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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1906

Letters of the fifteenth year of Cicero's correspondence, epp. 131-166

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LETTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 131-166.

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

COSS. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

DURING this year Cicero acquiesced in the government of the Triumvirs; and a tolerable case can be made out for the attitude which he adopted: see Introduction. They put pressure on him to speak in defence of his former enemies, Crassus, Vatinius, and even Gabinius. To defend Gabinius must have been a sore trial to Cicero; and that he yielded after so many protestations is one of the hardest things to justify in his whole career. As an appendix to the trial of Gabinius, he made a speech in defence of the financier Rabirius Postumus. In Ep. 153 (Fam i. 9) we have an elaborate *mémoire justificatif*, in which Cicero explains to Lentulus why he ranged himself along with the Triumvirs, and did not oppose their policy. Cicero also composed a speech for his old friend Cn. Plancius, which is most important as giving us information about the details of Roman elections. He was one of the many counsel for Scaurus when accused of extortion in Sardinia; and he pleaded many other cases which were independent of politics.

Much confusion and corruption prevailed in the matter of the elections. A most scandalous compact between two candidates for the consulship and the actual consuls came to light in the summer (142, 2); and the year ended without any election for consulship having taken place. During this year Cato was praetor—he presided at the trial of Scaurus—and, as far as he could, he opposed all forms of bribery. A very striking example of the high estimation for uprightness in which he was held is found in 142, 4; 143, 8.

To this year belong Cicero's treatise *De Republica* and also poems *De temporibus meis* and on Caesar's exploits. Cicero occasionally received letters from Caesar, who found time during his military affairs to take an interest in literary matters.

In the early summer Quintus joined the camp of Caesar in Gaul. Caesar made his second expedition into Britain in the late summer: but at the end of the year he was hard pressed by the insurrection of the Eburones under Ambiorix. Early in September occurred the death of Julia, daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompey.

131. TO CRASSUS, AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FOR SYRIA
(FAM. V. 8).

Wiel. 1309

ROME; PROBABLY JANUARY (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54;
AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero M. Licinio Crasso in Syriam profecto scribit quanta cum contentione in senatu defenderit. Excusatur quae intercesserat similitudinem et pristina amicitia restituta suam operam, consilium, auctoritatem, gratiam in omnibus rebus large pollicetur.

Leum

M. CICERO M. LICINIO P. F. CRASSO.

1. Quantum a. d. . . . meum studium exstiterit dignitatis tuae vel tuendae vel etiam augendae non dubito quin ad te omnes tui scripserint. Non enim fuit aut mediocre aut obscurum aut eius

Lange (R. A. iii. p. 354) and Körner (pp. 51-52) hold an opinion as to the date of this letter which is at variance with that held by all previous scholars. They put it in August, 700 (54). This is probably wrong: as it would appear, from § 2, that Publius and Marcus Crassus the younger were in Rome; yet Marcus was serving with Caesar in the summer of 700 (54) (Caes. B. G. v. 24, 2), and Publius also appears to have been with Caesar during the same summer: cp. Plut. Crass. 17, 4 *δεξιόμενος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὸν υἱὸν ἤκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας*. Körner seems to be influenced by the fact that, in 153, 19, 20, Cicero defends himself against the strictures of Lentulus for having spoken in behalf of Vatinius and Crassus. Now Vatinius was acquitted of sodalicia at the end of August (147, 3). Accordingly Körner thinks that the attack on Crassus which Cicero repelled was made about the same time. He cannot say what the nature of the attack was; but he rejects Lange's view, that Gabinius refused to give up the province of Syria to a legatus sent by Crassus; for it is unlikely that Crassus would have delayed to send a legatus until the summer. Far more probable is the view of Rauschen (p. 51), that the letter was written early in January. Cicero had become reconciled to Crassus at the end of the previous year; and they had parted the best of friends (153, 20 fin.). But the ill-omened departure of Crassus stimulated his enemies to attack him; they may have moved a curtailment of his powers, and

perhaps voted scanty supplies. Cicero would seem to have urged that the powers and resources of Crassus, so far from being diminished, should be increased (§ 1). As the reconciliation was recent, the warmth of Cicero's zeal was the greater.

Bardt (Hermes xxxii. (1897) pp. 267-270) holds that §§ 1, 2, and §§ 3, 4 are two drafts of the same letter: and that Cicero did not intend to send both. The similarity of ideas is marked. Cicero would naturally take the greatest pains with a communication like this, which renewed friendly relations with an important personage towards whom he had been for a long time hostile. But we think the view of Gurlitt (N. Jahrb. für das klass. Altertum, 1901, p. 540) preferable, that we have here the same letter written twice for despatch by different messengers, as was natural in the case of an important letter sent to a distant place. In the case of such despatch by more than one messenger, it seems to have been considered etiquette to vary the expression, and not to write exact duplicates, as may perhaps be inferred from Fam. vii. 18, 2 (173) *quis solet eodem exemplo pluris dare qui sua manu scribit*. Probably rough copies of both drafts were kept by Tiro, and by inadvertence got joined together.

1. *Quantum a. d. . . .*] 'How I showed my zeal for you on the —.' The text gives the excellent emendation of Klotz, *a. d. for ad*. This is a very frequent error of M; and it is quite natural that Cicero should mention the date of his espousal of

modi quod silentio posset praeteriri. Nam et cum consulibus et cum multis consularibus tanta contentione decertavi quanta numquam antea ulla in causa, suscepique mihi perpetuam propugnationem pro omnibus ornamentis tuis, veterique nostrae necessitudini iam diu debitum sed multa varietate temporum interruptum officium cumulate reddidi. 2. Neque mehercule umquam mihi tui aut colendi aut ornandi voluntas defuit, sed quaedam pestes hominum laude aliena dolentium et te non numquam a me alienarunt et me aliquando immutarunt tibi. Sed exstitit tempus optatum mihi magis quam speratum ut florentissimis tuis rebus mea perspici posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis et amicitiae fides. Sum enim consecutus non modo ut domus tua tota sed ut cuncta civitas me tibi amicissimum esse cognosceret. Itaque et praestantissima omnium feminarum, uxor tua, et eximia pietate, virtute, gratia tui Crassi meis consiliis, monitis, studiis, actionibusque nituntur, et

the cause of Crassus. The date has fallen out. Professor Ellis (Hermathena, vi. (1887), p. 134) suggests *Id.* (= *Idibus*), a view which commended itself also to Mendelssohn. The Senate was often held on the Ides: cp., for example, 96, 1; 135, 2.

consulibus] Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius.

interruptum] Cicero and Crassus were thrice estranged, and thrice reconciled. Cicero provoked the first quarrel by ascribing to Pompey the whole credit of the Servile war. The second quarrel arose out of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and Crassus was certainly active in procuring the banishment of Cicero. After Cicero's return a reconciliation was effected, chiefly through the mediation of Publius, the son of Crassus. The third estrangement arose from the espousal of the cause of Gabinius by Crassus, and a reconciliation was effected just before the departure of Crassus for Syria. The warm language of friendship and esteem used by Cicero in this letter contrasts very strongly with the *O hominem nequam* of Ep. 130.

2. *voluntas tui colendi*] This objective gen. is found more frequently in the letters than in the other works of Cicero: cp. *laudis nostrae gratulatio . . . timoris consolatio*, Att. i. 17, 6 (23).

pestes hominum] This is a remarkable coincidence with the language of the comic stage; this *gen. epexegeticus*, in

which the governing substantive contains the essence of the expression, and has much of the effect of an adj., is found only in the letters and in the comic poets: cp. *scelus viri = vir scelestus*, Mil. 1434; so Cure. 614; Truc. 621; *frustum pueri*, Pers. 848; *flagitium hominis*, Asin. 473; *monstrum mulieris*, Poen. 273; *hominum mendicabula = mendici*, Aul. 703; *deliciae pueri*, Pers. 204; *monstrum hominis*, Ter. Eun. 696. We have just the same construction as in 'a rap of a fellow,' 'a bit of a boy' (meaning 'a little boy'), 'a jewel of a woman,' &c.; *hallex viri* in Poen. 1310 either means 'a hop o' my thumb of a fellow,' *hallex* meaning 'the great toe'; or it is like the Irish expression, 'the broth of a boy,' *hallex* being the sediment of a costly fish sauce; possibly also = 'a foul fellow.' *Scelus hominis clamantes*, Att. xi. 9, 2 (423) is probably another example of this construction, though it might be otherwise explained.

memoria . . . fides] 'what a lively sense I have of our (former) amity, and what a sincere feeling of (present) friendliness.'

uxor tua] Tertulla. Suetonius tells us that she intrigued with Julius Caesar, Jul. 50.

tui Crassi] 'Your sons,' Marcus and Publius.

nituntur] cp. Off. i. 122 *Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos quorum*

s. Wiel.
s. rising?

wer?
cf. p. 140

453

Uebsting

p. 117

senatus populusque Romanus intellegit tibi absenti nihil esse tam promptum aut tam paratum quam in omnibus rebus quae ad te pertineant operam, curam, diligentiam, auctoritatem meam.

3. Quae sint acta quaeque agantur domesticorum tibi litteris declarari puto. De me sic existimes ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim, non me repentina aliqua voluntate aut fortuito ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplectendam incidisse, sed, ut primum forum attigerim, spectasse semper ut tibi possem quam maxime esse coniunctus. Quo quidem ex tempore memoria teneo neque meam tibi observantiam neque mihi tuam summam benevolentiam ac liberalitatem defuisse. Si quae interciderunt non tam re quam suspicione violata, ea, cum fuerint et falsa et inania, sint evulsa ex omni memoria vitae nostrae. Is enim tu vir es et eum me esse cupio ut, quoniam in eadem rei publicae tempora incidimus, coniunctionem amicitiamque nostram utrique nostrum laudi sperem fore. 4. Quam ob rem tu quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes statues ipse et, ut spero, statues ex nostra dignitate; ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii quod ad honestatem et gloriam tuam spectet. In quo etiam si multi mecum contendunt, tamen cum reliquis omnibus tum Crassis tuis iudiciis omnis facile superabo: quos quidem ego ambo unice diligo, sed, in Marcum benevolentia

consilio atque auctoritate nitatur. Cobet (Mnemosyne, viii. (1880), p. 185) conjectures *utuntur*, comparing Fin. iv. 67, and § 5 below.

3. *incidisse*] 'stumbled on the task of defending your dignity.' We do not know of any other place where *incidere* used metaphorically is followed by *ad*.

forum attigerim] This is the regular expression to denote the appearance of a young Roman for the first time in public life on his assumption of the *toga virilis*: cp. Mur. 21.

liberalitatem] Crassus probably lent Cicero money on some occasion.

Si quae . . . violata] 'If any interruptions of our friendship have occurred meanwhile, let these—based as they were not on fact but mere surmise, and therefore groundless and imaginary—be utterly uprooted from our minds'; *violata* has much the same meaning as *violations*, which Cicero does not use. The use of the past participle with an indefinite

pronoun unsupported by a substantive is rare; but the principle is the same as if he had written *si quae foedera violata interciderunt*, which would be a natural way of expressing *si quae foederum violationes interciderunt*. Cp. Att. i. 17, 7 (23) *illa quae violata expiabantur*. Suple compares Off. ii. 68 *erit id quod violatum videbitur compensandum*, 'the offence given.'

Is . . . sperem fore] 'Such is your character, and mine (I trust), as to lead me to hope,' &c.

4. *quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes*] A more natural expression would have been *tribuendum sit*. For the pleonasm, see note on Att. ii. 24, 3 (51) *res erat in ea opinione ut putarent*.

ex nostra dignitate] 'with due regard to my position': cp. *ex officii ratione rem considerare*, pro Quinct. 48.

in Marcum benevolentia pari] Ablatives like this are really *ablativi modi*, and are not to be explained as absolute ablatives

pari, hoc magis sum Publio deditus quod me, quamquam a pueritia sua semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime sicut alterum parentem et observat et diligit.

5. Has litteras velim existimes foederis habituras esse vim, non epistulae, meque ea quae tibi promitto ac recipio sanctissime esse observaturum diligentissimeque esse facturum. Quae a me suscepta defensio est te absente dignitatis tuae, in ea iam ego non solum amicitiae nostrae sed etiam constantiae meae causa permanebo. Quam ob rem satis esse hoc tempore arbitratus sum hoc ad te scribere, me, si quid ipse intellegerem aut ad voluntatem aut ad commodum aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, mea sponte id esse facturum: sin autem quippiam aut a te essem admonitus aut a tuis, effecturum ut intellegeres nihil neque te scripsisse neque quemquam tuorum frustra ad me detulisse. Quam ob rem velim ita et ipse ad me scribas de omnibus minimis, maximis, mediocribus rebus ut ad hominem amicissimum et tuis praecipias ut opera, consilio, auctoritate, gratia mea sic utantur in omnibus publicis, privatis, forensibus, domesticis, tuis, amicorum, hospitum, clientium tuorum negotiis ut, quod eius fieri possit, praesentiae tuae desiderium eo labore minuatur.

with the ellipse of the deficient participle of *esse*. 'With good wishes for Marcus as sincere, I am more completely devoted to Publius for his constant affection and attention towards me,' &c. Such ablatives are very common in phrases like *re recenti*, Fam. xii. 29, 2 (831); *salvis legibus*, Fam. v. 20, 9 (302); *nullo adversario*, Att. ii. 23, 2 (50). Very good examples are *summo dolore meo et desiderio*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148); *cuius dubia fortuna* ('as his position was insecure'), *timidius tecum agebamus*, Fam. xiii. 19, 2 (514); *omni statu omnique populo* ('whatever my state or the popular feeling may be'), Att. xi. 24, 1 (441); *hac iuventute* (= cum talis sit iuventus), Att. x. 11, 3 (396); *praesertim hoc genero* (= cum talis sit gener meus), Att. xi. 14, 2 (429); *tirone et collecticio exercitu*, Fam. vii. 3, 2 (464); *aut aliqua rep. aut perditā*, Fam. vi. 1, 6 (538);

florētissimis tuis rebus, § 2 above. Other editors read *sed in Marco benevolentia impar*, which they explain, 'but in the mind of Marcus there is not the same kindly feeling for me'; but Cicero would not have described the feeling of the young Marcus Crassus for him by the word *benevolentia*, which suitably expresses the feeling of Cicero towards the youth.

5. *Has litteras*] 'This document I should wish you to regard as a sort of covenant between us, not a mere letter.' *Litterae*, the more general form for a communication, is here clearly contrasted with *epistula*: cp. also 148, 8, *venio nunc ad tuas litteras quas pluribus epistulis accepi*.

eo labore] 'by the labour thus imposed on me.' To correct *eo* of the mss to *meo*, as is usually done, weakens the sense of the passage.

132. TO QUINTUS, IN SOME SUBURBAN RESIDENCE, ^{cf p. 126. Drum. II 650. Wiel. II p. 284}
(Q. FR. II. 9 (11)). ^{bei Sjögren II 10 p. 49}

ROME; FEBRUARY 10 OR 11; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit, cum nihil quod scribat habeat, de libertate Tenediis negata, de laudibus Q. fratris et de Lucretii ac Salustii poematis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Epistulam hanc convicio efflagitarunt codicilli tui. Nam res quidem ipsa et is dies quo tu es profectus nihil mihi ad scribendum argumenti sane dabat. Sed quem ad modum, coram cum sumus, sermo nobis deesse non solet, sic epistulae nostrae debent interdum alucinari. 2. Tenediorum igitur libertas securi Tenedia praecisa est, cum eos praeter me et Bibulum et Calidium et Favonium nemo defenderet. 3. De te a Magnetibus ab Sipylo mentio est honorifica facta, cum te unum dicerent postulationi L. Sesti Pansae restitisse. Reliquis diebus si quid erit quod te scire opus

1. *codicilli*] These were tablets made of thin pieces of wood (*codices, caudices*) and covered with wax. They were used for any sudden exigency requiring haste. Sometimes the words of a letter were hastily jotted down with a *stylus* on these *codicilli*, and then given to the *librarius* to copy on *charta* with a *calamus*. It was by *codicilli* that Acidinus informed Servius at Athens that Marcellus had died of the wounds inflicted on him by the dagger of Magius Chilo: cp. Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613). *Codicilli* were especially useful when an immediate reply was required. Cicero sent his *codicilli* to Balbus when he wanted immediate information about a law: cp. Fam. vi. 18, 2 (534). In this case Quintus sent his *codicilli* to his brother, demanding 'in strong language' a reply. *Codicilli* were especially used for writing to those who were near at hand, Sen. Ep. 55, 11. See also Ellis on Catullus 42, 11, and Marquardt iv. 780-782; and Vol. I., p. 55, ed. 3.

alucinari] 'to ramble on' without any consistent train of thought, just as Cicero and his brother chatted to each other when they met: cp. N. D. i. 72 *Ista enim a vobis quasi dictata redduntur quae Epicurus oscitans alucinatus est* ('the drowsy

ramblings of Epicurus').

2. *Tenediorum*] The people of Tenedos petitioned the senate for Home Rule, but were refused.

securi Tenedia] *Securis Tenedia* is a proverbial expression for any 'short, sharp, and decisive' act or decision. Tenes, the fabled eponym of Tenedos, was the author of a very severe code for the island. Adultery was to be punished by the immediate execution of the adulterer, and this sentence was carried out by order of Tenes in the case of his own son. Another interpretation is, that Tenes enacted that the executioner with raised axe should stand behind any accuser, and inflict summary penalty if the accusation were shown to be false: cp. Photius, ii., p. 205 (ed. Naber). See also Otto's *Sprichwörter*, pp. 343-4.

3. *cum . . . dicerent*] 'saying as they did.' For this usage, cp. note to 22, 2, and Roby, § 1722.

L. Sesti Pansae] Probably a publicanus, who had made some excessive demands of the Magnetes. The Magnetes of Lydia are called *Magnetes ab Sipylo*, to distinguish them from the Magnetes in Thessaly and in Caria.

Q. Cic. noch
nicht in Gall:
Dr. II 650

sit, aut etiam si nihil erit, tamen scribam cotidie aliquid. Pridie Id. neque tibi neque Pomponio deero. 4. Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis. Sed cum veneris. . . Virum te putabo, si Sallusti 'Empedoclea' legeris, hominem non putabo.

neque tibi neque Pomponio] This must refer to some transaction in which Atticus and Quintus were jointly concerned, possibly affecting in some way the marriage portion of Pomponia.

4. *Lucreti . . . artis*] This is the celebrated criticism of Cicero on the poem of Lucretius, which had just been published about four months after the death of the poet. It is the only place where Cicero mentions Lucretius; and he never quotes from the poet, though his philosophical works undoubtedly show acquaintance with the *sex libri de rerum natura*. It has been observed that it is not the practice of Cicero to quote from his contemporaries. He never mentions Catullus, who so prettily eulogized him in the poem (49) beginning *disertissime Romuli nepotum*. Cicero twice imitates an expression of Catullus. He writes *oricula infima molliorem*, 141, 4: cp. Cat. 25, 2 *mollior . . . imula oricilla*; and again, Att. xvi. 6, 2 (775), he speaks of *ocellos Italiae villulas meas*, which seems to be a reminiscence of *Peninsularum, Sirmio, insularumque Ocelle*, Cat. 31. But he never mentions the poet, with whom he was linked as well by political sympathies as by their common acquaintanceship with Clodia. Hence, it is possible that the tradition mentioned by St. Jerome that Cicero edited the poem of Lucretius may be true, in spite of the silence of Cicero concerning Lucretius. Cicero had probably some time during the last four months read (or heard read to him) the *De rerum natura*, and had sent it to his brother on finishing it. From a passage in Sest. 123 *neque poetae quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi temporis meo defuerunt*, we may infer that Cicero made it a practice to lend the lustre of his name to the works of rising poets. It is very unlikely that Q. Cicero should have been the editor. St. Jerome would not have referred to him as *Cicero*, but as *Q. Cicero*; nor would the friends of Lucretius have been at all likely to submit the poem to Quintus. The criticism of Quintus, with which Cicero expresses his accord, was that Lucretius had not only much of the

genius of Ennius and Attius, but also much of the *art* of the poets of the new school, such as Catullus, who were fashioning themselves on the model of the Alexandrine poets, especially Callimachus and Euphorion of Chalcis. This new school Cicero refers to as the *νεώτεροι* (cp. Att. vii. 2, 1 (293)), and as *hi cantores Euphorionis* (Tusc. iii. 45). Their *ars* seemed to Cicero almost incompatible with the *ingenium* of the old school. This criticism on Lucretius is not only quite just from Cicero's point of view, but it is most pointed. Yet the editors from Victorius to Klotz will not let Cicero say what he thought. They insert a *non* before either *multis* or *multae*, and thus deny Lucretius either *ingenium* or *ars*. The point of the judgment is that Lucretius shows the genius of the old school, and (what might seem to be incompatible with it) the art of the new. For a full discussion of this point, see Munro's *Lucretius*, Introd. to Notes ii. The views above given are mainly his. For *tamen* compare Lehmann ('De Epp. ad Att. recensendis,' p. 195), and note to Att. iii. 20, 3 (78), ed. 3. See Adn. Crit.

artis] For this gen. see on Fam. vii. 1, 2 (127).

Sed cum veneris . . .] Some such words as *plura de his poematis disceremus* are understood. This is a variation of the common phrase *sed haec coram*: cp. *coram enim* 117, 2.

Virum . . . hominem] 'If you get through Sallust's *Empedoclea*, I shall look on you as a being possessed of the resolution of a man, and none of the weaknesses of humanity.' This antithesis between *vir* and *homo* is found elsewhere in Cicero, and must be read in the light shed on the words by the other passages. In Fam. v. 17, 3 (179), Cicero writes to Sittius, 'I feel it my duty to exhort you *ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses*'; and he goes on to explain that by this he means that—(1) Sittius should remember that as *homo* he is subject to the chances and changes of this mortal life, that he is not exempt from the lot of humanity, and (2) that as *vir* he is bound to oppose a

Wiel. II p. 362

133. TO QUINTUS, IN THE COUNTRY (Q. FR. II. 10 (12)). *bei Sjög.*ROME; FEBRUARY 13; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52. *No. 11 p. 49*

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Commageni regis causa a se acta et de litteris a Caesare ad se missis refert.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gaudeo tibi iucundas esse meas litteras, nec tamen habuissem scribendi nunc quidem ullum argumentum, nisi tuas acceppissem. Nam pridie Id. cum Appius senatum infrequentem coëgisset, tantum fuit frigus ut ^{Marius} pipulo, convicio coactus sit nos dimittere.

bold front to fortune. Again, he says of Marius, *tulit dolorem ut vir, et, ut homo, maiorem ferre sine causa necessaria noluit*, Tusc. ii. 53, 'he bore the pain like a man but, as not being above the weaknesses of humanity, he did not wish to suffer greater pain without any imperative reason for it.' In antitheses with *vir esse* the meaning of *homo esse* always is 'to be subject to the ordinary weaknesses of humanity'; by itself *homo esse* means—(a) 'to have the feelings or the sense of a man'; cp. Att. ii. 2, 2 (28); (b) 'to have the weaknesses of a mortal,' as *ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat*, Fam. iv. 5, 4 (555).

