, where *praemonuisse* of most mss is impossible, as the advice of the mother crab comes *after* the injury has been done; besides one ms is said to read *semonuisse*. For other readings see Adn. Crit.

*commendatio liberalitatis*] *liberalitatis* is not so probably subjective gen., 'your liberality is a great source of popularity,' as the objective, meaning 'men loudly commend your liberality.' Lentulus had given very splendid entertainments as Aedile in the year of Cicero's consulate: cp. Off. ii. 57.

ria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora quoque illustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. Quamquam te ita gerere volo quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt ut haec multo ante meditare, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas sentiasque— id quod quia semper sperasti non dubito quin adeptus intellegas—, te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem ut considerares in omni reliqua vita quibus crederes, quos caveres. 10. Quod scribis te velle scire qui sit rei publicae status, summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar. Nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, perfecisse tamen mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent. Itaque perpaucis adversantibus omnia quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se adsequi arbitrabantur per senatum consecuti sunt: nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati et ne lege Sempronia succe-

*expressiora*] 'more marked.'

*haec . . . meditare*] *haec* refers to what follows, his prospects at Rome. Observe that *huc* is used quite as a synonym of *ad haec*, 'in this direction.'

*obtinere*] 'maintain.' It is commonly held that *obtinere* never means 'to obtain.' Prof. Reid, however, on Cic. pro Balb. 61 *voluimus quaedam, contendimus, experti sumus: obtenta non sunt*, remarks that, 'in spite of the traditional objection to translating *obtinere* by *obtain*, it will be seen that this passage admits, and almost requires, such a rendering.' Many passages, no doubt, admit the rendering of *obtinere* by *obtain*, but is there a single passage in which 'make good,' 'carry out,' would not more truly represent the sense of the word than 'obtain'? And may not the words, in the passage commented on by Prof. Reid, mean, 'we failed to hold them'?

*ratio . . . ut . . . putarem*] 'the consideration which moved me [thus to exhort] was my feeling that you ought to be warned by the incidents which your career and mine have had in common, to be careful whom to trust, and whom to be wary of.' *Illa ratio . . . ut putarem* = 'this consideration, viz. my thinking': cp. Att. i. 19, 4 (25).

10. *contentio dispar*] 'the energy displayed on each side is very different,' i.e. the optimates are supine. The context seems to show that this is the meaning of the words, not 'the dispute is between parties unequally matched,' which rendering, indeed, seems hardly to lie in the words.

*tamen*] This is the reading of the mss. It is to be explained on the same principle as that in Att. ii. 20, 6 (47). What one would expect from men with power at their back is that they would carry things with a high hand; yet (*tamen*) such was the folly of the constitutional party that the triumvirs have now much more moral (*auctoritate*) weight than their opponents: cp. for this use of *tamen* 132, 3.

*se adsequi*] 'which ends they did not think that they were gaining even with the aid of the people except by causing disorder in the State.' This is a strange use of the imperfect infinitive; we should have expected the future *adsecuturos*. Somewhat parallel, but less harsh, is Att. iii. 15, 6 (73) *haec nisi vides expediri*. Perhaps Ern. is right in reading *se posse adsequi*.

*Sempronia*] the law of C. Gracchus, which required that the Senate should name the provinces to be governed by the

deretur facile perfectum est. Quod ego ad te brevius scribo quia me status hic rei publicae non delectat: scribo tamen ut te admo-  
neam, quod ipse litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus experiendo  
tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, tu tuis rebus integris  
discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine  
dignitate neque dignitatis sine salute. 11. Quod mihi de filia et  
de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam, speroque et  
opto nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum  
eximia spe summae virtutis adulescentem cum ceteris artibus qui-  
bus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias;  
nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos et quia tuus  
et quia te dignus est filius et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit in  
primis amamus carumque habemus.

consuls before the consuls were elected. Hence, if the Senate now assigned the Gauls to the consuls, who should be elected for 699 (55), this would be tantamount to Caesar's recall. In this case the law of Gracchus was not dispensed with; but in assigning proconsular governments, according to its provisions, to the consuls for 699, the Senate were induced not to name the Gaulish provinces: cp. Balb. 61 *Idem* (sc. *senatus*) *in angustiis aerari victorem exercitum stipendio affecit, imperatori decem legatos decrevit, lege Sempronia succedendum non censuit. Harum ego sententiarum et princeps et auctor fui* [one would not gather that from the letter to Lentulus], *neque me*

*dissensionem meae pristinae putavi potius adsentiri quam praesentibus reip. temporibus et concordiae convenire.* See also Prov. Cons. 28, a passage which gives a very definite statement of the prominent position which Cicero took as regards these decrees in Caesar's interest.