Sallusti] Of this author of a poem on the philosophy of Empedocles nothing certain is known. He is probably the same man as the Sallustius mentioned in 155, 1. Schöne considers that Sallust the historian wrote the 'Empedoclea.'

1. *Nam*] Cicero has no news to tell Quintus, because the meeting of the senate ended abruptly.

pipulo, convicio] 'noisy clamour,' i.e. of the senators. The ms reading is *populi convicio*. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 35) justly observes that he does not understand how the consul was forced by the clamour of the people outside to dismiss the senate. He would read *communi convicio*; but the conjecture given in the text is far less rash: *pipulo* is a Plautine word, and therefore very likely to be used by Cicero; it would almost certainly be mistaken by the scribe for *populo*, which he would naturally change to *populi*, to obtain a construction. This emendation is accepted by Prof. Housman (*Classical Review*, xvi.

(1902), p. 443a), who, however, thinks that *convicio* should be ejected as a gloss. He quotes several passages from the *Corp. gloss. Lat.* and also Nonius 152, 3, where *pipulo* is interpreted by *convicio*. This is exceedingly probable; but *asyndeton* is quite a characteristic feature in the letters of Cicero, especially *asyndeton* between two words. For two words with *asyndeton*, cp. *patrimonio, fortuna*, Att. xi. 9, 3 (423); *causae meae, voluntati meorum*, Att. iii. 13, 1 (71); *querentibus, postulantis*, Att. v. 21, 12 (250); *officiis, liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3 (519); *vultu, taciturnitati*, Fam. iii. 8, 2 (222); *gratisimo, iucundissimo*, Fam. xiii. 28, 3 (523); *studiis, beneficiis*, 134, 1. *Pipulo* may, perhaps, signify less articulate exclamations than *convicio* 'hooting and abuse.' We read in 93, 3, that the hired roughs of Clodius a *Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt*, and that the consequence was the breaking up of the meeting of the senate. But in that case they were hired by Clodius to do what they did. How could the coldness of the weather bring the people outside to break up the meeting of the senate 'with abuse,' *convicio*? But it is quite credible that the senators themselves should have shouted down every attempt to put a question to the house, with abusive clamour calling on the consul to dismiss the house. Each senator wished to go away on account of the cold, but did not wish to leave behind him a house to pass measures unacceptable to him. With this passage must be discussed the words at the end of the letter, *ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur*. Here, again, Boot

2. De Commageno, quod rem totam ^{zosteritatem} discusseram, mirifice mihi et per se et per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt enim, hoc

asks what is the meaning? It is true that in seasons of great cold there is a greater danger of conflagrations, because larger fires are kept. But why should the consul's house be in more peril than houses of other people? Man. explains, by observing that in the house of the consul, which was frequented by crowds of visitors and by those who would escort him home from the senate, a very large fire would naturally be kept. But such an explanation is manifestly puerile. This being so, we are disposed to explain the two passages—the one in the beginning of the letter, and the one at the end—as jocular, or at least covert allusions to the lack of interest in public affairs, the inactivity and apathy of the senate, and the dullness of the business before them. The first passage would then mean, 'Appius could only get together a small meeting of the senate; and when it did meet, such was the utter dearth of interest, that it ended in noisy clamour for a dismissal of the house.' The sentence at the end would mean, 'The thermometer of public feeling is so near freezing-point that Appius' house runs a great risk of being frost-bitten,' that is, utterly deserted by *salutatores* and *deductores*. For examples of *frigus* in the metaphorical sense of 'dullness,' 'apathy,' 'stagnation,' cp. *si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt nos hic frigore rigescimus*, Fam. viii. 6, 4 (242); *Curioni tribunatus conglaciati*, ib. 3; and the synonymous phrase, ib. 4, *veternus civitatem occupasset*; so also *metuo ne frigeas* ('have nothing to do') in *hibernis... quamquam vos istis satis calore* ('are kept pretty busy') *audio* (161, 2). *Uri* = 'to be frost-bitten,' is common enough; Cicero uses it in this sense in one passage, where it is as susceptible of misapprehension as it is here, *pernoctant venatores in nive; in montibus uri se patiuntur*, Tusc. ii. 40. There, however, Professor Dougan reads *pernoctant venatores in montibus, nive uri se patiuntur*, for (he says) '*uri* is not used of the action of *frigus*, unless *frigus* or some such word is expressed.' This explanation, moreover, gives a far more appropriate meaning to *quamquam* in the sentence at the end of the letter. 'I shall give you the news of every day. Yet [there is really nothing to tell, for] the thermometer of public interest is so near freezing-point that Appius' house seems

likely to be frost-bitten.' It is to be observed that both at the beginning and the end of the letter the mention of *frigus* is introduced to account for the dearth of news. *Frigus* might also be used in the metaphorical sense of *disfavour* (towards Appius); cp. *maiorum ne quis amicus Frigore te feriat*, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 63; *limina frigescent*, Pers. i. 108; to which the Dict. add several examples in Quintilian and Pliny. But this use of *frigus* would not account for *quamquam*, and is not so characteristic of the tone of Cicero's letters. *Infrequentem* is sometimes explained as 'extraordinary.' (See L. S.) Dr. Reid says: "This is certainly right. The first words of the letter lead up to this sense of *frigus*. But I should phrase it a little differently. The senate was called to pass certain measures which no one would have. I still do not feel sure that *populi* is wrong. There are a number of passages (most of them are quoted in the footnotes to Willems's *Sénat*, ii. pp. 163 sq.) which seem to show that the public thronged the doors of the meeting-place (which were left open), and either heard or managed to get to know about what was going on inside. They may have assembled on this occasion to show their disapproval of the measure which the senate had been summoned to consider. Appius was hand in glove with Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. The contemplated business probably was in the interest of the triumvirate. If *frigus* means the 'chilling frost of popular opposition to the designs of Appius,' the word *urerentur* may well have its natural meaning. 'So unpopular are Appius' plans that he may well have his house burnt about his ears.' This contrast between *frigus* in its non-literal sense and *urerentur* in its literal sense is quite in Cicero's style. The *quamquam* does not seem to me to be out of place. 'I will write to you, if anything is done; but nothing is likely to be done, unless maybe A.'s house is burned.'"

2. *Commageno*] Antiochus, king of Commagene, whose capital was Samosata, now *Samsoun*, the birth-place of Lucian. When Syria was made a province, at the end of the Mithridatic war, Antiochus received from Pompey this little division of the kingdom of Syria.

discusseram] 'pulled to pieces,' that is, 'frustrated,' 'brought to nought.'

genere dicendi si utar in ceteris, Februarium sterilem futurum. Eumque lusi iocose satis, neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum quod erat positum in Euphrati Zeugmate, sed praeterea togam sum eius praetextam, quam erat adeptus Caesare consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus. 3. 'Quod vult,' inquam 'renovari honores eosdem, quo minus togam praetextam quotannis interpolet, decernendum nihil censeo. Vos autem homines nobiles, qui Bostrenum praetextatum non ferebatis, Commagenum feretis?' Genus vides

sterilem] 'productive of no profit to him.' If Cicero opposed and defeated all the petitions of foreign nations, for the hearing of which February was reserved, there would be no *douceurs* for him from successful applicants.

oppidulum] We may infer that Antiochus had two requests to make—(1) that he might be allowed to include or retain in his dominion a certain town on the Euphrates; and (2) that the honour, granted to him in the consulship of Caesar, of wearing a *toga praetexta*, should be confirmed by a decree of the senate.

quod . . . Zeugmate] 'at Zeugma,' or 'in the territory of Zeugma.' *Euphrati* is the genitive: cp. *Orodi*, *Fam.* xv. 1, 2 (221), and copious examples in *Neue-Wagener* i³. 511: cp. *Madvig* on *Fin.* i. 14 and v. 12. *Billerbeck* would take *Ζεύματι* in the other sense of 'bridge.' He says that at the site of Bir, or Birtha, there was a bridge over the Euphrates in the time of Alexander, Thapsacus having been before this the customary place of crossing. The town was called *Zeugma*, from the bridge. It would be natural that the senate should refuse to detach from the province of Syria a town so situated.

3. *Quod vult*] 'As to his petition for a renewal of the honours he got in the consulship of Caesar, to save himself the expense of dyeing his *praetexta* anew every year, I am against a decree to that effect. Will you, who would not have the tetrarch of Bostra clothed with the *praetexta*, endure the Commagene in that robe of state?' Such is the explanation of *Schütz* and *Billerbeck*. There does not appear to be much play of fancy in the passage. Unless the joke lies in some allusion to the unknown tetrarch or princeling of Bozrah, whom (*Cicero* says) the Roman nobles would not endure to see clad in the Roman robe of state, we see no

joke in the passage, except that Cicero affects to regard Antiochus as seeking a decree of the senate to refurbish his robe, to save himself the expense of redyeing it every year. There would be more humour in the words of Cicero if *renovari* could mean, 'to be put on a new footing.' Thus Cicero would say, 'as regards his petition to have his distinction put on a new footing (i.e. given to him absolutely without the necessity of yearly renewal), to save himself the expense of a yearly redyeing (i.e. a yearly embassy to Rome to solicit renewal), I am against such a decree.' The same sense would be got by reading with *Lamb.* and *Ern.*, *quod non vult renovari honores eosdem*, 'as to his request not to have a renewal of his distinction on the same terms,' that is, 'not to have it renewed for a year, but in perpetuity.' This is the reading which *Wieland* translates, and may, perhaps, appear a probable solution of the difficulty, though it is very daring to insert *non*. We can hardly hope to get any nearer to the meaning without knowing something of 'the Bozran.' Bostra, the Bozrah of *Isaiah*, was a considerable town in Arabia Petraea. Another rendering is, however, probably the correct one. 'As to his wish that the same honours be renewed, I am of opinion that no measure should be passed to prevent his doing up his *toga praetexta* each year. But will you, lords, who did not allow the Bozran to wear the *toga praetexta*, allow the Commagenian to do so?' Cicero seems to mean that no decree, not even one refusing the request, should be passed. Such a trumpery matter (he implies) does not call for a decree. The Commagenian is not forbidden to do up his toga each year if he likes. But Cicero presumes that the Roman nobles will not tolerate the princeling if he ventures to wear it. *Quo minus*, according to the legal style, is governed by *nihil decernendum*.

et locum iocandi. Multa dixi in ignobilem regem quibus totus est explosus. Quo genere commotus, ut dixi, Appius totum me amplexatur. Nihil est enim facilius quam reliqua discutere. Sed non faciam ut illum offendam, 'ne imploret fidem Iovis Hospitalis, Graios omnis convocet' per quos mecum in gratiam redit. 4. Theopompo satis faciemus. De Caesare fugerat me ad te scribere. Video enim quas tu litteras exspectaris. Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistularum, in quo fuerat mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse, ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistulam. Sed ex Balbi epistula pauca verba intellexerat ad quae rescripsit his verbis: 'De Cicerone te video quiddam scripsisse quod ego non intellexi: quantum autem coniectura consequer, id erat eius modi ut magis optandum quam sperandum putarem.' 5. Itaque postea misi ad Caesarem eodem illo exemplo litteras. Locum autem illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus. Ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et

totus est explosus] 'completely, utterly laughed out of court.'

Quo genere] = *cuius generis dictis*.

Iovis Hospitalis] Ζεὺς Ἐπίου. We must infer that certain Greeks had been instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between Cicero and Appius. If he broke with Appius, he would offend these Greeks, and so the god who 'protects them.' Probably we should, with Bücheler, suppose these words a quotation, and print

ne imploret fidem
Iovis Hospitalis Graios omnis convocet.

4. *fugerat me*] 'I forgot'; so *fugit me ratio*, 'I was mistaken,' in Catull. 10, 29. This meaning of *fugere* is very common in Cicero, and very rare in other writers.

magis optandum] Caesar wrote to Balbus that he could see that Balbus had said something about Quintus Cicero in his letter; that he could not make out the meaning; that, if his guess at the meaning was right, it announced a fact which he (Caesar) might wish, but hardly hope, to be true. The announcement was probably that Quintus had determined to transfer his services from Pompey to Caesar. Nothing could be more courteous

than Caesar's way of receiving this news.

5. *Locum*] It is by no means certain that the editors are right in changing the *ms locum* to *iocum*. There is no conclusive evidence that Caesar's letter was playful: the little extract we have from it here is full of dignified courtesy. The 'passage about his poverty,' *locum illius de sua egestate*, was, no doubt, in the same strain. He said with regret that he could not promise Quintus an El Dorado in his camp. Cicero advises his brother not to look with disfavour on that passage—not to let it deter him from joining Caesar and serving under him vigorously—and tells him that in reply he has let Caesar know how poor they were—how he (Caesar) 'must not become bankrupt through any reliance on his (Cicero's) resources.' Of course *iocum* can be defended, as Caesar's letters were sometimes jocular: cp. 134, 2: and Cicero seems to have replied to this letter of Caesar's in a sportive vein.

conturbaret] sc. *rationes*, a common, half-slang word for 'to become bankrupt': cp. 111, 1; Planc. 68. Mayor, on Juv. vii. 129, quotes Martial ix. 4, 5: cp. vii. 27, 10 and 96, 9; and Petron. 38 and 81 *postquam conturbavit et libidinis suae solum vertit*. The latter phrase means 'to leave the country.' The business expression for becoming bankrupt is *cedere foro*.

*Side in Hoc
gab. 209, 4
of May, 1891*

familiariter et cum dignitate. Amor autem eius erga nos perferitur omnium nuntiis singularis. Litterae quidem ad id quod expectas fere cum tuo reditu iungentur, reliqua singulorum dierum scribemus ad te, si modo tabellarios tu praebebis. Quamquam eius modi frigus impendebat ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur.

Barnt Char. 92

134. TO CAESAR, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 5).

ROME; ABOUT APRIL; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium Testam iure consultum diligentissime C. Caesari Galliarum procos. commendat. *für die colors: Hainze Hor. sat. 2, 1 Vorbildig*

CICERO CAESARI IMP. S. D.

als Legat
1. Vide quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum non modo in iis rebus quae ad me ipsum sed etiam in iis quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram quocumque exirem mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed postea quam et Pompei commoratio diuturnior erat quam putaram et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectioem meam videbatur aut certe tardare, vide quid mihi sumpserim. Coepi velle ea Trebatium exspectare a te quae sperasset a me, neque meherecule minus ei prolixè de tua voluntate promisi quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. 2. Casus vero miri-

Quamquam] 'Yet,' though I promise you a regular diary. See note on *pipulo*, *convicio*, § 1.

1. *te me esse alterum*] 'that you are my alter ego'; cp. *me alterum se fore*, 90, 7.

C. Trebatium] This is the famous jurist, C. Trebatius Testa, to whom seventeen letters of Cicero are extant in Fam. vii., and to whom is addressed Hor. Sat. ii. 1.

quocumque exirem] Cicero was *legatus* to Pompey, and was liable to be sent somewhere on foreign service. Pompey still held the commission for the corn supply, and the governorship of Spain, with which he was invested by the Tre-

bonian law of 699 (55).

studiis, beneficiis] This *asyndeton* is very common in Cic. Epp. This strongly confirms the reading *pipulo*, *convicio* in the last letter.

dubitatio] doubts about what steps Clodius might take in his absence.

prolixè . . . polliceri] This use of adverbs instead of adjectives, especially with verbs of promising, is not rare in the letters: cp. *liberalissime polliceri*, Att. v. 13, 2 (203); *sperabis omnia optime*, Fam. iv. 13, 7 (483); *cum optime sentiremus*, Fam. iv. 2, 3 (389). Sallust has *bene polliceri*, Cat. 41. For a similar contrast of *promittere* ('cause to expect' from another) and *polliceri* ('to promise,' 'to undertake,' oneself) cp. Planc. 101.

ficus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te quibus in extremis scriptum erat 'M. † itffuium quem mihi commendas vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte quem ornem.' Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus: tanta fuit opportunitas ut illud nescio quid non fortuitum sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium atque ita mitto ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. 3. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare ut omnia quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis in unum hunc conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo quod, cum ad te de Milone scripsissem,

2. *Balbo*] This was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, who had served against Sertorius, and had been made a Roman citizen by Pompey, whose act Cicero defended in the extant speech *pro Balbo*. He was consul in 714 (40), and was the first provincial who reached the consulship. A sketch of his life is given in vol. iv., pp. lxii-lxix.

2. *M. †itffuium*] See Adn. Crit. It seems quite impossible to restore the lost name here. Mendelssohn conjectures *M. Itium*, comparing for the name Wilmanns' Inscriptions, 2017; Wesenberg and Böckel *Titinium*; and Professor Ellis *Fuftium*, comparing Catull. 54, 5: see his note in *Hermathena*, vi. (1887), p. 134. Schütz proposes *Mescinium Rufum*. He was afterwards a quaestor of Cicero in Cilicia; Lepta was afterwards *praefectus fabrum* to Cicero. He may, as Watson suggests, have accompanied Q. Cicero from Caesar's camp to M. Cicero's in Cilicia. Caesar writes jocularly, 'I will make him king of Gaul, or else do you hand him over to Lepta (your friend, who is with me), and send me someone else to provide for.' Such seems the only rendering to give to the words *vel hunc Leptae delega si vis*; and it is easy to assent to the judgment of Mendelssohn that the words are corrupt. But it is not easy to assent to the conjecture (Jahrbuch, 1886, p. 68) *vel συγκλέτην de Segontiacis* (a British tribe, cp. Caes. B. G. v. 21, 1), which appears to mean 'or my pal in plundering the Segontiaci' (i.e. or I will bring him with me to Britain to fill his pockets there). Yet so eminent a scholar

as Bardt (with some hesitation, however) accepts it and reads it in his text.

sustulimus manus] in wonder.

ita . . . ut] 'with a feeling that my original readiness to present him to you is greatly confirmed by your subsequent invitation to me' (to introduce my friends). This is one of these delicate uses of *ita . . . ut*, noticed in vol. I³, Introd., p. 84.

invitatu] Cp., for such fourth declension formations, *involutus* Fam. vi. 6, 7 (488); *reflatus* Att. xii. 2, 1 (459); *itus* Att. xv. 6, 3 (737).

3. *vetere verbo*] 'hackneyed phrase.'

This is best explained by another passage with which it has not, so far as we know, been hitherto compared. In recommending Dionysius to Atticus, he describes him as *cum doctum . . . tum sane plenum officii . . . frugi hominem, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum*, Att. vii. 4, 1 (295): again, we read *eius libertum hominem frugi et modestum . . . tibi commendo maiorem in modum*, Fam. xiii. 70, 1 (509). Hence *frugi* or *bonae frugi* may be supposed to be *voes propriae* of recommendations given to inferiors in social rank. Some such conventional phrase it was which was ridiculed by Caesar. As in Att. vii. 4, 1 (295), he corrects the epithet *frugi* by the words *ac . . . plane virum bonum*, so here he says he will not recommend Trebatius in the conventional phrase for which Caesar rallied him, but he will say *probiorem hominem, meliorem virum esse neminem*. This plain and unambiguous statement, he says, is made *more Romano*, 'with old-fashioned, outspoken bluntness,' *quo modo homines non*

*in facta via
Reike*

iure lusisti, sed more Romano quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur, probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentio-rem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in iure civili, singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius benefici certum nomen peto, benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto, neque impedio quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus: totum denique hominem tibi ita trado, de manu, ut aiunt, in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi quamquam per te vix licet, verum, ut video, licebit. Cura ut valeas et me, ut amas, ama.

inepti loquuntur, 'in the language of men of the world': *ineptus* is explained by Cicero himself in *De Or.* ii. 17 *qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum quibuscum est vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinuus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur.*

pudentio-rem] Possibly we should add some substantive like *sodalem*.

familiam ducit] 'he is at the top of his profession.'

tribunatum] sc. *militum*.

praefecturam] sc. *castrorum*, or *fabrorum*, or *sociorum*.

benefici certum nomen] 'any specific favour'; the metaphor is perhaps from book-keeping.

hisce . . . gloriolae insignibus] 'these little marks of distinction.' *Gloriola* is found in 109, 9.

de manu, ut aiunt, in manum] The phrase is usually *per manus* (Seneca *de Vita beata* 1, 4): yet cp. Plaut. *Trin.* 902 *E manibus dedit mi ipse in manus*. On *Prov. Cons.* c. 16, § 39, Long (p. 109) says of this phrase *de manu in manum*, 'This expression is the origin of the French 'de la main à la main,' which, however, has a particular sense, 'secretly.''' Rafter perhaps 'informally.'

Simus . . . licebit] We have accepted Ern.'s *quamquam* for *quam*, as being a very slight change, and, as would seem, quite essential to the sense. Cicero says, 'Let me be somewhat of a bore (in my importunity); though, indeed, such is your kindness (in inviting me to present my friends) it is hardly excusable; yet, I can see, you will excuse the liberty.' *Putidiusculus* means 'rather tiresome,' not

'more tiresome'; so *quam* cannot be right; 'more tiresome than is hardly allowable' is nonsense; 'somewhat exacting, which your kindness ought to prevent' (Watson) demands *quod* for *quam*. Boot (*Obs. Crit.*, p. 13) would read *quod*. He thinks the words refer only to the last expression, *manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem*: the word *putidiusculi* would then mean 'tasteless,' 'vulgar,' 'fulsome'; but even when Boot has made many violent changes in the words, it is doubtful if the meaning which he desires is to be found. He reads *sumus enim putidiusculi, quod per te vix licet, per hunc utique licebit*, and explains 'utimur locutione aliquanto putidior, quod vix licet quatenus tecum mihi sermo est, qui ipse oratione simpliciter et incompta uteris, quatenus sermo est de Trebatio certe mihi licebit.' Why should Caesar excuse a fulsome expression because it was used in recommending Trebatius? For *verum, ut video, licebit*, cp. *michi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet*, *Fam.* xiii. 18, 2 (513). Hence *vix licet* means 'it is hardly excusable, allowable'; it is rather a liberty'; and *licebit* means 'you will let me take the liberty.' The word *putidiusculus* means 'a bit of a bore,' and refers not only to the importunity of Cicero, but to the largeness of his demand, in making over to Caesar his whole responsibility to Trebatius, and declaring that he will not be content with little distinctions, but will have these and solid benefits besides. It may also be held, as is argued in *Hermatheana*, xxvi. (1900), p. 67, that *putidiusculi* means 'a trifle affected or extravagant'; and it seems to refer to the stilted phrase which just precedes. 'Excuse my slightly affected

Wiel. II 366

135. TO QUINTUS, IN THE COUNTRY (Q. FR. II. 11 (13)). *f. Nr. 12 p. 57*

ROME; FEBRUARY 14TH; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de rebus Id. Febr. in senatu actis, de Callisthene et Philisto historicis scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

Risi 'nivem atram,' teque hilari animo esse et prompto ad iocandum valde me iuvat. De Pompeio adsentior tibi vel tu potius mihi. Nam, ut seis, iam pridem istum canto Caesarem. *f. Hor. epod. 2, 9, 18*
 Mihi crede, in sinu est, neque ego discingor. 2. Cognosce nunc

Capitulum non dicitur hocans
 language, although it is scarcely allowable in addressing you (who approve of measured language), yet as I see (from the generous tone of your letters) you will allow it.'

1. 'nivem atram'] It is quite impossible to ascertain what this may mean without the letter of Quintus to which it alludes. The only place in Cicero which could possibly throw a light on this passage is Acad. ii. 72 *Anaxagoras nivem nigram dixit esse. Ferres me, si ego idem dicerem? Tu, no si dubitarem quidem. At quis est? Num hic sophistes? Sic enim appellantur ii qui ostentationis aut quaestus causa philosophabantur: maxima fuit et gravitatis et ingeni gloria.* Perhaps, then, Cicero had told his brother that Trebatius was going to Caesar, and Quintus had said, in reply, 'He will have to exercise his legal acumen in proving, like a second Anaxagoras, that the British snow (which he will encounter in abundance) is black.' But this is, indeed, far-fetched, and still more so the attempted explanation of Manutius that Quintus said he would soon have to encounter with Caesar snow that would be atram, quasi tristem minimeque iucundam. It seems far more probable that *nivem atram* refers to incompatible things supposed to co-exist. Quintus may have written, 'If you expect constancy (or sincerity) in Pompey, you might as well expect to meet black snow': cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 59, 60 (according to Upton's reading):

That is, hot ice and wondrous strange black snow;
 How shall we find the concord of this discord?

But perhaps Schütz is right in suggesting *tutius est fateri nos nescire qualis ille Quinti iocus fuerit.*

canto] 'I have been this long time singing the praises of this same Caesar,' in the speeches of the time, especially *de prov. cons.* This is the only place, we think, in classical prose where *cantare* is used in the general sense of praising a person without any accessory idea of the praise being in verse. In post-classical Seneca, Ep. 79, 15, we have *canere* used in this sense (*Epicurus cum amicitiam suam et Metrodori . . . cecinisset.* In the passage of Cicero there is probably no allusion to the poem which Cicero wrote on Caesar, for it does not appear to have been as yet projected (cp. 141, 2; 148, 11; 159, 3; 160, 6); nor to the poem on Cicero's consulship: for, though Caesar approved of that poem up to a certain point (141, 2; 147, 5), it does not seem to have contained any special laudation of Caesar.

in sinu est] 'We are bosom friends': cp. *Balbus . . . in oculis fero*: 148, 9. Having used the word *bosom* in the phrase *in sinu est*, Cicero adds: 'I never loose my girdle (lest he should fall out of my bosom),' a playful way of saying: 'I, for my part, am careful never to do anything which might lead to an estrangement between us': cp. the advice of Polonius, in *Hamlet*—

The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,

Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.

Hence we may infer that, in the words *de Pompeio adsentior tibi*, Cicero means 'You are right; we cannot depend on Pompey alone.'

Idus. Decimus erat Caelio dies. Domitius iudices ad numerum non habuit. Vereor ne homo taeter et ferus, Pola Servius, ad accusationem veniat. Nam noster Caelius valde oppugnatur a gente Clodia. Certi nihil est adhuc, sed veremur. Eodem igitur die Tyriis est senatus datus frequens, frequentes contra Syriaci publicani. Vehementer vexatus Gabinus, exagitati tamen a Domitio publicani quod eum essent cum equis ^{prosecuti}. L. noster Lamia paullo ferocius, cum Domitius dixisset, 'Vestra culpa haec acciderunt, equites Romani: dissolute enim iudicatis,' 'Nos iudicamus, vos laudatis,' inquit. Actum est eo die nihil: nox diremit. 3. Comitialibus diebus qui Quirinalia sequuntur Appius

Dr. III 49, 10

non, above
san: Dr.
III 50, 5

2. *Idus*] Sc. *Februarias*, Feb. 13th.
Decimus] 'The 13th was the day on which Caelius was to appear' (i.e. was the tenth day from his arraignment). Asconius (p. 59) tells us that ten days intervened between arraignment and trial of an accused, *Cum L. Cassius praetor decimo die, ut mos est, adesse iussisset*, and a shorter interval than that was considered illegal: cp. Plut. Cicero 9; and Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 466. This was the second trial of Caelius, the friend and correspondent of Cicero; the first was the occasion on which he was defended by Cicero, 698 (56). The praetor in the first trial was Cn. Domitius Calvinus. The trial here referred to was before L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of the year, who was probably appointed a special *quaesitor* by decree of the senate for this trial of Caelius (see Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii., p. 297, note 3). Cn. Domitius, son of the consul, cannot, as has been supposed, have been praetor. At the time of the murder of Caesar he was not even a senator (Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, v. 62). Domitius, the praetor, could not get a panel of jurors, and so the trial could not go on. We hear no more about it.

oppugnatur] Caelius, in a letter written in 704 (50), viz. *Fam.* viii. 12, 2 (279), complains that Appius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, urged Pola Servius to accuse him. Servius seems to have been a sort of professional prosecutor.

Eodem igitur die] 'Well, to come back to the 13th, on the same day.' *Igitur* is often used by Cicero in resuming an interrupted topic, or summing up a preceding train of thought.

Tyriis] Perhaps we should read *Syriis* with M².

Gabinus] who, as proconsul, was the predecessor of Crassus in the government of Syria. The publicani appear to have accused Gabinus on other grounds, and also because he left his province in order to restore Ptolemy Auletes. The result was that Syria was harassed by pirates: (cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 56, 5 *καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς ληστοῖς ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέδωκεν*: cp. § 1); and it became difficult, on that account, to collect the taxes. The consul Domitius censured the publicani for having countenanced the expedition of Gabinus to Egypt by escorting him part of the way on his departure.

laudatis] 'are witnesses to character.' L. Lamia was a leading member of the *equites*, who had befriended Cicero at the time of his exile. He had been relegated from the city in 696 (58) by Gabinus on account of his support of Cicero: cp. *Sest.* 29; *Fam.* xi. 16, 2 (888); xii. 29, 1 (831).

diremit] This word is frequently used of breaking up a discussion: *Rep.* i. 17; *Liv.* xl. 59, 5. But we do not know any other case in which the word is used with the accusative omitted.

3. *Quirinalia*] February 17th. It is very uncertain by what process of reasoning Appius established his point (cp. Mommsen, *St. R.* iii. 922, note 2). It must have had some plausibility, for otherwise the comitia would not have been put off. Possibly the *Lex Pupia*, while enacting, as a general rule, that the senate could not be held on comitial days, had a saving clause, making an exception for cases of urgency; and cases of the

interpretatur non impediri se lege Pupia quo minus habeat senatum et, quod Gabinia sanctum sit, etiam cogi ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. legatis senatum cotidie dare: ita putantur detrudi comitia in mensem Martium. Sed tamen his comitialibus tribuni pl. de Gabinio se acturos esse dicunt. Omnia colligo, ut novi scribam aliquid ad te. Sed, ut vides, res me ipsa deficit. 4. Itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo in quibus te video volutum. Callisthenes quidem vulgare et notum negotium, quem ad

senate's being held on a comitial day are found (cp. Cicero's Correspondence, vol. iii., pp. 298 ff.). Again, the Lex Gabinia stated that, on every day in February, audience of the senate should be devoted to foreign embassies until their affairs were settled. Lange (R. A. iii². 233) speaks of the Lex Gabinia as *de senatu legatis ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. cotidie dando*. If that was actually the form of the law, it probably meant every day on which a meeting of the senate was allowable; but Appius, who was so eager for purposes of jobbery to have all these embassies heard, may have argued that *cotidie* meant strictly, 'every day,' comitial or non-comitial. The *dies comitiales* in February were only six in number, and they all came after the 17th.

in mensem Martium] See notes on Ep. 120. In the year 699 (55) everything had been done irregularly, through the high-handed action of the consuls Pompey and Crassus, who had been elected, not at the regular time, but *ex interregno*. Hence we read in 120, 3, written at the end of February, about the approaching election of praetors, who ought to have been designated in the previous July. The consuls of this year also were elected after an *interregnum*, and they had now to hold the election of the praetors, who had not been designated the year before. M. Cato, who had been so unfairly defeated in 699 (120, 3), was one of the praetors for this year.

Sed tamen] In spite of the opposition of Appius, the tribunes declare they will use the *dies comitiales* to discuss the legality of Gabinus' restoration of Ptolemy. The Lex Pupia appears to have applied only to the comitia for elections. 'Actual festivals or games were the only days between January and September on which criminal justice was suspended: for the dates of trials show that no mark in the calendar obstructs their performance.

They are held indifferently on *fasti* and *nefasti dies*, on comitial days and those marked NP' (Greenidge, *Procedure*, page 457). Among the tribunes, the most active was C. Memmius, who afterwards prosecuted Gabinus *de repetundis* (148, 15).

4. *Callisthenem*] Callisthenes, a native of Olynthus (B.C. 387-327), mentioned above in a letter to Lucceius, Fam. v. 12, 2 (109), had written a history of the Phocian war and of the expeditions of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied to Asia.

Philistum] Philistus, a Syracusan, born about 435 B.C., enjoyed great favour at the court of Dionysius the elder. He was banished by him, but restored by Dionysius the younger. He wrote a history of Sicily, and a life of Dionysius the elder in four books, and of Dionysius the younger in two.

quem ad modum . . . sunt] We formerly bracketed these words on the ground that it was not likely that Cicero should here characterise as 'what some Greeks say' a phrase which he uses without comment elsewhere, e.g. *lentum negotium*, Att. i. 12, 1 (17); (*hominem*) *sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem, tardum, inhumanum negotium*, Orat. post red. in sen. 14. For it was a common Greek expression, as M. Lebreton (p. 70) notices, quoting Theocritus xv. 83 *σοφόν ται χρέμ' ἀνθρώπος*. It is quite true, as he remarks, that Att. v. 18, 4 (218) admits of a different interpretation, as it is not necessary to apply *negotia* there to persons. But the reference to the Greeks is probably to their judgment of Callisthenes as a historian, and not to the use of *χρέμα* (*negotium*); and this seems borne out by the word *aliquot*. It has been suggested by Muretus that *locuti sunt* only should be bracketed; and it appears to be wanting in a ms which he consulted. Then the meaning would be 'a hackneyed

modum aliquot Graeci locuti sunt. Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros—duo enim sunt corpora—an utrosque nescio. Me magis de Dionysio delectat. Ipse est enim veterator magnus et per-familiaris Philisto [Dionysius]. Sed quod adscribis, adgrederisne ad historiam? Me auctore potes. Et quoniam tabellarios subministras, hodierni diei res gestas Lupercalibus habebis. Oblecta te cum Cicerone nostro quam bellissime.

Wiel. II 316. Barff Char. 94

136. TO TREBATIUS TESTA, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 6).

CUMAE OR POMPEII; MAY; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium quem C. Caesari commendare non desistit hortatur ut deposito nimio urbis desiderio quod secutus sit id consilium persequatur in provinciaeque maneat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. In omnibus meis epistulis quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae nec ea vulgaris sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae.

common-place piece of goods, like many of his countrymen.' This is rendered possible by the fact that Philistus is called *Siculus ille*, not strictly one of the *Graeci*. But such a comparison between *Graeci* and *Siculi* is out of place here; and it is safer to follow M than a ms of whose value we know nothing.

capitalis] 'A writer of the first rank,' a very unusual sense: the dictionaries quote Ovid *Fast.* iii. 839 *capitale vocamus ingenium sollers*. *Capitalis* generally means 'pernicious,' 'fatal,' when applied to a person.

creber] 'terse,' 'pithy.' This, too, is a rare usage. One meets *creber sententiis* and such phrases, but not generally *creber* alone. Elsewhere Cicero (*De Orat.* ii. 56) applies *creber* (*verum frequentia*) to Thucydides, and in the same passage says, *hanc consecutus est Syracosius Philistus, qui, cum Dionysi tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus*.

acutus . . . Thucydides] 'sagacious, concise, almost a miniature Thucydides.' Cp. *habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam*, *Att.* v. 2, 2 (185).

Ipse] 'Dionysius is a regular Machiavelli, and is thoroughly known to Philistus.'

quod adscribis] 'Touching your postscript; so you are going to essay history. I advise you to do so.'

Lupercalibus] On February 15th.

1. *legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis*.] 'There is a kind of statutory (i.e. regular) rider, consisting of a recommendation of you.' *Accessio* is a term for something added (cp. *luckpenny*) to a payment, like *ἐπιθήκη* (*Ar. Vesp.* 1391; *Plaut. Trin.* 1025), and is opposed to *decessio*, 'an abatement'; it is called *legitima*, because it is as regular as if it were ordained by statute. *Commendationis* is the *gen. epexegeticus* (*Draeg.* i. 467).

nec ea vulgaris] Not in the *vetere verbo* mentioned in 134, 3.

Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone et quo consilio profectus es id adsiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici quam ignoverunt Medeae

quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant matronae opulentae
optimates :

quibus illa manibus gypsatisissimis persuasit ne sibi vitio illae verterent quod abesset a patria : nam

multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul :
multi qui domi aetatem agerent propterea sunt improbat.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus. 2. Sed

ineptias istas et desideria] 'Foolish longing for the city and city life' (cp. 146, 1). For the ἐν διὰ δνοῖν, see note on Att. i. 5, 1 (1). For the use of the plural, cp. Introd. I², p. 60 (I³, p. 79).

ignoscemus . . . Medeae] Cicero, as well as Ennius, from whom he quotes, seems to take the difficult passage in the *Medea* of Euripides, 214 ff., beginning

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξῆλθον δόμων,

in a very strange fashion. The meaning of the Euripidean passage, as understood by Cicero, may be thus loosely represented: You must not condemn me through any prejudice against those who leave their country; 'home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.' The whole train of thought is this: We will excuse your absence on the grounds on which the

Honourable dames that softly lived in
Corinth's lofty keep

pardoned Medea for leaving her fatherland when she, with hands all gypsum-white (extended in entreaty), persuaded them not to blame her for her flight from Colchis; for that

Many a man in foreign far land hath to
wealth and honour come,
Many a poor and craven spirit rusts in
scathe and scorn at home:

in which class you would certainly have taken your place, if we had not forced you from Rome.' Accordingly, Cicero (with Ennius) seems to have understood the Euripidean passage thus (we enclose in brackets the necessary *supplenda*): 'Dames of Corinth, I have come out [to

plead my cause with you]; think not little of me [as a foreigner]; I know many who have [left their own country, and in the country of their adoption have] gained high respect both in private and in public; while the easy-going [who have remained at home] have got the evil report of sluggishness, for men's judgments are shallow.' It is to be observed that this view of the passage is not inconsistent with the Greek, and gives a possible meaning to the Euripidean passage; save that Ennius and Cicero seem to have taken ἐξῆλθον δόμων as meaning 'I left my father's palace in Colchis,' which is certainly not the meaning of the words. Compare also a discussion on the passage in *Hermathena*, No. x., p. 26. A good deal must be *subauditum* in every interpretation of it.

gypsatisissimis] Gypsum was used by actors to whiten the hands. This is a characteristic instance of Cicero's penchant for superlatives.

multi] The verse *quae Corinthum, &c.*, is a trochaicus octonarius, or troch. tetram.; so is the verse beginning *multi qui domi*. The verse *multi . . . procul* is a trochaicus septenarius, or troch. tetram. cat.; and so is the verse *qui ipsi sibi . . . sapit*, in which verse *sapientis* is two syllables, as *suam* is one syllable in *multi suam rem . . . procul*. But the former verse was probably an octonarius, as otherwise the regularity of the metre would be broken in a very formal speech. Possibly <*sua*> should be added after *procul*, or read *relicta* for *procul*; or would it be too daring to suggest *proculsi* from *procello*, as *perculsus* comes from *percello*?

Metra. Als ob Cic. nur 2. Tats. der Gipsy angob. wolle

plura scribemus alias. Tu qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto et, quoniam Medeam coepi agere, illud semper memento :

Qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit nequiquam sapit.

Cura ut valeas.

Wiel. II 318 Barst. Char. 94

137. TO TREBATIUS TESTA, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 7).

ROME; MAY; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero queritur quod C. Trebatius raro ad se scribat, se non desistere eum Caesari commendare, ipsius iam opera perficiendum esse ut sit familiaris Caesari.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Ego te commendare non desisto, sed quid proficiam ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod capias suadeo et ad nos quam primum recurras. 2. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen adsequi quod volumus possumus, perfee ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus, multum Balbus, sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. *Habes* imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

2. *alias*] = *alio tempore*.

cavere] 'You who are so accustomed to draw up securities for others must not forget to look after your own security, and not be caught unawares by the British charioteers.' For the British *essedu*, see Caes. B. G. iv. 33.

Qui ipse] Cp. *μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός*, Fam. xiii. 15, 2 (571). The verse is not found in our copies of the *Medea*. Probably we have here a *μνημονεύον ἀμάρτημα* of Cicero, like *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in de Div. ii. 63.

1. *neque auri neque argenti*] So 144, 7; but Tac. Agric. 12 says *feri Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla*.

capias] 'You must capture a war-

chariot (the only sort of booty which Britain seems to afford), and in it come to us as soon as you can.' The only product in Britain seems to be the *essedum*, and the only use of it is to take you away. So Dr. Johnson said that the finest prospect which ever met the eye of a Scotchman was the road which took him to London.

2. *quod volumus*] that Caesar gives you a position on his staff.

Habes] This word is added by Cratander, but after *singularem*. Lehmann (Quaest. Tull. p. 57) would prefer *invenisti*: cp. Flacc. 72. Müller proposes *nactus es*: cp. 146, 2; Att. x. 12, 1 (397).

aetatem] Trebatius was now about 35. When in 157, 1 Cicero calls him *mi vetule*,

Wiel. II 369

138. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 14).

CUMAE OR POMPEII; AFTER MAY 10TH; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54;
AET. CIC. 52.

De itinere et valetudine Attici, de libris Attici a se utendis, si quid forte novi habeat, ut ad se scribat et itinere confecto se revisat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vestorius noster me per litteras fecit certiozem te Roma a. d. vi. Id. Mai. putari profectum esse, tardius quam dixerat quod minus valuisses. Si iam melius vales, vehementer gaudeo. Velim domum ad te scribas ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus ac si ipse adesses cum ceteri tum Varronis. Est enim mihi utendum quibusdam rebus ex his libris ad eos quos in manibus habeo, quos, ut spero, tibi valde probabo. 2. Tu velim, si quid forte novi habes maxime a Quinto fratre, deinde a C. Caesare, et si quid forte de comitiis, de re publica—soles enim tu haec festive odorari—, scribas ad me: si nihil habebis, tamen scribas aliquid. Numquam enim mihi tua epistula aut intempestiva aut loquax visa est. Maxime autem rogo rebus tuis totoque itinere ex sententia confecto nos quam primum revisas. Dionysium iube salvere. Cura ut valeas.

the expression is merely playful, like 'old boy,' if, indeed, it is not distinctly ironical, referring to the fact that Trebatius had an old head on (comparatively) young shoulders—a view which the context there seems to recommend.

o. p. 70
1. *Vestorius*] A rich banker of Puteoli. *putari*] So Ascensius. The Med. has *putare*, which Schütz and Boot bracket. The latter proposes *Buthrotum*. Fr. Schmidt gives *mature*, and Müller conjectures *mane*. Faernus altered *dixerat* to *dixerat*. Sternkopf (Hermes, xl. (1905), p. 11) ingeniously retains the ms readings by a slight transposition *Vestorius noster*

me per litteras fecit certiozem te Roma a. d. vi Idus Maias profectum esse, putare tardius quam dixerat, quod minus valuisses. 'Vestorius informed me by letter that you had left Rome on the 10th, and presumes that the reason why you did so later than he had told me you would is that you were not very well.'

domum ad te] = *ad tuam domum*, 'to your house in town': cp. Att. xii. 11 (502).

quos in manibus habeo] The books *De Republica*. Cp. 139, 1; 144, 2; 155, 1.

2. *itinere*] Probably to Epirus.
Dionysium] cp. 143, 1.

Wiel. II 371

1. Brief nach Gall. 139. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 12 (14)). Sj. Nr. 13 p. 52

CUMAE OR POMPEII; MAY (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero dicit se πολιτικά scribere, Q. fratri operam suam in rebus eius pollicetur, M. Orfium et Trebatium commendat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Duas adhuc a te accepi epistulas: earum alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimino datam: pluris quas scribis te dedisse non acceperam. Ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano, praeterquam quod sine te, ceterum satis commode oblectabam et eram in iisdem locis usque ad Kal. Iun. futurus. Scribebam illa quae dixeram πολιτικά, spissum sane opus et operosum. Sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita: sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiciemus quod spectantes scribimus: aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. 2. Tua mandata persequar diligenter et adiungendis hominibus et quibusdam non alienandis. Maximae mihi vero curae erit ut Ciceronem tuum nostrumque videam, si licet, cotidie, sed inspiciam quid discat quam saepissime;

1. *earum*] This is the reading of Lamb. for *quarum*, which seems doubtful. Baiter marks *quarum* as spurious. But it is more probable that *earum* was changed by mistake to *quarum*, than that *quarum* was wrongly inserted. *Earum* is opposed to *pluris*. Cicero first specifies the two letters which he did receive, then adds that the other numerous letters which Quintus says he wrote he never received at all. If *quarum* is retained, after *datam* understand *acceperam*, anticipated from *non acceperam*.

Arimino] This would be the first town in Caesar's province entered by Quintus on his journey to head-quarters. πολιτικά] The books *De Republica*.

2. *adiungendis . . . alienandis*] The first verb refers to Caesar, the second to Pompey and Crassus.

tuum nostrumque] 'Your son, whom I regard as mine also.'

si licet] 'If I may.' I cannot understand why the edd. with one accord have given the conjecture *scilicet*, instead of *si*

licet of the mss. *Si licet*, 'if I may,' is a most natural and courteous phrase; *scilicet* seems to me inexplicable; I certainly know no place where *scilicet* is thus used without a word to qualify or explain, or where it is used in prose so far on in the sentence.