11. *Crassipede*] cp. 106, 1, 2. The betrothal of Tullia to Crassipes took place at the beginning of April. As it took about forty-seven days for a letter to reach Cilicia (cp. Att. v. 19, 1 (220)), Cicero could not have received an answer in less than three months. So this letter was probably not written before July.

*Lentulus*] the son of the Lentulus to whom this letter is addressed.

*Wiel. II 253*

115. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, PROCONSUL IN AFRICA  
(FAM. XIII. 6a).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN, ABOUT MIDDLE OF YEAR, A. U. C. 698;  
B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cuspii amicos omnes commendat, in primis L. Iulium.

M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

1. S. V. B. E. V. Credo te memoria tenere me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse cum te prosequeretur paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse ut quoscumque tibi eius necessarios commendarem haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia perpetuaque observantia mihi liberalissime atque humanissime recepisti. 2. Cuspius, homo in omnis suus officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis, cum maximis societatis negotiis praeesset. Itaque hoc eius officium quod adhibetur erga illos ego mea facultate et gratia soleo quantum possum adiuvere. Qua re Cuspianorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistula exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistulis tantum faciam ut notam apponam eam quae mihi tecum

Q. Valerius Orca held the praetorship, and was now governor of Africa; cp. note to Fam. xiii. 4 (672). It is inferred by Man. from the words *vellem expertus esses*, § 4, that Valerius had recently arrived at his province. This, too, is borne out by the formal mode of address (*si vales bene est: valeo*, see vol. I<sup>3</sup>, pp. 57, 58). This would probably be the first letter written by Cicero to Valerius. In subsequent letters to him, Cicero drops the ceremonious preamble.

1. *coram P. Cuspio*] This is the only passage in Cicero (if the text is sound; and it seems hard to correct it with certainty) where *coram* is a preposition; for the passage in Pis. 12 *mihī vero ipsi coram genero meo quae dicere ausus es* is simply and probably emended by Dr. Reid (on Lael. 3), who inserts *et* before *genero*. *Coram* is almost always an adverb throughout Republican and Augustan Latin, and is used commonly as a pre-

position only by Tacitus. It is possible that here Cicero wrote *me et coram pro P. Cuspio*, or *me et coram cum P. Cuspio et tecum locutum esse*, in which cases *coram* would, of course, be an adverb, as usual.

*paludatum*] It was customary for a magistrate to wear the *paludamentum* when proceeding to his province: cp. Fam. xv. 17, 3 (541).

2. *societatis*] sc. *publicanorum*.  
*Cuspianorum*] 'the friends of Cuspius.' He says he is bound to give them all letters of recommendation.

*notam apponam*] Cicero had arranged with Valerius, before his departure, that when he was really sincere in his recommendations, he should affix a certain mark on his letter to indicate to Valerius the sincerity of his opinion. On the question of the honourableness of this and similar acts of Cicero, see vol. I<sup>3</sup>, Introd. I., pp. 48-50.

convenit et simul significem de numero esse Cuspi amicorum. 3. Sed hanc commendationem quam his litteris consignare volui scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P. Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Iulium commendarem. Eius ego studio vix videor mihi satis facere posse, si utar verbis iis quibus cum diligentissime quid agimus uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quoniam adsequi non possum, tu re velim efficias ut ille genere mearum litterarum incredibili quiddam perfectum arbitretur. 4. Id facies si omne genus liberalitatis quod et ab humanitate et potestate tua proficisci poterit non modo re sed etiam verbis, vultu denique exprompseris: quae quantum in provincia valeant vellem expertus esses, sed tamen suspicor. Ipsum hominem quem tibi commendo perdignum esse tua amicitia, non solum quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo, tametsi id satis esse debebat, sed quia novi eius iudicium in hominibus et amicis diligendis. 5. Harum litterarum vis quanta fuerit propediem iudicabo tibi, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura ut valeas.