[I cannot help thinking that *scilicet* is right. 'I shall look in on the boys of course every day, but (not only that) I shall as often as I can inspect what they are learning.' See Madvig on *Fin.* v. 5, p. 609. As qualifying *videam* and *cotidie*, it naturally comes in immediate proximity to those words. Besides, the context seems to point to the fact that Quintus had asked his brother to see after young Quintus. That, Marcus says, will of course be his especial care.—L. C. P.]

sed inspiciam] We should have expected *sed etiam*: *non modo* is often omitted in Cicero's *Epp.* before *sed etiam*; see on *Att.* iii. 15, 5 (72). Here even *etiam* is omitted, and that because it follows immediately on the words *etiam*

et, nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei profitebor, cuius rei non nullam consuetudinem nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio, Cicerone nostro minore producendo. 3. Tu, quem ad modum scribis, quod etiam si non scriberes facere te diligentissime tamen sciebam, facies scilicet ut mea mandata digeras, persequare, conficias. Ego, cum Romam venero, nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium cui litteras ad te non dem. His diebus—ignosces—cui darem fuit nemo ante hunc M. Orfium, equitem Romanum, nostrum et per se necessarium et quod est ex municipio Atellano, quod scis esse in fide nostra. Itaque eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, hominem domi splendidum, gratiosum etiam extra domum: quem fac ut tua liberalitate tibi obliges. Est tribunus militum in exercitu vestro. Gratum hominem observantemque cognosces. Trebatium ut valde ames vehementer te rogo.

magistrum me profitebor. The meaning is: 'I shall (not only) see him every day, if I may, but I shall watch his progress as much as I can. I shall even offer myself as a master.'

minore] His own son, who was younger than the son of Quintus. As he had above styled Quintus' son 'his own son too,' he is here obliged to avoid ambiguity by pointing out that he means his own son in this passage, and this he does by referring to his juniority to the son of Quintus. He avoids saying anything which would conflict with the polite fiction that his own son is to him no more than the son of Quintus.

producendo] This has been wrongly changed to *perdocendo*. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 35) points out that *producere* has the same meaning as *πρὸδύειν*, 'to bring a boy on,' 'ad *progrediendum incitare*.'

He quotes for this sense Cassius in Fam. xii. 13, 1 (901), and Suet. Claud. 4.

3. *facies . . . ut]* See on 12, 47, 50. *digeras, persequare, conficias]* 'arrange, take in hand, execute.' Manutius says '*digerere prudentiae, persequi diligentiae, conficere constantiae*.'

cui . . . non dem] 'Without giving him.' Hence *nullum praetermittam* means 'I will let no possible carrier go by without giving him': for this *literal* sense cp. Att. ix. 14, 2 (372); Fam. xi. 21, 1 (893); if *praetermittam* here bore its usual sense of *omit, neglect, pass over*, the sentence would be incorrect: 'I will not pass over a carrier without giving him a letter' is a contradiction in terms.

in fide nostra] 'Under my patronage.' The Sicilians also looked on Cicero as their patron: Att. ii. 1, 5 (27).

Niel. Ep. 319, Barst Char. 95

140. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 8).

ROME; AUGUST; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium vituperat, quod tribunatum militarem a C. Caesare oblatum non acceperit.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Scripsit ad me Caesar perhumaniter nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certe fore. Cui quidem ego rescripsi quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studi, officii, liberalitatis suae contulisset. Sed ex tuis litteris cognovi praeproperam quamdam festinationem tuam, et simul sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris. 2. Querar cum Vacerra et Manilio: nam Cornelio nihil audeo dicere, cuius tu periculo stultus es quoniam te ab eo sapere didicisse profiteris. Quin tu urges istam occasionem et facultatem qua melior numquam reperietur! Quod scribis de illo Preciano iure consulto, ego te ei non desino commendare: scribit enim ipse mihi te sibi gratias agere debere; de eo quid sit cura ut sciam. Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto.

It is better, with Rauschen (p. 56), to date this letter 'August,' than 'July,' with Kömer and C. F. W. Müller. In 143, 10 (written in July 27), Cicero says, *ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia*, and Quintus did arrive in Britain about the end of July, as we may gather from 147, 4 (written at the end of August). It took twenty-seven days for a letter to come from Britain to Rome (148, 17, 25): so that it was probably not a whole month from the time when the letters from Britain might be expected that Cicero said to Trebatius (§ 2), *Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto*. Therefore this letter may be placed about the middle of August.

If this is so, it will then follow that Fam. vii. 9 must be dated in October (cp. § 1 *neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram*). Julia died in the middle of September.

1. *tribunatus*] 'The advantages of a tribune's commission, especially as you

are excused the military duties attaching to the post.

2. *Vacerra et Manilio*] Jurists who may have been teachers of Trebatius. For Manilius cp. 162, 2: for Vacerra perhaps 145, 2.

Cornelio] Q. Cornelius Maximus, an eminent jurist of the day: cp. Dig. i. 2, 2, 45 *Fuit eodem tempore et Trebatius qui quidem Corneli Maximi auditor fuit*, and 146, 3 below.

cuius tu periculo] 'who is responsible for your thick-headedness.'

Preciano] Man. conjectures that this Praecianus belonged to the Gens Praecia, and had been adopted into another family.

enim] '(You may be sure I recommend you to him), for he writes to me himself to say that you owe him thanks for his good offices.'

de eo quid sit] 'Tell me what is the service he has done you.'

Britannicas] Trebatius did not go to Britain after all (146, 3; 161, 1).

Wiel. II 373

141. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 13 (15 a)). *Sj. Nr. 14 p. 53*

ROME; JUNE (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Caesaris in se amorem et liberalitatem laudat atque eius se studiosissimum profitetur, de eiusdem favore in Trebatium et Curtium, de rei publicae statu.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. III. Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia: deinde alteras postridie datas Blandenone cum Caesaris litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. Sunt ista quidem magna vel potius maxima. Habent enim vim magnam ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem. Sed mihi ^{sc. meam} crede quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi aestimo, id iam habeo: te scilicet primum tam inservientem communi dignitati, deinde Caesaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus iis honoribus quos me a se exspectare vult antepono. Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis, quarum initium est quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit et recordatio veteris amoris, deinde se effecturum ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse laetarer, incredibiliter delectarunt. 2. Quare facis tu quidem fraterne quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum ^{Caes.} unum conferam. Ego vero ardenti quidem studio hoc fortasse efficiam, quod saepe viatoribus cum properant evenit, ut, si serius quam voluerint forte surrexerint, properando etiam citius quam si de nocte vigilassent perveniant quo velint: sic ego, quoniam in isto homine

1. *Blandenone*] Blandeno is a town near Placentia, not elsewhere mentioned. The ms gives *Blandenonne*. Sigonius suggested *Laude Nonis*. Laus Pompeia, on the site of Lodi Vecchio, not far from the modern Lodi, was some twenty-four Roman miles from Placentia; and Caesar and Quintus may very well have despatched letters from it. But if *-nonne* conceals *Non.*, we must transpose it to follow *postridie*. It would be much better, however, to read *una*, as is suggested by Boot (Obs. Crit., pp. 35, 36), who compares the passage, a few lines below, *Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis*. Boot, however, does not adopt the reading *Laude*, and prefers to stand by the view

that Blandeno is a town in the valley of the Po, not elsewhere mentioned: so does Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 557. But Mommsen (in C. I. L. v., p. 696) admits the possibility, though not the certainty, of *Laude*: for though the town is not elsewhere mentioned in classical authors, it occurs often in the Itineraries.

ista] 'Those tokens of good-will on Caesar's part.'

delectarunt] The object *me* is omitted, as often 144, 1; 148, 5.

2. *currentem*] See Q. Fr. i. 1, 45 (30). *Ego vero*] *sc. conferam*. 'Yes; I will do all I can.' For the emphatic use of *ego* in answer to a question, cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62).

colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule saepe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem cum equis tum vero, quoniam tu scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari, quadrigis poëticis. Modo mihi date Britanniam quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romae praesertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Sed videro. Fortasse enim, ut fit, vincet ^{in fin} amor omnis difficultates. 3. Trebatium quod ad se miserim persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit: Negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum qui una essent quemquam fuisse qui vadimonium ^{verhassen} concipere posset. ^{Am} M. Curtio ^{Caes} tribunatum ab eo ^{Caes} petivi—nam ^{Co} Domitius se derideri putasset, si ^{Domit} esset a me rogatus: hoc enim est ^{Domit} eius cotidianum, se ne tribunum militum quidem facere: etiam in senatu lusit Appium collegam, propterea ^{Appius} isse ad ^{Caes} Caesarem ut aliquem tribunatum auferret—sed in alterum annum. Id et Curtius ita volebat. 4. Tu, quem ad modum me censes oportere esse in re publica et in nostris inimiciis, ita et esse et fore oricula infima scito molliorem. 5. Res Romanae se sic habebant: erat non nulla spes comitiorum sed incerta: erat aliqua suspicio dictaturae, ne ea quidem certa: summum otium forense sed senescentis magis civitatis quam acquiescentis. Sententia autem nostra in senatu eius modi magis ut alii nobis adsentiantur quam nosmet ^{ipsi} ipsi.

Τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

[*poema*] Probably a poem addressed to Caesar, in which doubtless Cicero intended to treat of the expedition into Britain: cp. 148, 11; 159, 3; 160, 6.

[*tuis amor*] 'My affection for you'; so *amori nostro*, 'your love for me': 109, 3.

3. *M. Curtio*] sc. *Postumo*: cp. 148, 10. It is on account of obtaining for him this tribunate that Cicero calls himself the *patronus* of Curtius, Att. ix. 6, 2 (360). He was a devoted Caesarian in the Civil War. See Index.

[*isse ad Caesarem*] The point of the joke of Domitius was that the consuls were without power; Caesar was the source of patronage; so he says that when his colleague Appius went to Luca two years before to meet Caesar, it was no doubt to get from him some petty office, such as the commission of a *tribunus militum*.

4. *oricula infima . . . molliorem*] Bücheler quotes Amm. Marc. xix. 12, 5 *ima quod aiunt auricula mollior, suspicax et minutus*.

This may be a reminiscence of an expression of Catullus, 25, 2 *mollior . . . imula oricilla*. We have what seems another such echo in *ocellos Italiae villulas*, Att. xvi. 6, 2 (775); and Catullus 31, *Peninsularum Sirmio insularumque Ocelle* (cp. the use of ὀφθαλμοὶ in the Olympic Odes of Pindar ii. 10; vi. 17). But Cicero never mentions Catullus; see on 132, 4. So that perhaps it is better to suppose the phrase to be an ordinary Latin proverb; cp. Otto, p. 46, and Bährens on Catull. l.c. 'As soft as the tip of the ear' is here proverbial for extreme gentleness and sensitiveness. He will have none of the *frons dura* which courts contention. For the form *oricula* for *auricula* cp. *loreolam*, Att. v. 20, 4 (228), and *plostrum* for *plaustrum*.

5. *dictaturae*] of Pompey; cp. 154, 3 *est nonnullus odor dictaturae*.

senescentis . . . acquiescentis] 'The calm of decrepitude, not of repose.'

Τοιαῦθ' Eur. Suppl. 119.

jurist. Dokament

mod. Hist. 20
temporibus
Hilbig, pp. 164,
aber cf. p. 171,
214, 223.
227

cf. p. 140

Hiel. II 377

142. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 14 (15b)). *fj. Nr. 15 p. 55*

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratrem non vult ante tempus e provincia in urbem redire ac de ambitu iam admodum ingravescente conqueritur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Calamo *bono* et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata res agetur. Scribis enim te meas litteras superiores vix legere potuisse, in quo nihil eorum, mi frater, fuit quae putas. Neque enim occupatus eram neque perturbatus nec iratus alicui, sed hoc facio semper ut, quicumque calamus in manus meas venerit, eo sic utar tamquam *bono*. 2. Verum attende nunc, mi optime et suavissime frater, ad ea dum rescribo quae tu in hac eadem brevi epistola *πραγματικῶς* valde scripsisti. De quo petis ut ad te nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens ingenue fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum advoles ut dixeramus, an ad expedientum te, si causa sit, commorere. Si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset in qua seiscitarere quid vellem, tamen, cum tibi permisurus essem ut faceres quod velles, ego ipse quid vellem ostenderem.

1. Calamo . . . agetur] 'I shall take care to have a good pen, well-mixed ink (neither too thick nor too thin), and cream-laid paper.' Paper was smoothed and polished with ivory; *scabritia levigatur dente conchave*, Plin. N. H. xiii. 81. Persius, iii. 12ff., describes the effects of ink which is not *temperatum*—

Tunc querimur crassus calamo quod pendeat umor,
nigra sed infusa vanescat sepia lympha,
dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.

hoc facio semper ut . . . utar] 'I have a habit of using the first pen I happen to take up.' See on 12, 47, 50. For the perf. subj. of indefinite frequency, cp. Lebreton, p. 223.

2. *πραγματικῶς*] 'business-like' (Shuckburgh). For an admirable discussion on the meaning of this word in Polybius see Mr. Strachan-Davidson's edition, Introduction, pp. 1-5.

ingenue] This is the excellent correction

of Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 36) for *genuine* of M¹. The word *geminus* (when not applied to teeth) does not occur in Cicero except in De Rep. iii. 29, where it is opposed to 'foreign,' *non esse nos transmarinis nec importatis artibus eruditos sed geminis domesticisque virtutibus*. To read *germane* would introduce a word not elsewhere found in Cicero. Boot compares for *ingenue* Fam. v. 2, 2 (15), Att. xiii. 27, 1 (603), to which we may add Lael. 65. He quotes for the sense, § 3 below and 147, 5 fin.

utrum advoles] 'Whether you are to fly to my arms, as we had arranged, or to stay where you are to clear yourself of difficulties.' The emendation of this passage was begun by Sch., and completed by Wes. We do not require to read, with Sch., *huc* before *advoles*; cp. *quin sis advolaturus*, Att. ii. 15, 2 (42); *ut si inelamano advoles*, ib. 18, 4 (45); so *si inelamano ut accurras*, ib. 20, 5 (47).

In hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris cuius modi illum annum qui sequitur exspectem: aut plane tranquillum nobis aut certe munitissimum: quod cotidie domus, quod forum, quod theatri significationes declarant; nec laborant mei conscientia copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompei gratiam tenemus. Haec me ut confidam faciunt. Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita. 3. Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te exploreate scribo. Dubitare te non adsentatorie sed fraterne veto. Qua re suavitatis equidem nostrae fruentiae causa cuperem te ad id tempus venire quod dixeras, sed illud malo tamen quod putas magis e re tua; nam illa etiam magni aestimo, ^{Republ. an.} ἀμφιλύπτιαν illam tuam et explicationem debitorum tuorum. Illud quidem sic habeto, nihil nobis expeditis, si valebimus, fore fortunatius. Parva sunt quae desunt, pro nostris quidem moribus et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. 4. Ambitus redit immanis. Numquam fuit par. Idib. Quint. fenus fuit

hoc profecto quaeris] 'Your question amounts to this,' because the question whether Quintus would come to Rome or not would depend on the further question, what kind of times they were likely to have at Rome.

aut plane] Cicero's reply to the further question which he puts into the mouth of Quintus is: 'The year will either be a year of unbroken calm for me, or at least one in which my position will be impregnable.'

theatri significationes] called ἐπισημασίας in Att. i. 16, 11 (22); *populi ἐπισημασίαν*, Att. xiv. 3, 2 (705).

laborant] This is the reading of Kahnt for the manuscript *laborant quod mea*; which, though not certain, is as good as any other emendation that has been suggested. 'My friends feel no anxiety for me, through their consciousness of my strong position in enjoying the favour both of Caesar and of Pompey': cp. *multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa*, Att. xi. 12, 3 (427); *laborandum est ne*, Fam. ix. 3, 1 (460). Wesenberg would read *nec laborandum de mea confidentia copiarum nostrarum*, but this is not so near the mss, and *confidentia* with objective gen. is very rare. Madvig (A. C. iii. 195) sees that *quod* is impossible, and in *laborant* some word must lie concealed which goes with *conscientia*. He proposes *nec labat antiqua conscientia*. Schütz gives *laboramus con-*

scientia, deleting *quod mea*.

amentis hominis] P. Clodius.

3. *Qua re . . . tuorum*] 'Wherefore I should indeed wish that you could come at the time you arranged, for the sake of our pleasure in each other's society; but yet I desire more, that you should do what you think your interests demand [and stay in the camp of Caesar]; for I value other considerations also, your being in easy circumstances and free from embarrassments.' The words *e re tua*; *nam* are the emendation of Madvig (A. C. iii. 196) for *etiam*. Already Lambinus had suggested *e re tua*. Wesenberg proposes to add after *magis* some such words as *pertinere* (or *interesse*) *ad nostram dignitatem*.

4. *Ambitus*] On the whole of this passage, cp. the very similar place, 143, 7 ff.; 149, 2, 3.

Idib. Quint.] 'On July 15 interest rose from 4 to 8 per cent.' Bribery became so eager, and consequently the demand for money was so great, that the rate of interest suddenly doubled itself. This was owing to an infamous compact made between the existing consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher on the one hand, and the candidates for consulship, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius, on the other. The compact was a strange one, and must be thoroughly understood if this passage and the corre-

Text fragl.

pp. 150

bessibus ex triente, coitione Memmi et consulum cum Domitio : hanc Scaurus utinam vinceret : Messalla ^{is donec Hoffm.} flaccet. Non dico ὑπερβολάς: vel HS centiens constituunt in praerogativa pronuntiare. Res ardet invidia. Tribunicii candidati compromiserunt, HS quingenis in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere eius arbitrato, ut qui contra fecisset ab eo condemnaretur. Quae quidem comitia si gratuita fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes leges omnesque iudices. *cf. p. 151, Gaisner Satz*

M. Val. Mess.
Pompeii cos.
53. cf. p. 151

geg. Catos Witt-
lea

due Ber-
Stehg

sponding passages in the other letters are to be rightly apprehended. The candidates for the consulship for 701 (53) were C. Memmius, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala, and M. Aemilius Scaurus, who had married Mucia Tertia, the divorced wife of Pompey (cp. Ascon., pp. 19, 20). Memmius was favoured by Caesar; Scaurus at first by Pompey, whose quaestor he had been in Asia. Pompey afterwards abandoned Scaurus. Memmius and Domitius made a compact with the existing consuls, Appius and Domitius, binding themselves under a fine, in return for the consuls' influence at the approaching election, to produce (if elected) three augurs who should testify that a *lex curiata* had passed, conferring on the outgoing consuls the *imperium* in the provinces assigned to them, and two consulars who should affirm that a decree had been passed in the senate for the equipment of those provinces, though no such *lex curiata* or decree had ever been passed at all, the whole thing being a complete fabrication. The issue of the compact was disastrous. Memmius, at the instigation of Pompey, laid the whole matter before the senate. Doubtless he looked on the dictatorship of Pompey as a certainty, and hoped that in that event he would be more than compensated for his treachery. Pompey hated the existing consuls, wished to counteract Caesar, who favoured Memmius, and desired an *interregnum*, as a step towards his dictatorship. Caesar was highly indignant at the conduct of Memmius, which no doubt precipitated his breach with Pompey and his party.

coitione Memmi et consulum] 'By means of the coalition which Memmius and the consuls have established with Domitius.' For *est quo* of M we read *et consulum* (= *et eos.*) as we find in 143, 2 *coitio consulum*. The regular word for forming a partnership is *coire societatem*. The

candidates formed a partnership to secure their special ends; and the consuls also formed a partnership to secure their special ends: and the two sets of partners enter into an agreement (*pactio*) cp. 149, 2. But it is quite possible that the reading has been corrupted through a confusion between the two Domitii. Perhaps we should read *coitione Memmi, quocum est Domitius, cum Appio et Domitio*. This would then be another case of *parablepsy*. But Cicero, in 149, 2, calls the candidate Domitius, perhaps to avoid ambiguity, *competitor Domitius*, and in 149, 3, *Calvinus*. The margin of Lambinus' edition reads *quam cum Domitio habuit. Scaurus vult vincere*.

utinam vinceret] Scaurus seemed now to have the best chance, being backed by Pompey, who, however, subsequently abandoned him; *Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius abiicit*: 159, 3.

Messalla] He and Domitius Calvinus were the consuls for 701 (53).

HS centiens] 10,000,000 sesterces = about £85,000.

pronuntiare] 'to contract to pay'; cp. Clu. 78; Planc. 45; Att. i. 16, 13 (22).

compromiserunt] This is the regular word for entering into an agreement to abide by the decision of an arbitrator.

HS quingenis] 5000 *sestertia* a-piece, that is, 500,000 sesterces, which would amount to more than £4000 each. This sum was to be deposited in the hands of Cato, to be forfeited by the candidate whose conduct Cato should not approve, and put to the credit of the rival candidates. This is a strong tribute to the character of M. Cato, who was praetor this year.

gratuita] 'pure,' 'without bribery.'

potuerit] 'will be shown to have more weight.' This use of the future is very common in Plautus and Terence; cp. also Juv. i. 126 *quiescet*, 'she will be found to be asleep.'

Wiel. II p. 381

143. TO ATTICUS, IN ASIA (ATT. IV. 15).

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De Eutychide manu misso, de itinere Attici Asiatico, de litteris suis ad Atticum in Epirum missis, de iudiciis Romae factis quibus Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Proclius condemnatus sit, de causa Reatinorum, de vietu cum Axio, de reditu Romam Fonte causa a. d. VII. Id. Quint., de spectaculis et ludis, de ambitu propter comitia instantia de quibus mox accuratius scripturum se promittit, si facta sint, de defensione Messi et de ceteris ad quas se parat defensionibus, de Q. fratre in Britanniam cum Caesare profecto, de Dionysio a se expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere praenomine, novo nomine T. erit Caecilius, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius, M. Pomponius. Valde mehercule mihi gratum est Eutychidem tuam erga me benevolentiam cognosse et suam illam in meo dolore *συμπάθειαν* neque tum mihi obscuram neque post ingratham fuisse. 2. Iter Asiaticum tuum puto tibi suscipiendum fuisse. Numquam enim tu sine iustissima causa tam longe a tot tuis et hominibus et rebus carissimis et suavissimis abesse voluisses. Sed humanitatem tuam amoremque in tuos reditus celeritas declarabit. Sed vereor ne lepore suo detineat diutius praetor Clodius, et homo pereruditus, ut aiunt, et nunc quidem deditus Graecis litteris Pituanius. Sed, si

1. *Eutychide*] Atticus had manumitted a slave, Eutychides, at the request of Cicero. His new name as a freedman was to include Titus, the old praenomen of Atticus, and the nomen Caecilius, recently assumed by Atticus on his adoption.

Dionysius] He was a literary slave of Atticus, in whom Cicero took an interest. He assumed on manumission part of the name of Atticus, as well as the praenomen of Cicero.

tuam erga me] 'That your manumission of him was a compliment to me, and that his sympathy with me in my trouble was not unnoted then, or forgotten afterwards.'

2. *amoremque in tuos*] 'Your love for your friends.'

praetor Clodius] He was probably C. Claudius Pulcher, brother of the tribune

P. Clodius, and was proconsul of Asia in 699-700 (55-54): cp. Schol. Bob. 374, 375. However, Bosius may be right in reading *rhetor*, and supposing him to be Sex. Clodius, the Sicilian rhetorician contemptuously mentioned in the Philippics (ii. 42, 43; iii. 22). Notice *te* omitted after *detineat*. For a most extensive list of such omissions, see Lebreton, pp. 156-166—a fine monument of research.