3. *eius generis artificium quoddam tenere*] 'that I am a master of this kind of literature.'

*genere*] 'that he may conceive that some miracle has been worked by the nature of my letter,' that is, by 'a letter of this kind from me.' Cp. *genus scriptorum tuorum*, 109, 1.

4. *vultu denique*] See on Q. Fr. i. 1, 1 (30).

*expertus esses*] This would be his *first experiment* of his influence, as he had just arrived. It is possible that Madvig

(Opusc. Acad. 151, ed. 2) is right in reading *expertus esse*; for though Cicero had been quaestor in Sicily, he had never been governor of a province; 'I should like to have had the actual experience; but all the same I have my surmises on the point.'

*suspicor*] sc. *te mox experturum esse*. The verb *suspicor* is often used of an agreeable or favourable surmise. Cicero politely intimates that the *experiment* to which he refers is certain to show the strength of the new governor's influence.

116. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, IN AFRICA (FAM. XIII. 6b). W II 256

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cornelium commendat.

## M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

P. Cornelius, qui tibi litteras has dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo ut cures ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas quam primum quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

117. TO QUINTUS CICERO, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME W II 225  
FROM SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 6). 78 jögg.ROME; MAY (MIDDLE), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50. keine Brief bis Nov.: p. 85

M. Cicero scribit de supplicatione A. Gabinio negata et suo fratris videndi desiderio.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. O litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas exspectatas, ac primo quidem cum desiderio, nunc vero etiam cum timore! Atque has scito litteras me solas accepisse post illas, quas tuus nauta attulit Ulbia datas. Sed cetera, ut scribis, praesenti sermoni reserventur. Hoc tamen non queo differre. Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adiurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte

*Cuius causa . . . cuperem*] Cp. Fam. xiii. 75, 1 (178); 64, 1 (235). The dative is also found, *quid ego Fundanio non cupio?* Q. Fr. i. 1, 10 (30).

1. *cum timore*] Cicero had begun to fear that his brother had met with some mishap on his journey.

*divinus fuit*] 'acted splendidly in refusing a *supplicatio* to Gabinus.' Gabinus, governor of Syria, had applied to the Senate to give him a *supplicatio*, probably for his success in Palestine

against Aristobulus and his son Alexander, or perhaps, as Drumann says (iii. 47, n. 35), on account of some previous victories over the Arabs. The use of *divinitus* = 'splendidly' has been already noticed; viz. Att. i. 16, 9 (22); ii. 21, 6 (48).

*Procilius*] a tribune.  
*hoc nemini accidisse*] 'never was anyone so slighted.'

*foris*] i.e. a populo.

*sua sponte*] *sua sponte* is often applied to things as well as persons, as in 2 Verr. i. 108; iii. 5; Liv. xxii. 38, 13.

iucundum tum iucundius quod me absente. Etenim ἐλικρινὲς iudicium sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra erat. 2. Ante quod Idibus et postridie fuerat dictum de agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua haeret. Sed plura quam constitueram: coram enim. Vale, mi optime et optatissime frater, et advola; idem te pueri nostri rogant. Illud scilicet: cenabis, cum veneris.

quod me absente] sc. actum est.

ἐλικρινὲς] 'unbiased.'

2. *Ante quod*] For the reading of this passage see Adn. Crit. Cicero had carried a *Scutum* on the Nones of April that the question of the disposal of the Campanian land, as arranged by Caesar's laws, should be brought before the Senate on the Ides of May. He here says: 'The previous arrangement for the discussion of the question of the Campanian land on May 13 and 14, fell through.' It is plain from the last letter written to Quintus, and from other considerations, that Cicero must now have been in Rome. *Me absente* means only absence from the meeting of the Senate. This proposal of Cicero, which met the approval of the Senate on April 5, that the Senate should, on May 15, discuss the legality of the allotment of the Campanian domain under the agrarian laws of 695 (59), was, in reality, a blow aimed at Caesar, and had for its object the repeal of the Caesarean legislation of 698 (56). When Cicero withdrew his motion on the Campanian domain, or allowed it to fall through (as he tells us here), he took a step of far greater moment than his casual mention of it here would seem to indicate. It may be called his first overt act against the *optimates* and in support of the triumvirs.