Graecis litteris] This is usually explained as a jesting reference to accounts, which would (perhaps) be drawn up in Greek in the East, or to business with Greeks, which Pituanius might have been transacting for Atticus. It is also supposed that *lepore suo*, above, is ironical. Possibly it is; but we do not see why we should not recognize in the words about Pituanius a serious statement.

vis homo esse, recipe te ad nos ad quod tempus confirmasti. Cum illis tamen cum salvi venerint Romae vivere licebit. 3. Avere te scribis accipere aliquid a me litterarum: dedi ac multis quidem de rebus, *ἡμερολογεῶν* perscripta omnia, sed, ut conicio, quoniam mihi non videris in Epiro diu fuisse, redditas tibi non arbitror. Genus autem mearum ad te quidem litterarum eius modi fere est ut non libeat cuiquam dare, nisi de quo exploratum sit tibi eum redditurum. 4. Nunc Romanas res accipe. A. d. IIII. Non. Quint. Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus. Ex quo intellectum est *τρισαρειοπαγίτας* ambitum, comitia, interregnum, maiestatem, totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere: [debemus] patrem familias domi suae occidi nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde: nam absolverunt xxii., condemnarunt xxix. Publius sane deserto epilogo criminans mentes iudicum commoverat. Hortalus in ea causa fuit cuius modi solet. Nos verbum nullum. Verita est enim *pūsilla*, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderem. 5. His rebus actis Reatini me ad sua *τέμνη* duxerunt, ut agerem causam contra Interamnatis apud consulem et decem

homo esse] 'to take your place in the world'; not to be a recluse devoted to studies: cp. Att. xiii. 52, 2 (679) *homines visi sumus*. For *homo* contrasted with *vir*, cp. note 131, 4.

4. IIII.] So Boot: cp. Asconius, p. 19, 2 Or. The mss give III.

Sufenas et Cato] They were accused under the Lex Fufia apparently for obstruction in preventing the holding of the elections: cp. 105, 6 and 144, 5. Procilius was found guilty, it would seem, on a charge of murder: cp. 154, 3 *omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit*.

τρισαρειοπαγίτας] 'Big-wigs.' *debemus*] The word is only found in Δ; it is not in Σ: see Adn. Crit. It is rightly bracketed by Wesenberg, who supposes that it was inserted by a scribe who did not see that *nolle* depends on *intellectum est*. It would be somewhat abrupt to pass from *τρισαρειοπαγίτας* to *nos*, as the persons whose views are mentioned.

occidi] The mss have *occidere*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *occidere reum nolle*. The *reum* might have fallen out by reason of the *-re* in *occidere*.

xxii. . . xxix.] The usual number of a jury was about seventy (cp. 152, 1, and Ascon. 30). It is difficult, as Mr.

Greenidge shows (*Procedure*, p. 447 f.), to explain so low a number as fifty.

epilogo] 'peroration': cp. Planc. 83 *hic etiam addidisti me idcirco mea lege exsilio ambitum sanxisse ut miserabiliores epilogos possem dicere*: cp. De Orat. ii. 278, and Aristotle Rhet. iii. 19.

criminans] Madvig (A. C. iii. 175) adds *me* before *mentes*. He thinks that Clodius could not have influenced the minds of the jurors against the defendants, for two were acquitted, and the third all but acquitted; and that it will give a reason, too, why Cicero tenders an excuse for not having made a reply. But Sternkopf (p. 27) is right in considering that the word should not be added: the object to *criminans* is *eum*, understood, not expressed.

Hortalus] i.e. Hortensius.

Nos verbum nullum] sc. *fecimus*: cp. Att. i. 18, 6 (24) *Crassus verbum nullum contra gratiam*; 150, 3 *cum ille verbum nullum*: cp. also § 6, below.

pūsilla] Cicero's daughter, Tullia.

5. *consulem*] Note the consul adjudicating on questions of property between the cities of Italy. As Mr. Greenidge (*Roman Public Life*, p. 199) says, they doubtless acted on the instructions of the senate.

v. Tag zu Tag

Sic Richter, Subjekt

Clodius, der

Reate

C. Cato

Tullia

legatos, quod lacus Velinus, a M'. Curio emissus, interciso monte, in Narem defluit: ex quo est illa siccata et umida tamen modice Rosia. Vixi cum Axio: qui etiam me ad Septem aquas duxit. 6. Redii Romam Fontei causa a. d. VII. Idus Quint. Veni in spectaculum, primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc ne curaris: ego ineptus qui scripserim—, deinde Antiphonti operam. Is erat ante manu missus quam productus. Ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit. Sed nihil tam pusillum, nihil tam sine voce, nihil tam . . . Verum haec tu tecum habeto. In Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax: in ceteris parem habuit neminem. Quaeris nunc de Arbuscula: valde placuit. Ludi magnifici et grati. Venatio in aliud tempus dilata. 7. Sequere nunc me in campum. Ardet ambitus: $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ δὲ τοι ἐπέω. Fenus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat bessibus. Dices, 'istuc quidem non moleste fero.' O virum! O civem! Memmii Caesaris omnes opes confirmant. Cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt; qua pactione epistulae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur,

lacus Velinus . . . Narem] cp. Tacit. Ann. i. 79. We have no information as to the exact nature of the causa in which Cicero was engaged. In Tacitus the Reatines protested against an obstruction of the lacus Velinus.

ex quo] 'by which means the celebrated Rosia has been saved from inundation, though it still retains a fair amount of moisture.' Rosia, or Rosea (see Adn. Crit.), was a very fertile plain in Reate, of which Varro (R. R. i. 7. 10) relates that Caesar Vopiscus, *aedilicius causam cum ageret apud censores, campos Roseae Italiae dixit esse sumen; in quo relicta pertica postridie non appareret propter herbam.* Hence Cicero calls it *illa*, 'the famous Rosea.' Rosea, now Le Roscie, is derived from *ros roris*. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Rosea rura Velini*, Aen. vii. 712. Cicero makes reference to this visit to Reate in his speech *Pro Scuro* (§ 27) delivered Sept. 2 of this year.

Septem aquas] a pagus belonging to the territory of Reate. For inscriptions erected by this pagus, see C. I. L. ix. 4206–4208 (and Mommsen thereon), and 4399.

6. Fontei] We know nothing about this case.

qui scripserim] 'to mention it.' On the estimate which Cicero set on applause

given in the theatre to distinguished men, see Sest. 115. Horace seems to have set a higher value on it (Carm. ii. 17, 25; i. 20, 3).

operam] sc. *dedit*, 'turned my attention to': cp. 127, 3 *operam dedisti Protogeni tuo*. This is a rare ellipse; yet cp. Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715) *multa illis Caesar* (sc. *dedit*) . . . *etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda*. It is very similar to that of *fecit* in § 4. Antipho was an actor. He was manumitted before he was brought out (*productus*) by his master, who felt quite sure that he would be a success.

Astyanax] So small was Antipho that, in enacting the part of Andromache, he had to congratulate himself that there was one smaller person on the stage, the little boy Astyanax.

parem] i.e. *non maiorem*, 'only the same size as himself.' So in Att. ii. 14, 2 (41) *parem* is usually taken to mean 'only equal to,' though it is doubtful if that is the right interpretation of the passage.

Arbuscula] The *explosa Arbuscula* of Horace. *sc. 1. 10, 77*

Venatio] 'Fighting with wild beasts.'

7. Ardet] 'Is at boiling point.' See last letter (§ 4) on this section.

non moleste fero] A money-lender, like Atticus, would regard with complacency the rise in the rate of interest.

Gobiet bei Reate

Tangerin

cos. 53
liber die pactione p. 178

Quod Jcs Axio

of p. 146f.

See C. I. L. ix. 4206-4208
- Jos Lucr.
- Caball.
of p. 155

Scauro studet, sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur. ^{Qualität} Εξοχή in nullo est: pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, ^{cf. p. 147} non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum et Pompeius obsunt. Ea comitia puto fore ut ducantur. ^{vorschoben} Tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituos. Apud eum HS quingena deposuerunt, ut qui a Catone damnatus esset id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur. 8. Haec ego pridie scribebam quam comitia fore putabantur. Sed ad te, v. Kal. Sext. si facta erunt et tabellarius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam: quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit ^{gleiche Satz p. 147} quam omnes leges omnesque iudices. 9. Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione revocatus: nam eum Caesari legarat Appius. Servilius edixit ut adesset. Tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam. Pugnatur acriter: ^{als Hauptstadt} agitur tamen satis. Deinde me ^{ich denke dass es ausgenischt. Moser} expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. Parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. Fortasse accedent etiam consules designati: in quibus si Scaurus non fuerit, in hoc iudicio valde laborabit. 10. Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. Suspenso animo exspecto quid agat. Illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciiis possumus iudicare nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse. Dionysium velim salvere iubeas et eum roges et hortere ut quam primum veniat, ut possit Ciceronem meum atque etiam me ipsum erudire.

[*fronte an mente*] For another example of the opposition of these words, cp. Planc. 16.

Εξοχή] 'a lead.'
ducantur] 'postponed.'

9. *Messius*] He had interested himself for Cicero's recall: cp. Post red. in Sen. 21: and had proposed extravagant powers for Pompey as corn commissioner (90, 7). But the charge here referred to is probably one under the Lex Licinia de sodaliciis, for illegal procedure in reference to his candidature for the curule aedileship. Appius tried to save him by procuring him the post of *legatus* with Caesar; but Servilius the praetor did not consider that this was a fair case of absence *reipublicae causa*, so he cited Messius to appear. In a trial under the Lex Licinia, the prosecutor named (*edidit*) four tribes of which the accused could

reject one, and the jury was chosen out of the remaining three. This procedure is well known from the Oration *Pro Plancio*: cp. Greenidge, *Procedure*, pp. 453, 454.

Drusum] cp. 144, 5; 147, 3; 149, 5. He was accused of *praevaricatio*, and acquitted by four votes.

Scaurum] The trial of Scaurus for extortion was a great case. He had six orators speaking for him, and nine consulars bearing witness to character (Asconius, pp. 20, 28). Scaurus was acquitted by a large majority on September 2, only eight in a court of sixty-five voting against him (ib. 30; cp. 149, 4, 5); though his guilt appears to have been evident (Val. Max. viii. 1, 10).

accedent] 'will be added to the number of my clients' (as *rei de ambitu*).

Wiel. II 410

144. TO ATTICUS IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 16).

ROME; JULY 1 OR 2; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero multis ab Attico acceptis litteris ad unam potissimum gravem et plenam rerum rescribit de M. Paccio ab Attico commendato, de M. Varrone in aliquem locum librorum de re publica includendo, de Scaevolae persona in libris de oratore ab Attico desiderata, de re Piliae, de Vestorio, de C. Catone absoluto lege Iunia et Licinia, accusato lege Fufia, de Druso, de Procilio, de Hirro, de senatus consulto quod consules de provinciis fecerunt, de Messalla et Domitio consulibus, ut videbatur, futuris et de ratione comitorum. Deinceps de Q. fratris litteris e Gallia missis, de exitu belli Britannici expectato, de basilica Aemilia in foro aedificata et aliis aedificationibus, de Attici itinere Asiatico et commercio litterarum inter se et Atticum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Occupationum mearum vel hoc signum erit, quod epistula

Mommsen (*Zeitsch. für die Alt.* 1845, No. 98) restored the last letters of the fourth book to Atticus to their true form. He perceived that the leaves of the archetype must have been transposed. Before his discovery, parts of separate letters had been read as one letter, and one and the same letter had been broken up to form parts of many. The Orellian order rests on the supposed *codices* of Bosius, and may, therefore, be readily abandoned. Lambinus adopted a third arrangement, that, too, different from the arrangement of M. The numbers between square brackets indicate the pre-Mommsenian order. See also Addenda to the Commentary, Note V.

Considerable difficulties arise as to the date of this letter. In § 6 (= 17, 2 of the pre-Mommsenian arrangement), we read that Scarus had been prosecuted by Triarius. The date of that prosecution has been fixed absolutely by Asconius, 19, 9 Or. (= p. 17, 1 ed. Kiessling and Schoell) *postulatus <est> apud M. Catonem praetorem repetundarum, ut in Actis scriptum est, pridie* [this is the best attested reading: Orelli gives *postridie*] *Nonas Quintil. post diem tertium quam <C> Cato erat absolutus*. This necessitates the alteration of *iii* to *iiii* Nonas in 15, 4: and, if the Mommsenian arrangement of 16 is to hold, it would appear at first sight that we cannot

date 16 earlier than July 6. Rauschen (p. 54) thinks that § 6 is part of a letter which Cicero wrote between 16 and 15, and appeals to the mutilation of 18, and the generally disordered state of the letters at the end of Att. iv. He thinks the remainder of 16 was written shortly before July 4th, when Cato had not yet been acquitted on the charge of violating the Fufian law, and Procilius had been condemned (16, 5 compared with 15, 4).

Körner (pp. 44, 45) solves the difficulty by supposing the date given by Asconius to be wrong. But Asconius gives the date so very precisely, mentioning not only the day, but adding its position as regards the acquittal of Cato, and stating that he had found the date in the Acta, that we cannot adopt this hypothesis.

But the true explanation is probably that given by Sternkopf (*Hermes*, 41 (1905), p. 16), that the whole letter was written about July 1st; and that when Asconius said that Scarus *postulatus est*, he was using the word generally in the sense of 'prosecute,' a usage frequently found. Mr. Greenidge (*Procedure*, p. 459) refers to Fam. viii. 8, 2 (223), Q. Fr. ii. 3, 5 (102), Vat. 34, Cornel. ap. Asconium, p. 62. But though Asconius used this word *postulatus*, he was not referring to the *postulatio* in the strict sense, but to the *nominis delatio*, a proceeding subsequent to the *postulatio*, cp. Fam. viii.

librari manu est. De epistularum frequentia te nihil accuso, sed pleraeque tantum modo mihi nuntiabant ubi esses: quod erant abs te vel etiam significabant recte esse. Quo in genere maxime delectarunt duae, fere eodem tempore abs te Buthroto datae. Scire enim volebam te commode navigasse. Sed haec epistularum frequentia non tam ubertate sua quam crebritate delectavit. ^{epistula} Illa fuit gravis et plena rerum quam mihi M. Paccius, hospes tuus, reddidit. Ad eam rescribam igitur, et hoc quidem primum: Paccio et oratione et re ostendi quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet. Itaque in intimis est meis, cum antea notus non fuisset. Nunc pergam ad cetera. 2. Varro, de quo ad me scribis, includetur in aliquem locum, si modo erit locus. Sed nosti genus dialogorum meorum: ut in oratoriis quos tu in caelum fers non potuit mentio fieri cuiusquam ab iis qui disputant nisi eius qui illis notus aut auditus esset: ita hanc ego de re publica quam institui disputationem in Africani personam et Phili et Laeli et Manili contuli: adiunxi adolescentis, Q. Tuberonem, P. Rutilium, duo Laeli generos, Scaevolam et Fannium. Itaque cogitabam, quoniam in

6, 1 (242) *inter postulationem et nominis delationem uxor Dolabella discessit*; and this, as Sternkopf shows, is borne out by the fact that Asconius in the next clause speaks of the *scriptores*, who are associated in Roman criminal procedure with the *nominis delatio*.

1. *frequentia*] 'Touching your regularity as a correspondent, I have no charge to bring against you.' See note on Att. i. 5, 2 (1).

vel etiam . . . esse] Most edd. bracket these words as spurious, understanding *a domo tua Buthroto* by *abs te*, and rightly regarding the clause as a meaningless repetition if thus understood. Others transpose the words to stand after *esses* and before *quod*, understanding *quod erant abs te* to mean 'the fact that the letters were written by your own hand.' [This is, I think, right. If we do not make the transposition, the *vel* (if taken with *significabant*) is superfluous. It is difficult to believe that Cicero could have meant *vel* to go with *recte esse*.—L.C.P.] I understand these words in this last sense, but I do not see why we should resort to transposition. Punctuated as in my text, the meaning is: 'in that they were written by your own hand they even showed further that you were well.' *Vel*

is often intensive in Cicero with verbs, as well as adjectives, substantives, and adverbs: *ep. vel stertas licet*, Acad. ii. 93; *cum vel abundare debeam*, Att. xv. 15, 3 (748) according to some mss. The fact that here *vel* is separated from the word which it qualifies forms no difficulty; we have in Plaut. Stich. 721 *vel cadus vortii potest*, where *vel* goes with *vortii*. A fair sense would emerge even if we took *quod erant abs te* to merely mean 'the fact that the letters were from you': the fact that Atticus wrote at all saved Cicero from apprehensions about his health, which he might have felt if he had not heard from him. It was the letters addressed from his house in Buthrotum that for the first time showed Cicero that Atticus had got safely over his sea voyage.

oratione et re] See Adn. Crit. This antithesis is common in Cicero, e.g. *Episcurus re tollit oratione relinquit deos*, N. D. i. 123. So in Plautus, as in Epid. 116—

'Nam quid te igitur retulit
Beneficum esse oratione si ad rem auxilium
emortuumst.'

2. *in aliquem locum*] In the dialogue of Cicero de Republica.

Phili] P. Fulvius Philus, cons. 618 (136).

singulis libris utor prohoemiis, ut Aristoteles in iis quos ἔξωτερικὸς vocat, aliquid efficere, ut non sine causa istum appellarem: id quod intellego tibi placere. Utinam modo conata efficere possim! Rem enim, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum et gravem et plurimi oti, quo ego maxime egeo. 3. Quod in iis libris quos laudas personam desideras Scaevolae, non eam temere dimovi sed feci idem quod in πολιτεία deus ille noster Plato. Cum in Piraeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo habetur, adest in disputando senex, deinde cum ipse quoque commodissime locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore si hominem id aetatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinisset. Multo ego magis hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scaevola, qui et aetate et valetudine erat ea qua eum esse meministi et iis honoribus ut vix satis decorum videretur eum pluris dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus a Scaevolae studiis. Reliqui libri τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis. Huic ioculatorem senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui.—4. De re Piliae, quod scribis, erit mihi curae. Etenim est luculenta res Aureliani, ut scribis, indicis, et in eo me etiam Tulliae meae venditabo. Vestorio non desum. Gratium enim tibi id esse intellego et ut ille intellegat curo. Sed scis qui sit; cum habeat duo facilis, nihil difficilior. 5. Nunc ad ea quae quaeris de C. Catone. Lege Iunia et Licinia scis absolutum:

ἔξωτερικὸς] 'popular.' These dialogues are those which Cicero imitates, and which suggested to him those criticisms on the style of Aristotle which seem so unsuitable to his extant works. See 153, 23. For the ἔξωτερικὸς λόγοι of Aristotle, see Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle*, vol. i., pp. 397-408.

istum] 'your friend Varro.'

3. non eam temere dimovi] 'not without good cause,' οὐκ ἐτός. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, son-in-law of L. Crassus, appears in the first book, *De Oratore*, but not in the following. We may perhaps gather from Lael. 1 (*multa breviter et commode dicta*) that he was a sayer of *bons mots*: and perhaps in addition to the reasons assigned in the next sentence Cicero thought that a man of his character and temperament should not take part in a technical discussion.

ioculatorem] See Adn. Crit.

4. Aureliani . . . indicis] 'according to the information given by Aurelianus.' venditabo] Tullia was greatly attached to Pilia (107, 2).

Sed scis qui sit] 'but pray don't you know what kind of fellow he is? Nothing could be harder to deal with than he is, although he has two such easy-going friends as you and I.'

5. C. Catone] cp. 143, 4.

Iunia et Licinia] This enacted *ne clam aerario legem ferri liceret* (Schol. Bob., p. 310), which seems to mean that a copy of every law must be deposited in the *aerarium* when it was promulgated (see Greenidge's *Roman Public Law*, p. 256, who refers to Cicero de Legibus iii. 11 *promulgata proposita in aerario cognita agunto*).

Bauckier in
Puteoli

de or.

Mici uxer

Aurelianus

Augaben

Fufia ego tibi nuntio absolutum iri, neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus. Is tamen et mecum et cum Milone in gratiam rediit. Drusus reus est factus a Lucretio. Iudicibus reiiciendis dies est dictus a. d. v. Non Quint. De Proclio rumores non boni, sed iudicia nosti. Hirrus cum Domitio in gratia est. Senatus consultum quod hi consules de provinciis fecerunt, quicumque posthac, non mihi videtur esse valiturum. 6. [ep. XVII. 2.] De Messalla quod quaeris, quid scribam nescio: numquam ego vidi tam parisi candidatos. Messallae copias nosti. Scaurum Triarius reum fecit. Si quaeris, nulla est magno opere commota συμπάθεια. Sed tamen habet aedilitas eius memoriam non ingratam et est pondus apud rusticos in patris memoria. Reliqui duo plebeii sic exaequantur, Domitius ut valeat amicis, adiuvetur tamen non nihil gratissimo munere; Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus, Pompei Gallia nitatur. Quibus si non valuerit, putant fore aliquem qui comitia in adventum Caesaris detrudat, Catone praesertim absoluto. 7. Paccianae epistulae respondi: [ep. XVI. 13.] cognosce cetera. Ex fratris litteris incredibilia quaedam de

Fufia] See vol. I³, *Addenda to Comm.*, note 2.

Iudicibus . . . Quint.] 'The day fixed for the challenging of the jurors is the 3rd of July.' For Drusus and Proclius, see Att. 143, 9, and 4.

Hirrus] The first mention of this man in the Correspondence. For a general sketch of his career see vol. III., p. 305.

hi consules] The consuls of this year L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

quicumque posthac] The first words of the bill introduced by the consuls.

6. *Messalla*] The four candidates for the consulship were two patricians M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aemilius Scaurus, and two plebeians, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius: cp. 142, 4.

aedilitas] Scaurus (cp. 143, 9) was aedile in 696 (58). His shows were of the most splendid nature, and notorious for many generations: cp. Sest. 116, Off. ii. 67; Ascon., p. 18 *aeditatam summa magnificentia gessit (Scaurus) adeo ut in eius impensas opes suas absumpserit magnamque aem alienum contraxerit*. They are often mentioned by Pliny the Elder; see esp. xxxvi. 113 *docuimus insaniam eorum (Caligula and Nero) victam privatis opibus M. Scauri, cuius nescio an aedilitas maxime*

protraverit mores civiles maiusque sit Sullae malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscripio tot milium.

apud rusticos] 'with the rustic tribes.' *nihil* added by Wesenberg. Sternkopf would retain the ms reading, understanding *non gratissimo* to mean 'even though it was not very popular.'

militibus] See on 150, 3.

Pompei Gallia nitatur] *Gallia* is the reading of M¹: but it is a strange reading. If it is right, it must refer to the colonies founded in Cisalpine Gaul by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the electors in which were devoted to Pompey who was favourable to Memmius. But it is possible that *gratia*, the reading of M², is right. Dr. Reid suggests *Pompeio et Gallia*.

aliquem] Some tribune who will be very ready for a daring measure, now that C. Cato has been acquitted, and has not suffered for the illegal acts of his tribunate.