*aqua haeret*] 'I am in a fix.' The metaphor is taken from running water meeting with an obstacle: cp. Off. iii. 117. The phrase is not noticed in L. & S. In the new Thesaurus it is stated that the proverb is taken 'ex usu clepsydrae,'

which seems to mean that if the water ceased to flow in the clepsydra, the orator had to discontinue his speech. Cicero cannot now continue his attack on Caesar's laws. Cicero's difficulty was whether he should withdraw all opposition to the triumvirs on the Campanian land question or should continue the opposition to it, with no better support than the selfish and untrustworthy Senate.

*plura*] sc. *scripsi*: cp. Att. viii. 9, 2 (340).

*coram enim*] sc. *colloquemur*: cp. Att. xii. 21, 2 (557).

*pueri nostri*] 'your son and mine.'

*scilicet*] Here we have, I think, a case of the ante-classical usage (found also in Sallust: cp. Jug. 102, 9; 113, 3) whereby *scilicet* is regarded as = *scire licet*, and so governs an object. This is very common in Plautus, and is another of the coincidences between the language of Cicero's letters and that of the comic stage. So *videlicet datas*, for comment on which passage see vol. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 62. This usage of Cicero in his letters is not recognized by the grammars and dictionaries. Yet, so many are the other coincidences, surely we may add this one. *Videlicet* governs an object in post-classical Latin. The meaning is, 'This *va sans dire*; you dine with me on your arrival.' [I cannot think that *scilicet* here is anything more than the ordinary 'of course.' Understand *est* with *illud*: 'There is this of course,' cp. Att. vi. 3, 10 (264) *Haec sunt; etiam illud; orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas.*—L. C. P.]

*cenabis cum veneris*] See Adn. Crit.

## 118. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8b).

Wiel. # 273

TUSCULANUM; NOVEMBER, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

See Brief  
s. 1. Mai:  
p. 83

De lege Trebonia, de Domitii calamitate et misera rei publ. condicione, de Natta, de Fabio Lusco. In rebus publicis maiore prudentia sibi sane opus esse scribit de iisque cotidie ab Attico certior fieri cupit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apenas vix dicessero, cum epistula. Quid ais? putasne fore ut legem non ferat? Dic, oro te, clarius: vix enim mihi exaudisse videor. Verum statim fac ut sciam, si modo tibi est commodum. Ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus, eo etiam melius hic eum diem cum Dionysio conteremus. 2. De Trebonio prorsus tibi adsentior. De Domitio.

s. 1. Mai:  
p. 83

Σύκω, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, σῦκον οὐδὲ ἐν  
οὕτως ὅμοιον γέγονεν,

quam est ista περίστασις nostrae, vel quod ab iisdem vel quod

The date of this letter has been fixed with tolerable accuracy. It is to be assigned, not, with Rauschen (pp. 45, 46), to September, but, with Körner, to the first half of November. It is plain from § 2 that the intention of Pompey and Crassus to stand for the consulship had been declared (§ 2 *Domitium . . . fieri consulem non posse*: and also the end of the § *Si vero id sit ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeant quam factorum*). Now this occurred towards the end of the year, as it is the last event mentioned by Dio Cassius (xxxix. 30) in his history of the year 698 (56). After the declaration of Pompey and Crassus, most of the senators abstained from attending the senate *οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἑσθῆτα μετημίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων οὔτε ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῇ εἰσιτάθησαν*. Now the *epulum Iovis* was held on November 13th (cp. Marquardt, iii. 335), in connexion with the *Ludi Plebei* (November 4 to 17), so that they are most probably the *ludi* referred to in § 1 *ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus*.

1. *Apenas*] a letter-carrier. See Adn. Crit.

*epistula*] sc. a te venit.  
*legem*] There are no data for discovering what *lex* is referred to.