7. *cognosce cetera*] The paragraphs from this to the end of the letter are inserted according to Mommsen's arrangement as §§ 7 and 8 of Ep. 144, intervening between *Paccianae epistulae respondi* and *Nunc te obiurgari patere* § 9; and this is right. Holzapfel, however (*Hermes*, xxv. (1890), pp. 632-5), has argued that these

Wiel. p. 508

gratia

gratia

cf. p. 150

Wiel. p. 421

Caesaris in me amore cognovi, eaque sunt ipsius Caesaris uberrimis litteris confirmata. Britannici belli exitus exspectatur. Constat enim aditus insulae esse muratos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos exspectare. 8. [14.] Paullus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerat iisdem antiquis columnis: illam

Aemil.

cf. p. 138

paragraphs cannot belong to this letter: for it was written early in July, and Caesar did not even cross into Britain until the end of the month. It would be curious to speak of the end (*exitus*) of the expedition being looked for before the expedition had begun. But Sternkopf (*Hermes*, xli (1905), p. 19) has admirably solved the difficulty. It was in Caesar's camp that the issue of the expedition excited the interest; and the sentence *constat enim aditus insulae, &c.*, shows that the expedition had not begun. Caesar's second expedition to Britain seems to have been a matter of interest to the Romans in Gaul all through the summer of 700 (54); and Cicero is constantly alluding to it: 136, 2; 137, 1, 2; 141, 2. In the present passage Cicero is plainly relating to Atticus the purport of letters he had received from the camp in Gaul.

muratos] 'walled.' We are afraid we shall be accused of rashness in ascribing to Cicero here (as Junius already did) a quite post-classical word. The mss read *miratos*, and *munitus* is the universally accepted correction. But why then do the mss give us *miratos*? On the other hand, if Cicero wrote *muratos*—in itself a very good word—the mss would be *well-nigh certain* to present *miratos*. Hence it is probable that Cicero here, in a letter to a friend, used an expression vigorous and picturesque here, but not found again in extant classical literature. But it is unlikely that any copyist found the obvious *munitos* (though that reading is found in E), and wrote the inexplicable *miratos*. But if he found the *ἄρα εἰρημένον muratos*, he would be nearly certain to write *miratos*, a common word very near it in form; and that without at all troubling himself as to the sense of the passage; just as a compositor will set up 'serious effusion' if one writes 'serous effusion.' Such is the invariable practice of the best copyists. By 'best' is meant those who did not assume the functions of an editor, but wrote down either the

right word, or the wrong word which leads to the right. We must remember that we have in these letters a unique department of literature. A man might easily write in a letter that the approach to Britain was 'absolutely ramparted with masses of cliff,' though he would not use that word in a formal composition meant for the public. Even now one uses words like 'interviewed' in a private letter, though one would not use such a word in a serious essay. In short, we firmly believe that Cicero here used, and rightly used, the word *muratos*, not elsewhere occurring in extant Latin till Vegetius—at least so far as we know. Prof. Ellis (*Hermathena* (1887), p. 135) thinks that the same word is to be introduced for *mutata* into *Ciris 105 Stat Megara Alcaethoi quondam mutata labore* instead of the usually received *munita*. See also *Adn. Crit. molibus*] 'huge cliffs.' Dr. Reid thinks that owing to this strange use of *molibus* we should add *montium* before it: *ep. Caes. B. G. iv. 23, 3 angustis montibus.*

scripulum] $\frac{1}{24}$ of an *uncia*, and consequently $\frac{1}{288}$ of an *as*. For the lack of the precious metals in Britain, *ep. 137, 1.*

8. *texerat*] 'had almost roofed,' that is, 'had almost completed to the roof.' *Texuit*, the usual reading, could be said of a nest, or a wicker structure of any kind, even of a ship, but not of a house. *Erexeerat* (the reading of Klotz) would be more suitable to a tower or column than to a basilica. *Texerat* is an epistolary tense, *cum haec scriberem* being understood. Boot alters to *refecit*, needlessly. It is not necessary to take *columnis* as instrumental ablative. For further see *Adn. Crit.*

iisdem] This was the *basilica Aemilia* originally founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 575 (179), and afterwards so frequently restored by Aemilii, that Tacitus called the basilica *Aemilia monumenta* (*A. iii. 72*). This was now to be restored with the old materials (*iisdem lapidibus*) by L. Aemilius Paullus, afterwards consul in 704 (50), assisted by

autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici—me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet—in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sescentiens HS. Cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. Efficemus rem gloriosissimam. Nam in campo Martio saepa tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta ^{ruit Boot} facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu ut mille passuum conficiatur: simul adiungetur huic operi villa etiam publica. Dices, 'Quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?' At quid id laboramus? *Habes* res Romanas? Non enim te puto de

money given by Caesar (App. B. C. ii. 26; Plut. Caes. 29). The succeeding words, *illam . . . magnificentissimam*, would seem to refer to another *basilica Paulli*. But there was only one *basilica Aemilia*, or *Paulli basilica*, at Rome. Either, then, this second *basilica* was joined to, and became part of, the ancient *basilica* (and then we might perhaps suggest *anti-quam* for *iam*), or we must suspect the soundness of the text. Now, it is not at all improbable that Caesar should, though absent in Britain, have given orders for the commencement of the *basilica Iulia*, which stood opposite to the *basilica Aemilia* in the Forum. Boot suspects that for *illam* we should read *ille*, and supposes that *ille* refers to the absent Caesar. It is true that Caesar often is called *ille* in the letters; but it is only where there is some reason for using covert language, which does not exist here. The succeeding words, *Nihil . . . gloriosius*, followed by *ITAEQUE Caesaris amici*, are certainly in favour of Boot's ingenious hypothesis. 'It is for this reason (the public spirit which he shows, and which stimulates us to emulation) that we, his friends—myself and Oppius, as I own, though you, who are always warning me against Caesar, should burst with rage—have thought very little of spending sixty millions of sesterces on the public work, about which you used to be so enthusiastic—of opening up the Forum, and clearing the way right up to the Hall of Liberty. We could not settle private claims for a smaller sum.'

But perhaps it is not necessary to make this alteration. Caesar, who was anxious to gain the support or disarm the hostility of Paullus, may have allowed him to give the contract for what was afterwards the Basilica Iulia, as well as give him considerable sums to repair the Basilica

Aemilia. Paullus, as engaged in public buildings at this time, would be a suitable person to supervise a building which was really to be a monument to the glory of Caesar. But it does seem as if an alteration should be made not apparently mentioned by the commentators. The Basilica Aemilia can hardly be said to be in *medio foro*. These words, we think, ought to be transferred to follow *autem*. The view that *monumentum illud . . . solebas* is the opening up of the Forum is held by Boot, and is possibly right. But it is a somewhat strange use of *monumentum*, which would rather point to a positive building; yet we cannot imagine what building can be meant. The exact position of the *atrium Libertatis* does not seem to be yet settled.

We can hardly suppose that Cicero means that he and Oppius bore the expense of the works. Rather he and Oppius (who was the agent of Caesar: see vol. IV., p. lxix) strongly supported the motion that the works be carried out.

tecta] 'roofed.'
id laboramus] 'why need we trouble ourselves about that?' The accus. neuter of a pronoun or of a numeral adj. is sometimes joined to an intransitive verb to denote the compass or extent of the action, Madv. § 229: ep. *utrumque laetor*, 127, 1; *sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit*, Fam. ii. 18, 3 (258); and *quid tibi sim auctor*, Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), a very strong case. There is no doubt that in this reply (as Boot says) we miss the usual urbanity of Cicero—for it is hardly possible to suppose *mihi* to refer to Cicero himself. But perhaps Cicero means no more than that in questions of public spirit one must not look to 'advantage.'

Habes] This is the conjecture of

beliebt
marken

Mayer Pp.
200, 5

lustrum, quod iam desperatum est, aut de iudiciis, quae lege †Coctia fiunt, quaerere. [15] 9. Nunc te obiurgari patere, si iure. Scribis enim in ea epistula quam C. Decimius mihi reddidit Buthroto datam, in Asiam tibi eundum esse te arbitrari. Mihi mehercule nihil videbatur esse in quo tantulum interesset utrum per procuratores ageres an per te ipsum ut ab his tot tuis et tam longe abesses. Sed haec malletm integra re tecum egissem. Profecto enim aliquid egissem. Nunc reprimam susceptam obiurgationem. Utinam valeat ad celeritatem reditus tui! Ego ad te propterea minus saepe scribo quod certum non habeo ubi sis aut ubi futurus sis. Huic tamen nescio cui, quod videbatur isti te visurus esse, putavi dandas esse litteras. Tu, quoniam iturum te in Asiam esse putas, ad quae tempora te expectemus facias me certiozem velim et de Eutychnide quid egeris.

Lambinus adopted by Wesenberg. It is the commonest formula for passing from public to private affairs, and is strongly confirmed by the *enim* which follows. The other readings (see Adn. Crit.) are ungrammatical, *laborare rem* being an impossible construction; except the reading of Bosius, *quid? celabo te res Romanas?* which gives an excellent sense. 'What,' says Cicero; 'am I to keep Roman history from you?' ironically calling these embellishments of the city the most important work now being done by the State. This is ingenious, so much so that even Boot at one time accepted it as his reading; but as it rests on no authority except that of Y, it must be regarded as due to the ingenuity of Bosius, and not as the words of Cicero.

†Coctia] This word is corrupt, and no correction is certain. The best is *Plotia* or *Clodia*. Cicero would then say: 'the chief feature in the *iudicia* is the constant application of the *Lex Plotia de vi*.' If we read *Clodia* with Lange and Sternkopf, the reference will be to the law of Clodius *de censoria notione*, concerning which Asconius (p. 9) says it enacted *ne quem censores in senatu legendo praeterirent neve qua ignominia officerent nisi qui apud eos*

accusatus et utriusque censoris sententia damnatus esset. A quasi-legal procedure was thus instituted in connexion with removals from the senate; and, as Sternkopf (p. 23) points out, the mention of the law in close proximity to the mention of the *lustrum* renders it highly probable that the reference is to this *Lex Clodia*. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit.

9. *si iure*] sc. te obiurgavero.
nihil . . . ut abesses] 'no reason for your remaining at such a distance from your numerous friends here in a matter in which it made such a trifling difference whether you transacted it yourself or by your agents.' We have adopted the reading of Sternkopf. See Adn. Crit. *Longe* is perhaps not used in the positive in the temporal sense; in *quae venientia longe ante videris*, Tusc. iii. 29, *longe* may be 'from a distance'; *longeque recusat*, Verg. A. v. 406, is 'puts the proposal far from him'; *nec longe*, ib. x. 317, is plainly spatial. But in the comparative and superlative *longe* can have a temporal meaning, especially when used with words denoting time, as *longius anno remanere*, Caes. B. G. iv. 1, 7; Cic. Arch. 1, 1 *quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis*.

Wiel. Ep. 323

145. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 9).

ROME; OCTOBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero litterarum commercium cum C. Trebatio desiderat, monet ut ad Caesarem se applicet nec praeproperè ex provincia redeat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Iam diu ignoro quid agas: nihil enim scribis neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram. Quod ^{Wiel} cum Quinto fratre meo non eras, quo mitterem aut cui darem nesciebam. Cupio scire quid agas et ubi sis hiematurus. Equidem velim cum Caesare, sed ad eum propter eius *luctum* nihil sum ausus scribere: ad Balbum tamen scripsi. 2. Tu tibi deesse noli. Serius potius ad nos, dum ^{Wiel} plenior. Quod huc properes nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Sed tibi consilium non deest. Quid constitueris cupio scire. 3. Cn. Octavius est (an Cn. Cornelius) quidam, tuus familiaris,

summo genere natus, Terrae filius:

is me, quia scit tuum familiarem esse, crebro ad cenam invitavit. Adhuc non potuit perducere: sed mihi tamen gratum est.

For the date of this letter, see Introductory Note to 140.

1. *luctum*] This refers to Caesar's mourning for the death of his daughter Julia, the wife of Pompey, who died in September of this year. Cicero says in a letter to Quintus (148, 25) that he did not answer a letter he received from Caesar, *propter eius luctum*. The word *occupatio-nem* was long ago supplied from the next letter to Trebatius (Fam. vii. 10, 1 (161)) by Cratander; see Adn. Crit. But R has a *lacuna* of four to six letters, which is conclusive for *luctum*. Cicero praises the firmness with which Caesar bore his daughter's loss in 159, 3. Plutarch (Pompeius, 53) tells us that in 699 (55), at the election for the following year, there was a riot, and the garments of Pompey were stained with the blood of some one who was struck down near him. Pompey sent the blood-stained garment home; and his wife, who was pregnant, on seeing the blood, fainted. The result of this was a miscarriage. Subsequently, becoming pregnant again, Julia died in giving birth to a female infant, which did not long survive the mother. Plutarch gives an interesting theory of the source of the love which Julia bore to Pompey: *αἴτιον ἔοικεν ἢ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι . . . ἢ τε*

σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον ἀλλ' εὐχαρίν ἔχουσα τὴν θυμὸν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀγωγόν.

2. *plenior*] 'enriched' by Caesar.

Battara] This is supposed to have been a jocular nickname for Vacerra (perhaps because he stuttered), the teacher of Trebatius, mentioned in the last letter to Trebatius (140, 2): cp. Näge ad Val. Catonis Diras, p. 19.

3. *an*] See on Att. i. 3, 2 (8). It is not used for a disjunctive question 'dubium Octavius an Cn. Cornelius,' but for a direct statement to which is appended an expression of hesitation about its truth, 'or was it': cp. Madvig on Fin. ii. 104. Cn. Octavius was the man's name: see 157, 2.

summo . . . filius] Schneidewin acutely saw that this was a quotation from poetry; it is the latter part of a trochaic septenarius, or perhaps we should follow Schneidewin wholly, and suppose *familiaris* part of the verse, thus making the line complete. It describes a well-born nobody; a man of high birth, but personally insignificant—an ancient Lord Tomnoddy. The words are very natural as part of a comedy, but Cicero writing in his own person would hardly have expressed himself thus. For *Terrae filius* cp. Att. i. 13, 4 (19), Juv. iv. 98.

perducere] sc. ut ad cenam irem.

Wiel. Ep. 320

146. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 17).

ROME; OCTOBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Laudat M. Cicero C. Trebatium quod urbis desiderium tandem deposuerit et hortatur ut in Caesaris se familiaritatem insinuet ex qua eum magnum fructum capturum esse adfirmat.

CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris et Quinto fratri gratias egi et te aliquando collaudare possum, quod iam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse. Nam primorum mensum litteris tuis vehementer commovebar, quod mihi interdum—pace tua dixerim—levis in urbis urbanitatisque desiderio, interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore militari, saepe autem etiam, quod a te alienissimum est, subimpudens videbare. Tamquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistolam attulisses, sic pecunia ablata domum redire properabas, nec tibi in mentem veniebat eos ipsos qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandream nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. 2. Ego, si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem: non enim medioeri adiciebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua. Sed cum te ex adulescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque, quoad opinatus sum me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro detulerim meminisse te credo. Postea quam ea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem, sic ei te commendavi et

1. *subimpudens*] 'a little unreasonable.' *syngrapham*] Trebatius seemed to regard the letter to Caesar as a sort of promissory note: 'One would have imagined you had carried a bill of exchange upon Caesar, instead of a letter of recommendation.' He thought he had nothing to do but go to the camp of Caesar, take possession of his fortune, and go back to the delights of life in Rome.

Alexandream] It appears that Ptolemy cheated his Roman creditors, from whom

he had borrowed immense sums of money, to be used as bribes in Rome. Some information on the loss which Roman speculators sustained in lending money to Ptolemy is to be gained from Cicero's speech *Pro Rabirio Postumo*.

2. *fidem*] 'protection.' *detulerim*] When Cicero thought of going on foreign service as *legatus* to Pompey, he proposed to take Trebatius with him. See 134, 1. *commendavi*] in 134.

quod Pompei. vid.
Pomp.

Anreioz

tradidi ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille ita et accepit et mihi saepe litteris significavit et tibi et verbis et re ostendit mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle tua causa putas, ne dimiseris et, si quae te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior tibi erit visus, perferto et ultima expectato quae ego tibi iucunda et honesta praestabo. 3. Pluribus te hortari non debeo; tantum moneo, neque amicitiae confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri neque uberis provinciae neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum umquam reperiturum. 'Hoc,' quem ad modum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, 'idem Q. Cornelio videbatur.' In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus et qua spe aut condicione perscribas ad me velim.

Quod ille ita et accepit] 'which he took in the same spirit,' i.e. *gravissime diligentissimeque*. It is best to retain this reading of MG in preference to *grate* of R and its copy T. The latter is of course a graceful word, and is adopted by many scholars; but this seems one of the cases where the 'lectio facilior' is to be mistrusted. Possibly for *ostendit* we should read *ut ostenderit*. The meaning would then be 'which he received in such a way (and the same feeling he intimated to me often by letter, and to you both in words and deed) as to show that he attached great weight to my introduction.'

tardior] sc. *in te augendo et ornando*.
praestabo] 'I will guarantee, warrant.'

3. *amicitiae . . . tempus*] The genitives *amicitiae confirmandae, provinciae*, and *aetatis* all depend on *tempus*; the gen. *clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri* depends on

amicitiae, 'I only warn you, you will never again get a more favourable opportunity for securing the friendship of a most illustrious and generous patron, never the opportunity of a richer province, never a more suitable period in your own life.' The sentence is awkwardly expressed, but there is no reason to doubt its soundness: *uberis provinciae* (sc. *capessendae*) would have been more precise; but *uberis* is, as it were, attracted into the comparative by the prevailing character of the sentence.

aetatis] cp. 137, 2.

idem . . . videbatur] 'In this, as you lawyers are wont to say in your Reports, Q. Cornelius concurs': for Q. Cornelius Maximus see 140, 2.

caruisti . . . audiam] 'because you were saved the trouble of the journey, and I shall be spared your descriptions of Britain and your exploits there.'

Wiel. II 387

147. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN GAUL
(Q. FR. II. 15 (16)). *Sj. Nr. 16 p. 57*

ROME; AUGUST (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero scribit de negotiis suis, quid sit in senatu actum, quae sint habita iudicia aut instent, materiam carminis scribendi, superata a Caesare Britannia, fratri gratulatur et quid de suis versibus Caesar iudicet sciscitatur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Cum a me litteras librari manu acceperis, ne paullum *quidem* me oti habuisse iudicato, cum autem mea, paullum. Sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse atque id anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis. Sed haec, quoniam tu ita praescribis, ferenda sunt neque committendum ut aut spei aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse, praesertim cum, si id difficilius fuerit, tamen ex hoc labore magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim collecturus. Itaque, ut tibi placet, damus operam ne cuius animum offendamus atque ut etiam ab iis ipsis qui nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos dolent diligamur, ab aequis vero aut etiam a propensis in hanc partem vehementer et colamur et amemur. 2. De ambitu cum atrocissime ageretur in senatu multos dies, quod ita erant progressi candidati consulares ut non esset ferendum, in senatu non fui. Statui ad nullam medicinam rei publicae sine magno praesidio accedere. 3. Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aeriariis absolutus in

1. *vestrae*] 'of you and Caesar.'
a propensis] We cannot feel with Wesenberg that it is necessary to omit *a*. Cicero is adopting a *via media*, and endeavouring to be all things to all men. He hopes to win the respect and affection, not only of those who regarded Caesar's political position without animosity as being not indefensible (*aequis*), but also of his devoted partisans.

2. *candidati consulares*] Memmius, Calvinus, Messala, Scaurus.
sine magno praesidio] 'without a good backing.'

3. *Drusus*] cp. 143, 9: this is perhaps Livius Drusus Claudianus, whose daughter was Livia, the mother of the

Emperor Tiberius.

tribunis aeriariis . . . senatores et equites] A law of the praetor Q. Fufius Calenus, passed in 695 (59), so far made the jury responsible for their vote that it enacted that the votes of the separate orders should be put into separate urns (cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 8, 1, who gives the reason τὰ τε κρείττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἐκάστου τῶν γενῶν ἔγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀποπότερα ἐς ἑτέρουσ ἀποθοῦντος). We find the votes of the different orders stated in the trials of Scaurus (Asc. p. 30), Milo (ib. 53), and Saufeius (ib. 54). Aseonius (p. 90) seems to be in error in supposing that this practice existed as early as 689 (65): see Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 450.

summa quattuor sententiis, cum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinius eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. *Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους*, quamquam a te factam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi. 4. Venio nunc ad id quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam litus insulae. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus expectatione ea quam metu. Te vero *ὑπόθεσιν* scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentis, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis adiuvabo et

[Comitia] sc. consularia. No election took place till the seventh month of 701 (53), *τάς τε ἀρχάς . . . μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν*, Dio Cass. xl. 17, 2.

[*Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους*] There was a satyric drama of Sophocles called *Σύνδειπνοι*, founded on the indignation of Achilles on being excluded from some banquet in Tenedos: cp. Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 24, 6 (= 1401 b. 17) *ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ ἐπὶ δείπνον κληθῆναι τιμωτάτον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ*, which is referred to this play. Some similar incident, it is conjectured, must have occurred in the camp of Caesar. Cicero says he did not like the incident, though Quintus played his part well. It is uncertain whether the play was called *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος ἢ Σύνδειπνοι* (or *Σύνδειπνον*), or whether those were names of two separate plays. The former view is held by Nauck (p. 161), the latter by Welcker: see Dr. Sandys' ed. of Aristotle's Rhetoric, l. c., who considers that the *Σύνδειπνον* or *Ἀχαιῶν σύνδειπνον* was derived from the Odyssey, and was descriptive of the riot and revelry of the suitors in Penelope's house. Of the fragments of this drama which remain, there is one which describes a riotous (probably drunken) freak, which may be referred to here:—

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ θυμῷ τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην
ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἤμαρτε' περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρῳ
καταγυῖται τὸ τεύχος οὐ μύρον ὕπνου
ἰδαιματούμην δ' οὐ φίλης ὁσμῆς ὕπο.

Ernesti thinks Quintus may have jibed at some of Caesar's staff in verses quoted

from this play of Sophocles: and indeed verses which might be used in this connexion are found in Plutarch *De adulatore et amico*, c. 36 (Odysseus addressing Achilles):—

ἐγὼ δ' ὃ φεύγεις· οὐ τὸ μὴ κλέναι κακῶς,
ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς Ἐκτωρ ἐστὶ· θυμαίνει καλόν.

But Bücheler's view is doubtless the most probable. He reads *factam*, and supposes that the reference is to an adaptation of the play of Sophocles which Quintus was making: cp. 155, 7 *Quattuor tragoedias sedecim diebus absolvisse cum scribas*, &c. Quintus had a great admiration for Sophocles: cp. Fin. v. 3 *Tum Quintus: Sophocles ob oculos versabatur quem seis quam admirer quamque eo delector*. The allusion to Philoctetes in 124, 4, does not necessarily prove special reference to Sophocles, as plays on that subject were written by Aeschylus and Euripides, and many other tragic poets.

4. *Reliqua non equidem contemno*] 'I do not underrate what you have still to do; but there is more in your prospects for hope than fear. What made me anxious was not fear for your future, but anxiety to hear whether all was going on as I hoped.' He refers to the impression produced on Caesar by Quintus. He had been afraid that they might meet a storm in the voyage to Britain, or that they might be wrecked in trying to effect a landing on its barbarous coast. These fears were now dispelled by Quintus' letter from Britain. For the dangers of the approach to Britain, cp. 144, 7, also Caes. B. G. iv. 23, 3.

tibi versus quos rogas, hoc est, Athenas noctuam mittam. 5. Sed heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quemdam locum *ῥαθυμότερα*; hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut *χαρακτήρ* non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare; ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re *φιλαλήθως* et, ut soles scribere, fraterne.

148. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN GAUL
(Q. FR. III. 1).

PARTLY FROM ARPINUM AND PARTLY FROM ROME; SEPTEMBER;

A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52. *Aug./Sept.*

M. Cicero in praediis Q. fratris se quaedam, maxime in aedificandi ratione, correxisse commemorat et ad quinque Q. fratris de variis rebus epistulas respondet: simul quaedam de rebus Romanis perscribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

I. 1. Ego ex magnis ^{579e} caloribus—non enim meminimus maiores

versus] In 152, 4, he says he rates his brother's poetical faculties higher than his own. Hence to send him verses for his poem on Caesar's exploits would be like sending 'coals to Newcastle,' or, in ancient phrase, 'owls to Athens,' where the bird itself was common, but still more so, its image stamped on coins. Similar proverbs were: *σίτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πύξον ἐς Κύπρον, ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον*. Cp. *in silvan* . . . *ligna*, Hor. Sat. i. 10, 34.

5. *nostris versibus*] *de temporibus suis, ῥαθυμότερα*] 'the rest, up to a certain passage, was a little careless.'

utitur] We have retained the reading which all the edd. agree in presenting. But *utimur* is the ms reading; and perhaps a defence of it may be made. The meaning would then be: 'the rest, up to a certain passage, he seems to think—shall I say a little slipshod?' Cicero uses a word of his own which he thinks conveyed what Caesar thought about part of his poem: *ῥαθυμότερα, hoc enim utitur verbo*, would mean much the same as *hoc ut utamur verbo*. If Caesar had said *ῥαθυμότερα*, Cicero would

hardly have asked Quintus to find out whether Caesar referred to the subject or the style. But if this is only Cicero's own expression of the view which, as it seemed to him, Caesar took, then he might well ask his brother, 'find out if I am right: is it the subject or the style (*res aut χαρακτήρ*) that he does not like?' The word *ῥαθυμότερα* would more naturally point out a defect in the style. But the meaning may also be (reading *utimur*), 'the rest of Caesar's criticism, up to a certain place in his letter (where he spoke warmly), seemed less enthusiastic, more indifferent, as I may say, to use the literary cant.'

This letter was written partly (to § 14 *amoenitatem*) at Arpinum between Sept. 14 and 18: and received three several additions (§§ 14-19; 20-22; 23-25) at Rome between Sept. 20 and 28. At this time Atticus was in Epirus, and was meditating a journey into Asia, so that we can well suppose that messengers were not despatched to him very frequently.

fp. 144

—in Arpinati summa cum amoenitate fluminis me refeci ludorum diebus, Philotimo tribulibus commendatis. In Arcano a. d. III Idus Sept. fui. Ibi Mescidium cum Philoxeno aquamque quam ii ducebant non longe a villa belle sane fluentem vidi, praesertim maxima siccitate, uberioremque aliquanto sese collecturos esse dicebant. Apud Herum recte erat. In Maniliano offendi Diphilum Diphilo tardiorum. Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviarium. Villa mihi valde placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavimentata porticus habebat: quod mihi nunc denique apparuit postea quam et ipsa tota patet et columnae politae sunt. Totum in eo est, quod mihi erit curae, tectorium ut concinnum sit. Pavimenta recte fieri videbantur. Cameras quasdam non probavi mutarique iussi. 2. Quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat, mihi, ut est, magis placebat. Neque enim satis loci videbatur esse atriolo, neque fere solet nisi in iis aedificiis fieri in quibus est atrium maius, nec habere poterat adiuncta cubacula et eius modi membra. Nunc haec vel honestate testudinis valde boni aestivi locum obtinebit. Tu tamen

in die
Angon
deat

scribtl. An-
weisz geben

For an attractive and sympathetic account of the estates of the Ciceros at Arpinum see O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 9-23, and *Arpinum* (Meissen, 1900).

1. cum] 'along with enjoying the greatest pleasure from the loveliness of the stream I recovered my vigour again.' Ern. would read *cum amoenitate <tum salubritate>*. The river was the Fibrenus. De Leg. ii. 1, 6; cp. Val. Max. ii. 3, 6 *abundantissimum fontem*.

ludorum] The *Ludi Romani* held from 4th to 19th September. The games in the circus lasted from the 15th to the 19th. For an account of these games see Dict. Antiq. ii., p. 91.

tribulibus] Cicero handed over his fellow-tribesmen to Philotimus, his freedman, with directions that he should secure for them accommodation for the games. See Att. ii. 1, 5 (27), and Mur. 72.

Arcano] belonging to Quintus: cp. 106, 4.

Mescidium cum Philoxeno] probably contractors for the works now being carried out.

Herum] a steward at Arcanum.

Maniliano] This 'property of Manilius' was probably either the estate of a

neighbour for whom Diphilus was working, or the estate of a former neighbour which Quintus had now bought.

Diphilum] an architect. Cicero says he 'surpassed himself' in dilatoriness on this occasion.

tectorium] 'stuccoing': cameras, 'arched roofs.'

2. Quo loco] 'I like the antechamber, as it is better than in the portico, where they tell me you say in your letter it is to be built.' The sentence would regularly run *atriolum mihi magis placebat ut est (quam) in eo loco in quo aiunt te scribere ut fiat*, sc. *in porticu*. Sometimes (Roby 1743) a 'compactness of expression' occurs, in which the relative is used instead of *quod* with the demonstrative; hence Cicero here writes *quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat*, instead of *quod ibi in porticu*, &c.; cp. *nam quos ab hominibus pervenisse dicis ad deos, tu reddes rationem quemadmodum fieri potuerit aut cur fieri desierit*, N. D. iii. 41, where *quos = quod aliquos*.

membra] 'rooms.'

Nunc . . . obtinebit] 'Now, owing to the very fact that the ceiling has a proper (suitable) curve, it will make an admirable summer-room.' Cp. *honeste vergit* (§ 14).

si aliter sentis, rescribe quam primum. In balneariis assa in alterum apodyteri angulum promovi, propterea quod ita erant posita ut eorum vaporarium [ex quo ignis erumpit] esset subiectum cubiculis. Subgrande cubiculum autem et hibernum altum valde probavi, quod et ampla erant et loco posita ambulationis uno latere, eo quod est proximum balneariis. Columnas neque rectas neque e regione Diphilus collocarat. Eas scilicet demolietur: aliquando perpendicularo et linea discet uti. Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore: curat enim diligentissime Caesius qui tum mecum fuit.

II. 3. Ex eo loco recta Vitularia via profecti sumus in Fufidianum fundum quem tibi proximis nundinis Arpini de Fufidio HS ccciooo emeramus. Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi numquam, permultis locis aquam profluentem et eam uberem. Quid quaeris? Iugera L prati Caesius irrigaturum facile te arbitrabatur. Equidem hoc, quod melius intellego, adfirmo, mirifica suavitate te villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva †viridicata. Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum

assa] (sc. apparently *loca*) 'Turkish baths,' 'sweating-rooms,' so called because there was no immersion in water; so *assus sol*, 'a basking in the sun without previous anointing,' Att. xii. 6, 2 (499).

loco posita] 'in their right position.' For *loco* = *recto loco*, cp. Fam. ix. 16, 4 (472).

rectas] 'perpendicular;' *e regione* is 'exactly opposite each other.'

perpendicularo et linea] ought both to mean 'plumb-line'; but perhaps here *perpendicularum* refers to the plumb-line which would keep the pillars perfectly perpendicular, *linea* to a measuring string which would ensure that the opposite pillars should be equidistant from each other, and so the two rows should be parallel.

Caesius] probably the M. Caesius whom we find as aedile at Arpinum, Fam. xiii. 11, 3 (452); 12, 1 (453), where we find mention also of Fufidius.

3. *Vitularia via*] "This name belongs certainly to the same category as the *via Salaria* at Rome: the chief product which was transported along this road gave it its name. Accordingly the *via Vitularia* means the 'calf-road,' because along it the meat was conveyed from the region

of Arpinum to the Greek cities on the coast; and even still the Arpinates have a trade in live-stock with Naples" (O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum*, p. 26).

ccciooo] 100,000 sesterces = about £850.

salientibus] '*jets d'eau*.' Mr. Roby quotes from the Digest xix. 1, 15 †*lines et labra, salientes, fistulae quoque quae salientibus iunguntur, quamvis longe excurrant extra aedificium, aedium sunt*.

†*viridicata*] That *viridi* followed *silva* is highly probable: also it is possible that a participle followed *viridi* to balance *additis*. Georges suggested *iuncta*. Perhaps *coniuncta*. Or perhaps we might read *viridi*. *Attamen*. See Adn. Crit. The word *ridicata* there quoted means 'provided with stakes' (*ridicae*), the Greek *χαράκες*, for the support of trees, esp. vines. Hence Kayser would read *silva vitium ridicata*, 'a plantation of vine trees supported on stakes.'

Bovillanum] What is to be understood by *Bovillanum* we do not know. The Medicæan and the ed. Romana read *Bovilianum*, or *Bobilianum*; the ed. Iensoniana *Bombilianum*. Reading *hunc* as in the text, there can be no reference to *Bovillae*, the town in Latium, as the estate of Fufidius was obviously in the

velle retinere. De eo quid videatur ipse constitues. †Calibus aiebat aqua dempta et eius aquae iure constituto et servitute fundo illi imposita, tamen nos pretium servare posse, si vendere vellemus. Mescidium mecum habui. Is se ternis nummis in pedem tecum transegit dicebat, sese autem mensum pedibus aiebat passuum ΠΙCΙΟ. Mihi plus visum est. Sed praestabo sumptum nusquam melius posse poni. Cillonem arcessieram Venafro. Sed eo ipso die quattuor eius conservos et discipulos Venafri cuniculus oppreserat. 4. Idibus Sept. in Laterio fui. Viam perspexi, quae mihi ita placuit ut opus publicum videretur esse praeter CL passus. Sum enim ipse mensus ab eo ponticulo qui est ad Furinae Satricum

territory of Arpinum. 'Nomen ab ignobili loco ductum,' says Manutius. It is possible that we should read *nunc* for *hunc*; and suppose Cicero to mean, 'I have bought you this beautiful estate: but I understand that you now wish to keep your suburban residence at Bovillae' (which he probably intended to sell in order to get the purchase-money for the *Fufidianus fundus*). Cicero appears to have been in some perplexity about his brother's intentions as regards a suburban residence: cp. § 23.

†Calibus] For Calibus, perhaps we should read, not *Calvus* (with Cratander), but, as Dr. Reid suggests, *Cascellius*, comparing Att. xv. 26, 4 (763), where he is mentioned in connexion with water.

aqua . . . imposita] Mr. Roby (*Classical Review*, i. 67) has a valuable note on this passage, in which he corrects the views put forward in our former edition. "Calvus" (he says) "—if this is the right reading—was probably a land agent. A juriconsult is not the man to tell the value of an estate. The precise relations of the estates are not certain; but I understand the *fundus Bovillanus* to be the same as the land said at the beginning of the section to have been bought at Arpinum from Fufidius, and to be well off for water. Arpinum and (the known) Bovillae are many miles apart, so that the meaning of *Bovillanus* is uncertain. I take *Arpini* to be merely the place of purchase. At any rate, Quintus had the intention of taking water from one estate to another. I translate: 'Calvus declared that if the water were taken away, and the right of drawing it were established, and a servitude imposed on that estate, we should still get our price.' As owner of the two

estates, Quintus could deal with the water as he liked. But if he sold the estate whence he took the water, he would have to declare in the conveyance that he sold subject to this right. That would be establishing for the dominant estate (where he used the water) a *ius aquae ducendae*, and imposing on the servient estate the obligation to allow the water to be so taken. *Ius aquae (ducendae) constituere* is a regular technical phrase, Dig. viii. 5. 10 init. ib. 18." This lucid note of Mr. Roby's makes the passage quite clear.

Is . . . dicebat] 'he said he had agreed with you (to make the canal) for three sterceres a foot, and that he had stepped it and made it three miles' (Shuckburgh).

4. Laterio] The *Laterium* was another property of Quintus in Arpinum. It seems to have been on higher ground than either the *Arceanum* (which was in the neighbourhood of the modern Rocca d'Arce, cp. 106, 4) and the *Fufidianus fundus*, which appears to have been in a woody valley (§ 3).

Viam] A road on the construction of which Quintus was now employing labourers.

Furinae] sc. *templum*. Nothing is known of this goddess. The *Furinalia* were held on July 25.

Satricum] This cannot well refer to the town in Latium. It must be a village in or near the territory of Arpinum. In Livy ix. 12, 5; 16, 2, we hear of certain Satricani, who revolted, and joined the Samnites, apparently in connexion with Fregellae: so there must have been a Satricum near Arpinum. It is this village to which both Cicero and Livy seem to refer. O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum*

versus. Eo loco pulvis, non glarea iniecta est—id mutabitur—et ea viae pars valde acclivis est. Sed intellexi aliter duci non potuisse praesertim cum tu neque per Locustae neque per Varronis velles ducere. Varro viam ante suum fundum probe munierat. Locusta non attigerat: quem ego Romae aggrediar et, ut arbitror, commovebo, et simul M. Taurum, quem tibi audio promississe, qui nunc Romae erat, de aqua per fundum eius ducenda rogabo.

5. Nicephorum, vilicum tuum, sane probavi quaesivique ex eo ecquid ei de illa aedificatiuncula Lateri, de qua mecum locutus es, mandavisses. Tum is mihi respondit se ipsum eius operis HS XVI conductorem fuisse, sed te postea multa addidisse ad opus, nihil ad pretium: itaque id se omisisse. Mihi mehercule valde placet te illa ut constitueras addere: quamquam ea villa quae nunc est tamquam philosopha videtur esse, quae obiurget ceterarum villarum insaniam. Verum tamen illud additum delectabit. Topiarium laudavi: ita omnia convestivit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiarium facere videantur et hederam vendere. Iam ἀποδουρήσιω nihil alsius, nihil muscosius. 6. Habes fere de rebus rusticis. Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius, sed etiam ipse crebro interviso, quod est facile factu. Quam ob rem ea te cura liberatum volo.

(p. 25, n. 6), considers *Satricum* and *Satrius* (C. I. L. x. 5668, an inscription found in this neighbourhood) to be Volscian.

id mutabitur] 'this defect will be remedied.' *Id* refers to the fact that clay, not gravel, was used; *et* and *id* are very frequently confounded, as Wes. (Em. Alt. p. 62) has shown on Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53).

Varro viam] So Wes. for *Velvinum* of Cratander, or *vel vinum* of M: see Adn. Crit. 'He (Varro) was the only one who had properly paved the road where it skirted his property; Locusta had never put a hand to it.' Quintus seems to have drawn the road in such a way as not to trench on their property, and in return he expected each proprietor to keep the road in repair where it skirted his estate.

5. HS XVI] 16,000 sesterces = about £140.

illa ut constitueras] 'I am quite in favour of your carrying out your proposed additions, though the building, in its

present (unadorned) condition, is like some sober moralist, whose mission it is to reproach the frivolity of the other villas.' Observe the force of the subjunctive, '(placed thus) to reproach.'

basim] 'the foundation wall.'

vendere] This is a strange fancy. Cicero says: 'The place is so clothed with ivy that (ivy is its chief feature, and), in a word, the statues of Greek heroes that stand between the columns seem to have taken to fancy gardening, and to be recommending the ivy to our notice.' No matter what the gesture of each statue is, it seems to be calling attention to the ivy, which is everywhere. For this sense of *vendere* cp. Att. xiii. 12, 2 (626) *Ligarianam praecleara vendidisti*.

Iam] 'as it now is.'

6. *ille quidem*] 'He (the fancy gardener) is using all despatch in the adornment of your town house, and he is seconded by Philotimus (Terentia's steward) and Cincius (the agent of Atticus).' For the position of *ille*

Hocus est Palatinus

(Nec unquam)

III. 7. De Cicerone quod me semper rogas, ignosco equidem tibi, sed tu quoque mihi velim ignoscas. Non enim concedo tibi plus ut illam ames quam ipse amo. Atque utinam mihi his diebus in Arpinati, quod et ipse cupierat et ego non minus, mecum fuisset! Quod ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim: cum aliquo exhibimus, eat nobiscum puerumque educat. Clamores efficiam si eum mecum habuero otiosus; nam Romae respirandi non est locus. Id me scis antea gratis tibi esse pollicitum. Quid nunc putas, tanta mihi abs te mercede proposita? 8. Venio nunc ad tuas litteras, quas pluribus epistulis accepi dum sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt redditae, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te datae tempore: una pluribus verbis, in qua primum erat quod antiquior dies in tuis fuisset ascripta litteris quam in Caesaris. Id facit Oppius non numquam necessario ut, cum tabellarios constituerit mittere litterasque a nobis acceperit, aliqua re nova impediatur et necessario serius quam constituerat mittat, neque nos datis iam epistulis diem commutari curamus. 9. Scribis de Caesaris summo in nos amore. Hunc et tu fovebis et nos quibuscumque poterimus rebus augebimus. De Pompeio et facio diligenter et faciam quod mones. Quod tibi mea permissio man-

quidem, cp. Q. Fr. i. 4, 3 (72). We must not adopt the suggestion of Lambinus *illam quidem*; see Madvig on Fin. iv. 43.

7. *michi . . . mecum fuisset*] The *dativus ethicus*; see on Att. iv. 2, 4 (91). In *qui mihi accubantes in convivio*, Catil. ii. 10, we have a stronger case of the ethical dative. Render 'would that I had had the pleasure of his company with me.' All the edd. omit the *michi* of the mss. Cp. Ter. Heaut. 820 *scin ubi nunc sit tibi tua Bacchis*.

Clamores] 'I shall bring down the house (with applause of his progress) if I have the boy with me when I am at leisure. I have not time to draw breath at Rome.' It would seem that Cicero had promised to give some instruction to his nephew.

mercede] 'the gratitude and affection of Quintus and the boy.' There is a similar expression at the end of 151, 4.

8. *litteras . . . epistulis*] 'letter sent in more than one packet.' Though there were several packets, still, when the contents were considered, they virtually formed only one letter. In 131, 5 there is a somewhat different antithesis between

litterae, 'a formal document,' and *epistula*, 'a mere letter.'

antiquior dies] 'an earlier date.'
facit . . . ut . . . impediatur] literally 'makes a practice of being prevented'; that is, 'he often finds himself prevented.' This use of *facere* with subj. is commented on at 12, §§ 42, 47, 50, above. 'Oppius [who along with Balbus acted as Caesar's agent at Rome] often finds himself prevented from forwarding the letters by something that turns up; so he often sends them later than he had intended; and I do not take the trouble to correct the dates of the letters already consigned to him.' The passage might thus be rendered, to bring out clearly the *definitive* or *explanatory* character of the subjunctive: 'of that (the wrong date) Oppius often is the cause, that is, he finds himself prevented . . . so we do not see to the correction of the date.'

curamus] M gives *curamus*, which is probably due to the attraction of the other subjunctives. Lehmann (p. 90) has rightly altered to *curamus*.

9. *permissio mansionis tuae*] This permission was given in 142, 3.

sionis tuae grata est, id ego, summo meo dolore et desiderio, tamen ex parte gaudeo. In Hippodamis et non nullis aliis arcessendis quid cogites non intellego. Nemo istorum est quin abs te munus fundi suburbani instar exspectet. Trebatium vero meum quod isto admisceas nihil est. Ego illum ad Caesarem misi, qui mihi iam satis fecit. Si ipsi minus, praestare nihil debeo, teque item ab eo vindico et libero. Quod scribis te a Caesare cotidie plus diligi immortaliter gaudeo. Balbum vero, qui est istius rei, quem ad modum scribis, adiutor, in oculis fero. Trebonium meum a te amari teque ab illo pergaudeo. 10. De tribunatu quod scribis, ego *Mil. Trib.* vero nominatim petivi Curtio et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse rescripsit meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit. Si cui praeterea petiero—id quod etiam Oppio dixi ut ad illum scriberet,—facile patiar mihi negari, quoniam illi qui mihi molesti sunt sibi negari a me non facile patiuntur. Ego Curtium—id quod ipsi dixi—non modo rogatione sed etiam testimonio tuo diligo, quod litteris tuis studium illius in salutem nostram facile perspexi. De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus. De publicis negotiis, quae vis ad te Tironem scribere, neglegentius ad te ante scribebam, quod omnia minima maxima ad Caesarem mitti sciebam.

summo] 'though I am pining sadly for your return'; for this *ablativus modi* see on 131, 4.

Hippodamis] 'men like Hippodamus'; cp. 92, 3 *omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'everyone who was a Catiline for ruffianism he made to appear thenceforth as respectable as an Acidinus.' See § 21. But possibly Schütz was right in altering to *Hippodamo*. The *-is* may have arisen from the adjacent words.

isto admisceas] *Isto* = *istuc*, and is a word affected by Cicero in his letters, and frequent in the comic drama; *admisceas isto* = *amisceas in* (or *ad*) *istos*. Cicero says: 'You have no reason to include Trebatius in the class of persons like Hippodamus, who will look to have a small property settled on them by you, if you give them any encouragement. I have handed him over to Caesar, who has already made me feel quite easy about his future. If he has not quite done the same for Trebatius himself, I am not responsible for that: I hold you all the same under no obligation to push his

fortunes.'

immortaliter] See I³, Introduction, II. D (3), p. 89.

in oculis fero] 'is as the apple of my eye'; cp. *in sinu fero*, 135, 1.

Trebonium] Gaius Trebonius, who, as tribune, had the preceding year proposed the law giving to the consuls, Pompey and Crassus, the government of Spain and Syria for five years.

pergaudeo] See I³, Introd., II. D. (4), p. 89.

10. *tribunatu*] *sc. militum*.

Curtio] cp. 141, 3 and Index.

id quod] 'and I told Oppius to tell him this in writing to him.' 'My friends,' says Cicero, 'are annoyed if I refuse to give them letters asking for favours: so I will give them; but I shall not be annoyed if the favours be refused.'

non modo rogatione] 'not only because you ask me to make him my friend, but because of what you tell me about him.'

studium illius in salutem] 'how he worked for my restoration from exile.'