*Dic, oro te, clarius*] This phrase, like *ain' tu*, signifies that the intelligence is incredible: 'can I believe my ears?'

*exaudisse*] 'caught the words,' used in just the same sense in Att. i. 14, 4 (20).

*Ludis*] sc. the *Ludi Plebei*.

*hic*] Probably the *Tusculanum* is referred to, as he expects letters from Atticus daily: cp. *cotidie*, § 4.

2. *adsentior*] probably that he will be a zealous supporter of the triumvirs.

*Domitio*] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was a candidate for the consulship. Cicero ascribes his failure to the influence of the triumvirs. 'His case,' he says, 'is as like mine as two peas: the same influences brought about my exile and his defeat: the issue was in both cases unexpected; and the *optimates*, in both cases, were not to be found when wanted. The only point of dissimilarity was that Domitius tempted his fate (he had declared that he would deprive Caesar of his army, if elected). Perhaps his case was even harder than mine, that he who was born to the consulate, so to speak, should fail to obtain it, and that he should fail with no (plebeian) candidate, or at most one, in the field against him.'

*οὐδὲ ἐν*] when *οὐδὲν* takes this emphatic form, it is never elided, that is, *οὐδ' ἐν* is not found.

praeter opinionem vel quod viri boni nusquam. Unum dissimile, quod huic merito. Nam de ipso casu nescio an illud melius. Quid enim hoc miserius quam eum, qui tot annos quot habet designatus consul fuerit, fieri consulem non posse, praesertim cum aut solus aut certe non plus quam cum altero petat? Si vero id est, quod nescio an sit, ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeat quam factorum, quid illo miserius nisi res publica? in qua ne speratur quidem melius quidquam. 3. De Natta ex tuis primum scivi litteris: oderam hominem. De poemate quod quaeris, quid, si cupiat effugere? quid? sinas? De Fabio Lusco quod eram exorsus, homo peramans semper nostri fuit nec mihi umquam odio. Satis enim acutus et permodestus ac bonae frugi. Eum, quia non videbam, abesse putabam: audivi ex Gavio hoc Firmano Romae esse hominem et fuisse adsiduum. Percussit animum. Dices, tantulane causa? Permulta ad me detulerat non dubia de Firmanis fratribus. Quid

*hoc miserius quam*] *Hoc* is ablative neuter. It is used pleonastically here before *quam*. Cp. *quo nihil turpius quam* . . . dicere, Fin. i. 19; quid *hoc* fieri turpius potest *quam*, De Or. i. 169; and Madvig's note. This pleonasm is also common in Plautus: cp. Mil. Glor. 22:—

Periuriorem *hoc* hominem si quis viderit,  
Aut gloriarum plenior *quam illic est*.

*tot annos*] He is said to have been consul-elect all his life, because his election in his proper year was regarded as certain.

*solus . . . petat*] Domitius was the only plebeian candidate except Pompey (Crassus being a patrician); but Cicero hesitates whether he can rightly call Pompey a candidate at all, since he was not elected, but appointed colleague of Crassus after an *interregnum*. By the Licinian constitution one of the consuls was necessarily a plebeian. Others think that Pompey is not here referred to, but some plebeian rival of whom no further mention is made, possibly C. Memmius, or P. Nigidius Figulus, who were colleagues of Domitius in the praetorship.

*Si vero*] 'But if it is true—and I am not sure that it is not—that Pompey has, in the archives of his pocket-book, as long lists of future as of past consuls, then what is more sad than his (Domitius') condition, except that of the Republic, which does not leave room even for hope

of improvement?' *Codicillorum* is the gen. *epezegeticus* (Draeger i. 466, 467), 'the state archives which are now one and the same as the pocket-book of Pompey,' like *mercedem gloriae*, 'the reward which consists in being famous,' Tusc. i. 34. Nearly the same is the gen. in *pestes hominum*, Fam. v. 8, 2 (131).

*habeat*] Gronovius thinks that the reference is not merely to Pompey but to the three triumvirs: accordingly he reads *habeant*.

3. *Natta*] L. Pinarius Natta was the pontifex under whom the *consecratio* of the site of Cicero's house by Clodius was carried out (Dom. 118, 134: cp. Mur. 73).

*poemate*] Probably the poem *De temporibus suis*, to which he refers in 153, 23.

*effugere*] 'to see the light.'

*quod eram exorsus*] 'to recur to what I began to tell you' (in another letter).

*bonae frugi*] This is a contemptuous kind of praise, as we learn from Att. vii. 4, 1 (295), where he says that to use such words of a man is like giving a character to a freedman.

*Gavio*] This Gavius of Firmum is perhaps the person called *P. Clodi canis*, Att. vi. 3, 6 (264).

*fuisse adsiduum*] 'has been at Rome all along.'

*Percussit*] 'made a deep impression on me.'

*Firmanis fratribus*] These may be the

sit quod se a me remorit, si modo removit, ignoro. 4. De eo quod me mones, ut et πολιτικῶς me geram et τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν teneam, ita faciam. Sed opus est maiore prudentia, quam a te, ut soleo, πέταμ. Tu velim ex Fabio, si quem habes aditum, odorere et istum convivam tuum degustes et ad me de his rebus et de omnibus cotidie scribas. Ubi nihil erit quod scribas, id ipsum scribito. Cura ut valeas.

Gavius just mentioned and his brother. They seem to have been ill-disposed to Cicero. Fabius had disclosed to Cicero some hostile act on their part. Hence Cicero looks on Fabius as a well-wisher, and is surprised that he failed in the customary *salutatio*.

*remorit*] So Ern. for *removit* of the mss. The subjunctive seems required by the order of the words, though Cicero might well have written *quod se a me removit, si modo removit, quid sit ignoro*. C. F. W. Müller defends *removit* (perhaps rightly) by referring to such passages as Ter. Eun. 559 *quid est quod laetus es*. But it must be confessed that all the passages he quotes are direct questions, not indirect (as here), except Tac. Germ. 40 *sanctaque ignorantia quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident*.

πολιτικῶς] 'with moderation,' like a citizen of a free state—a common usage: cp. such passages as Plutarch Sull. 30, 4.

τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν] The reading of M is ΕΩ, which admits of the alteration either to ἔξω or ἔσω. We adopt the latter. The former is adopted by Manutius, who thinks the reference is to the chariot race, and the 'safe' course (which is apparently the meaning of the passage) in the chariot race was the 'outside' one, in which there was no danger of disaster when rounding the *meta*. But could *γραμμὴ* have this meaning? It can, of course, mean the 'starting-line,' the 'scratch'; but that is quite different from the line the chariots pursued during the race. We think the

reference is not to the chariot-race, but to a game of the same nature as draughts or chess, called *πεττεία*, or more specifically *ἐπι πέντε γραμμῶν* (Pollux 97, 98). The details of the game are obscure (see Becq de Fouquières' *Les jeux des anciens*, pp. 391-405); but this much seems certain, that there was a dividing line in the middle of the board called *ἱερὰ γραμμὴ*, and if the player moved his pieces across that line, he played an aggressive and venturesome game: cp. Theocritus vi. 18 *καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς κινεῖ λίθον*, 'she plays the advancing game,' 'she moves her king from the boundary line' (if we should not read *πάντα δ' ἀπὸ γραμμῆς κινεῖ λίθον*): Alcaeus 82 (ed. Bergk.) *νῦν δ' αὐτ' ὄδοτος ἐπικρέτει κινήσας τὸν ἀπ' ἱερᾶς πύματον λίθον*, 'moving his last piece across the border,' i.e. making his last desperate effort: cp. Paroem. Graeci, p. 196, ed. Gaisford, *κινήσω τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς: ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἔσχατα κινδυνεύοντων*. Cicero says he will play the safe game, the defensive game; and he will keep his men within the *ἱερὰ γραμμὴ*, he will keep his actions within the bounds of prudence. He will make no such aggressive move as he did earlier in the year when he proposed the reconsideration of the Campanian Land Question.

*convivam*] Perhaps the Epicurean Saufeius.

*id ipsum*] sc. *nihil esse*. Cp. Att. vi. 3, 10 (264) *litteras mitte quam primum; si nihil, nihil fieri vel per tabellarium*, 'if there is no news, write to say so, or even send a verbal message.'