^{longste} IV. 11. Rescripsi epistolae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula, in qua primum est de Clodi ad Caesarem litteris: in quo Caesaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit uti ullum ad illam furiam verbum rescriberet. Alterum est de Calventi Mari oratione quod scribis. Miror, tibi placere me ad eam rescribere, praesertim cum illam nemo lecturus sit, si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdiscant. Libros meos, omnis quos exspectas, inchoavi, sed conficere non possum his diebus. Orationes efflagitatas pro Scauro et pro Plancio absolvi. Poëma ad Caesarem quod institueram incidi. Tibi quod rogas, quoniam ipsi fontes iam sitiunt, si quid habebo spatii, scribam. 12. Venio ad tertiam. Balbum quod ais mature Romam bene comitatum esse venturum mecumque adsidue usque

11. *veniam non dedit*] Caesar had received a letter from Clodius. Quintus had most politely begged him not to leave it unanswered through any feeling of sympathy with him and his brother, and indignation against their enemy. Caesar 'would not comply with his request by writing a single word in reply to that devil' (i.e. Clodius).

Calventi Mari] According to Schütz, who is generally followed, the person referred to is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. He is called *Calventius* from his maternal grandfather; and is called *Marius* because he is compared with C. Marius in Pis. 20. It seems that L. Calpurnius Piso, after his return from the province of Syria, wrote a speech against Cicero. If the passage in the *orat. in Pisonem* is to be used for the elucidation of this, the case stands thus: When Marius and Saturninus sought to procure the ruin and exile of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, Saturninus brought forward an agrarian law with the clause that every senator should swear obedience to it within five days, on pain of a fine and expulsion from the senate. Metellus refused, and was expelled the senate. But Saturninus, not satisfied with this, proposed his exile. Metellus could have easily resisted this oppression; but he retired from Rome rather than be the cause of civil dissension. Cicero often mentions his action in this matter with admiration, e.g. Pis. 20; Planc. 89. Accordingly Cicero must here be supposed to compare Piso with Marius, and himself with Metellus, who, for high reasons,

declined a contest in which he might have been victor. *Calventius Marius* would then mean 'that Piso (nicknamed by Cicero *Calventius*), who plays Marius to my Metellus'; that is, 'whom I could easily defeat, but will not meet.' Cicero nicknames him in Pis. 14 *Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius*, because his father was married to a daughter of Calventius, an Insubrian Gaul.

meam in illum] 'while every boy reads mine against Piso (delivered the year before) as a school exercise.'

Libros] Cicero means his treatise de *Republica*.

his diebus] 'in the course of the next few days.' Contrast *diebus illis*, 149, 4.

institueram] See Adn. Crit.

incidi] I have 'cut short,' 'broken off,' 'stopped writing.' Above, 91, 5, he uses the same phrase of the 'clipping of his wings,' i.e. the humiliation inflicted on him by his exile, *qui mihi pinnas incidervant nolunt easdem renasci*.

ipsi fontes] 'since you, who are the very fount of poesy, have run dry.' *Tibi quod rogas* is 'what you ask for yourself'; that is, 'the verses which you want from me to use as your own in your poem on the exploits of Caesar.'

12. *bene comitatum*] 'well-attended.' That is, say Man. and the other commentators, 'with plenty of money.' But that usage is strange. Perhaps it may mean with a large number of Caesar's army who would take part in the elections during the winter-season: cp. 144, 6 *Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus*.

walsh de rap. abstr. ch. p. 144. 214

ad Id. Maias futurum, id mihi pergratum perque iucundum. Quod me in eadem epistula, sicut saepe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam equidem, sed quando vivemus?

13. Quarta epistula mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam a. d. III. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. In ea nihil sane erat novi praeter Eri-
gonam, quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te quid sentiam, nec dubito quin mihi placitura sit. Et, quod *paene* praeterii, de eo quem scripsisti de Milonis plausu scripsisse ad Caesarem, ego vero facile patior ita Caesarem existimare illum quam maximum fuisse plausum. Et prorsus ita fuit, et tamen ille plausus qui illi datur quodam modo nobis videtur dari. 14. Reddita etiam mihi est pervetus epistula sed sero adlata, in qua de aede Telluris et de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris quidem etiam tuam statuam locavi. Item de hortis me quod admones, nec fui umquam valde cupidus et nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem.

Romam cum venissem a. d. XIII. Kal. Octobr., absolutum offendi in aedibus tuis tectum: quod supra conclavia non placuerat tibi esse multorum fastigiorum, id nunc honeste vergit in tectum inferioris porticus. Cicero noster, dum ego absum, non cessavit apud rhetorem. De eius eruditione quod labores nihil est, quoniam ingenium eius nosti, studium ego video. Cetera eius *sic* suscipio ut me putem praestare debere.

X. 15. Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant: L. Lentulus,

quando vivemus] 'when shall I be allowed to live?' Cicero means that he is living his life only when he is allowed to eschew politics and devote himself to study in one of his suburban villas.

13. *Eriogonam*] a tragedy by Quintus: cp. note to 155, 7.

de eo quem] 'about the correspondent who, you say, wrote to Caesar on account of the applause given to Milo' (by the people in the theatre, as a recognition of a recent spectacle of great magnificence given by Milo as aedile). The reading of I, *de eo quod*, seems more natural, 'concerning the account which you say you wrote to Caesar of the applause given to Milo'; but I is a very unsafe guide.

14. *aede Telluris*] See on 120, 2.
domus ... amoenitatem] cp. note to 123, 4.

Romam] From this on to the end

Cicero wrote at Rome: see Introductory Note.

supra conclavia] The *conclavia* were the day-rooms, dining-rooms, &c., as opposed to the *cubicula*, or sleeping-rooms. Quintus did not wish that this roof should have many gables, and Cicero tells him, 'it has now a proper slope down to the roof of the lower portico.' For *honeste* cp. § 2, above.

Cetera] 'all the rest which appertains to his education (beside his ability and application) I take on myself with full consciousness that I fancy I am bound to make myself responsible for its excellence.' But perhaps Kayser is right in omitting *sic*, which has no ms authority, and reading *puto* for *putem*, 'the rest I take on myself, as, indeed, I think I am in duty bound to take the responsibility.'

15. *tres ... factiones postulant*] Lentulus

flaminis filius, qui iam de maiestate postulavit, Ti. Nero cum bonis subscriptoribus, C. Memmius tribunus pl. cum L. Capitone. Ad urbem accessit a. d. XII. Kal. Octobr. Nihil turpius nec desertius. Sed his iudiciis nihil audeo confidere. Quod Cato non valebat, adhuc de pecuniis repetundis non erat postulatus. Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, sed adhuc nihil profecit nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet. Tuas litteras vehementer exspecto. 16. Quod scribis te audisse in candidatorum consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Eius modi enim pactiones in ea coitione factae sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit, et simul mihi committendum non fuit ut iis coitionibus interesssem quibus Messalla excluderetur, cui quidem vehementer satis facio rebus omnibus, ut arbitrator, etiam Memmio. Domitio ipsi multa iam feci quae voluit quaeque a me petivit. Scaurum beneficio defensionis valde obligavi. Adhuc erat valde incertum et quando comitia et qui consules futuri essent.

17. Cum hanc iam epistulam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. XI. Kal. septimo vicensimo die. O me sollicitum! quantum ego dolui in Caesaris suavissimis litteris! Sed quo erant suaviores, eo maiorem dolorem illius ille casus adferebat. Sed ad tuas venio litteras. Primum tuam remansionem etiam atque etiam probo, praesertim cum, ut scribis, cum Caesare communicaris. Oppium miror quidquam cum Publio; mihi enim non placuerat. 18. Quod interiore epistula scribis me Idib. Sept. Pompeio

de maiestate, the others de repetundis. He was acquitted on the first charge, and found guilty on the second.

Cato] M. Cato, who was praetor. non valebat] = aegrotabat.

nec . . . proficiet] Notwithstanding this statement, Pompey did succeed, for Cicero shortly after defended Gabinius.

17. septimo] So Bardt (Quaest. Tull., p. 32), excellently, for Sept. of the manuscripts. He compares § 25 ex Britannia Caesar ad me K. Sept. dedit litteras quas ego accepi a. d. iiii Kal. Oct.

casus] used especially of a domestic affliction; cp. vellem in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses. Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574), a letter written by Cicero to Sulpicius on the occasion of Tullia's death. This passage does not imply that Cicero had not heard of Julia's death before. He has already

twice referred to it. This was the first time that Caesar wrote to him about it.

Publio] Clodius. He is surprised that Oppius should have had anything to do with him.

18. interiore epistula] This is explained by Man. to mean 'the end of the letter.' He holds that letters were not folded as with us, but formed into a roll. The letter was rolled up from the bottom, according to him, so that the end of the letter would be the inmost part of the roll. He founds this theory on a passage, Fam. iii. 7, 2 (244) legati mihi volumen a te plenum querelae . . . reddiderunt . . . eadem autem epistula. But there is no sufficient evidence that single letters, except very long ones, were thus rolled in a cylindrical shape. Volumen only means 'a letter as long as a book.' Complicare

Mcy. Pp.
203, 2

M. Porcius
Praet. Dic-
ses J.

Laufzeit

Substanzlos bei
Caes. zu blei-
ben

legatum iri, id ego non audiui scripsique ad Caesarem neque Vibullium Caesaris mandata de mea mansione ad Pompeium pertulisse nec Oppium. Quo consilio *nescio*. Quamquam Oppium ego tenui, quod priores partes Vibulli erant; cum eo enim coram Caesar egerat, ad Oppium scripserat. Ego vero nullas δευτέρας φροντίδας habere possum in Caesaris rebus. Ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est ut sit paene par. Videor id iudicio facere—iam enim debeo—sed tamen amore sum incensus.

VI. 19. Cum scripsissem haec infima quae sunt mea manu, venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam, cum Pomponia foris cenaret. Dedit mihi epistulam legendam tuam, quam paullo ante acceperat,

is the verb used for 'to fold' a letter: cp. § 17 and Att. xii. 1, 2 (505); it is also used of furling a sail: Plaut. Rud. 938, Merc. 192. Accordingly, *interiore epistula* more probably means 'the body (middle) of the letter,' on the analogy of *interiora aedium*, &c. Cicero, as usual, goes right through the letter of his correspondent, dealing with beginning, middle, and end in succession. It is just possible, however, that the phrase may mean 'a more private letter,' one for Cicero's eyes only, and not to be shown to others. Hence Cicero replies to it with his own hand (§ 19). For *interior* in this sense of 'more private' cp. Nep. Hann. 2 *cum se ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset*. Usually *interior* applied to compositions means 'more recondite,' 'esoteric': cp. N. D. iii. 42; Fam. iii. 10, 9 (261), vii. 33, 2 (474).

me . . . Pompeio legatum iri] The train of thought is as follows:—'You speak of my going to Spain with Pompey as his lieutenant; I have heard nothing about it; but [such is the force of *que* after *non*] I wrote to Caesar at once, and told him that neither Vibullius nor Oppius had delivered to Pompey his message about me, that I should remain in Rome. What did they mean by not delivering the message? [Boot adds *nescio*; but it is hardly necessary.] Yet [Oppius is not to be blamed] I prevented Oppius from delivering the message, because I thought Vibullius had a prior claim to do so, as he had had a personal interview with Caesar, and Oppius only a letter. [As touching the question you put to me,] I assure you I had no second thought, nor could I have

such, in any matter concerning Caesar. He comes next to you and the children in my affection, and so near that he almost comes up to them. I think I act on due deliberation in thus regarding Caesar—for I am sure I have good reason for it—yet I know I am carried away by my feelings nevertheless.' Quintus had asked Cicero: 'Was your resolve to remain in Rome in compliance with Caesar's wish a second thought?' When Cicero heard from Quintus that there was a rumour that he was going to Spain as *legatus* to Pompey, he was anxious lest Caesar should suppose that Vibullius or Oppius had already conveyed to Pompey the wish of Caesar, that Cicero should remain in Rome, and that Pompey was, nevertheless, running counter to that wish, and taking Cicero with him. Cicero was desirous that Caesar's wish should be communicated to Pompey, lest he should offend the latter by refusing the *legatio*. The passage can thus be explained. But it would run more smoothly if we made a transposition *nec Oppium—quamquam Oppium ego tenui* ('though it was I who restrained Oppius'). 'Quo consilio?' ('Why did you do that? you may ask.') *Quod priores, &c.*

δευτέρας φροντίδας] αἱ δευτεραί πῶς φροντίδες σοφώτεραι, Eur. Hippol. 436. To a similar purport is ψέδει γὰρ ἡ πίνωια τὴν γνώμην, Soph. Ant. 389. For *ego vero* pointing to a question and introducing the answer, cp. note to Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62), and above, § 13. For *iudicio* one would have expected *officio*.

19. *foris*] So some of the old edd. for *foras* of M. *Foras* for *foris* is found in Petronius (c. 30), but not in Cicero.

Aristophaneo modo, valde mehercule et suavem et gravem: qua sum admodum delectatus. Dedit etiam alteram illam mihi qua iubes eum mihi esse adfixum tamquam magistro. Quam illum epistulae illae delectarunt! quam me! Nihil puero illo suavius, nihil nostri amantius. Hoc inter cenam Tironi dictavi, ne mirere alia manu esse.

20. Annali pergratae litterae tuae fuerunt, quod et curares de se diligenter et tamen consilio se verissimo iuwares. P. Servilius pater ex litteris quas sibi a Caesare missas esse dicebat significat valde te sibi gratum fecisse quod de sua voluntate erga Caesarem humanissime diligentissimeque locutus esses. 21. Cum Romam ex Arpinati revertissem, dictum mihi est Hippodamum ad te profectum esse. Non possum scribere me miratum esse illum tam inhumaniter fecisse ut sine meis litteris ad te proficisceretur: illud scribo, mihi molestum fuisse. Iam enim diu cogitaveram ex eo quod tu ad me scripseras ut, si quid esset quod ad te diligentius perferri vellem, illi darem; quod mehercule hisce litteris quas vulgo ad te mitto nihil fere scribo quod, si in alicuius manus incidere, moleste ferendum sit. Minucio me et Salvio et Labeoni reservabam. Labeo aut tarde proficiscetur aut hic manebit. Hippodamus ne numquid vellem quidem rogavit. 22. T. Pinarius amabilis ad me de te litteras mittit: se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis delectari. Is homo semper me delectavit fraterque eius mecum est multum. Qua re, uti instituisti, complectere adulescentem.

VII. 23. Quod multos dies epistolam in manibus habui propter

Aristophaneo modo] It is impossible to decide whether this means 'as full of wit as Aristophanes, the comic poet,' or 'as full of sound criticism (of the boy's style, &c.) as Aristophanes of Byzantium, the critic': *suavem* perhaps rather points to the former view.

20. *Annali*] L. Villius Annalis, a senator, as we learn from Fam. viii. 8, 5 (223).

21. *Iam enim diu*] 'From what you wrote to me I had long since resolved to make use of him if I had any very special message for you; inasmuch as in my ordinary correspondence with you I hardly ever say anything which would be annoying if it fell into anyone's hands':

lit., '[of such a nature] that, if it fell into anyone's hands, it would give me annoyance.'

me . . . reservabam] i.e. *meas litteras reservabam*.

Labeoni] We should wish to add *At* before *Labeo* in the next sentence. Lehmann would alter here to *Labienu*; but Labienus does not appear to have come to Rome this winter: see note to 159, 1.

ne numquid vellem] 'never even so much as asked me whether I had any commands.' This was a common formula of leave-taking, even when no commission was expected; an *absentis formula*, as Ussing calls it on Plaut. Amph. 538.

was?
nicht an-
Kläst!

commorationem tabellariorum, ideo multa coniecta sunt aliud alio tempore, velut hoc. T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit sese tibi, suburbanum si quod invenisset, non dubitaturum esse emere. In eius sermone ego utrumque soleo admirari, et te de suburbano emendo, cum ad illum scribas, non modo ad me non scribere sed etiam aliam in sententiam [de suburbano] scribere, et, cum ad illum scribas, nihil te recordari [de se] de epistulis illis quas in Tusculano eius tu mihi ostendisti, nihil de praeceptis Epicharmi, γυνῶθι πῶς ἄλλω κέχρηται, totum denique vultum, sermonem, animum eius, quem ad modum coniiicio, quasi *dedidicisse*. Sed haec tu videris. 24. De suburbano cura ut sciam quid velis, et simul ne quid ille turbet vide. Quid praeterea? Quid? Etiam. Gabinius a. d. IIII. Kal. Octobr. noctu in urbem introierat, et hodie H. VIII., cum edicto C. Alfi de maiestate eum adesse oporteret, concursu magno et odio universi populi paene affictus est. Nihil illo turpius. Proximus tamen est Piso. Itaque mirificum ἐμβόλιον cogito in secundum librum meorum temporum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum qualis reditus duorum imperatorum futurus esset, quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset. 25. Ex

23. *coniecta*] Madvig (A. C. iii. 196) objects that *coniecta* cannot be used absolutely for *coniecta in epistulam*; and that this fact which Cicero was about to relate had not been 'thrown into' the letter. He proposes *conlecta*. The mass of news had accumulated during the days in which he was waiting for the letter-carriers. This is possible: but perhaps *coniecta* means 'thrown together.' As the letter was written piecemeal, it lacked order and system. Cicero added, each time he sat down to write, just whatever topic occurred to him on the occasion.

[*de se*] Schütz omits these words. Madvig (A. C. iii. 197) conjectures *de sedeculis*, but confesses that 'quodnam illae morum Anicii iudicium et vestigium habuerint ignoramus.' See also Adn. Crit.

[*Epicharmi*] Cp. the oft-quoted *vāφε καὶ μέγιστος ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα τὰυτα τῶν φρενῶν*, Att. i. 19, 8 (25). Cicero wonders that Quintus had forgotten Epicharmus' rule for judging how a man will behave to you, viz., 'how has he behaved to others?'

[*dedidicisse*] This word is added by

Wesenberg. It probably represented the sense. Possibly a Greek word such as ἀπομαθηκέναι dropped out.

24. *ille*] Anicius: cp. note to 155, 6. H.] = *hora*, cp. Att. xv. 24 (757).

[*Quid? Etiam?*] 'What? Oh! yes.' For this use of *etiam* cp. Att. i. 13, 6 (19); ii. 6, 2 (33); vii. 3, 12 (294): also Planc. 65 fin.

[*Alfi*] He was tr. pl. in 695 (59). He was *quaesitor* in the trial of Gabinius for *maiestas* (151, 3), and of Plancius for *sodalicia* (cp. Planc. 104). He was probably, but not necessarily, praetor in this year. Some years before he failed for the praetorship (Sest. 113, 114).

[*Proximus*] L. Piso, called Calventius above, 'comes next to' Gabinius in unpopularity.

[*ἐμβόλιον*] 'an addendum' to the 2nd book of his poem, *de temporibus suis*.

[*temporum*] So we read with C. F. W. Müller for *librorum* of M. See Adn. Crit. [*perdidisset*] Piso lost a considerable part of his army in unsuccessful wars which he had himself provoked with the tribes adjoining his province of Macedonia: cp. Prov. Cons. 5; Planc. 86.

[*vendidisset*] Gabinius sold his army

an. Pol.
Anales

28. Sept. Britannia Caesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras, quas ego accepi a. d. III. Kal. Octobr., satis commodas de Britannicis rebus, quibus, ne admirer quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter eius luctum. Te oro etiam atque etiam, mi frater, ut valeas.

Wiel. II p. 448
149. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 17 (18)).

ROME; OCTOBER 1; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De commercio litterarum, de infamia consulum, de C. Memmio candidato, de Messallae et Domitii spe consulatus, de Scauri liberalitate, de senatu hoc ipso die futuro, de iudiciis impendentibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Puto te existimare me nunc oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed, quoniam loca et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum neque Athenas neque in Asiam [neque] cuiquam nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti dedi litteras. Neque enim *eae* sunt epistolae nostrae quae si perlatas non sint, nihil ea res nos offensura sit, quae tantum habent mysteriorum ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus, lepidum

by using it in restoring Ptolemy Auletes for a bribe: Pis. 48: Rabir. Post. 19, 21.

1. *nunc*] This is the reading of Pius for *non* of the mss. Sternkopf (Hermes, 1905, p. 29) retains *non* in apparently this sense, 'I am sure that you consider my infrequent letters are not due to forgetfulness of my usual practice; but as I knew your movements were uncertain, I did not give letters except to messengers going direct to you.' This is ingenious, but it leaves an irregular sentence, which Cicero is hardly likely to have written at the beginning of a letter.

cuiquam] M reads *neque cuiquam*, the *neque* having arisen from the same word thrice repeated in the same sentence. Wesenberg rightly ejected it. Klotz read *neque <quoquam> cuiquam*, but, as

Dr. Reid points out, *quoquam* is too rare a word in Cicero to be introduced by conjecture. It is not even certain in Verr. v. 45 *qui si quo publice proficisceris, praesidi et vecturae causa sumptu publico navigia praebentur: privatim autem nec proficisci quoquam potes, &c.*, where *usquam* has probably been altered into *quoquam*, owing to the preceding *si quo*.

lepidum] 'lest some joke of mine should get wind in some direction,' that is, 'should come to the knowledge of someone' (save my correspondent). This correction was put forward in *Hermathena* (i. 204); and it seems the simplest correction of the text. It only inserts *quid ne* between *lepidum* and *quo*. This is a case of ἀβλεψία very common in copyists. The copyist saw that *lepidum* was followed by the letters *qu-*, perhaps raised his eyes for a moment, and went

quid ne quo excidat. 2. Consules flagrant infamia quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit, quam ipse suosque competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecisset, uti ambo HS. quadragena consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent qui se adfuisse dicerent cum lex curiata ferretur, quae non lata esset, et duo consularis qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse, cum omnino ne senatus quidem fuisset. Haec pactio non verbis, sed nominibus et perscriptionibus, multorum ^{augures} tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pom-

on at the wrong *qu-*, writing *lepidum quo excidat*, instead of *lepidum quid ne quo excidat*. For the meaning of *excidere*, cp. De Or. i. 94 *libello qui me imprudente et invito excidit et pervenit in manus hominum*. Dr. Reid proposes *scilicet est periculum ne excidant*. He says *epidum* is paleographically almost identical with *epic'ulum* (i.e. *est periculum*); and *l* may be an error for *f* (i.e. *scilicet*). Professor Ellis would read *lepidum quo ne excidat*, and translates 'to prevent some witty remark being lost.'

2. *infamia*] See note on 142, 4.

competitor] This is added to distinguish *Domitius Calvinus*, the competitor of Memmius, from *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the existing consuls.

non verbis] On this passage Mr. Roby, in his discussion on *Litterarum Obligatio* ('Roman Private Law,' ii., p. 295), says: 'The agreement was not made by stipulation (*verbis*), but by book-entries and orders for payment passed through several persons' (bankers'?) books. No doubt the three augurs and two consulars were secured beforehand: book-entries or money-orders in their favour were made. When at Pompey's instance the agreement was produced, the names of the consulars and augurs were obliterated (*nominibus inductis*). It is useless to conjecture in what precise mode the bargain was made. Probably there was some further *pactum ne peteretur* to prevent the parties claiming the penalties if the bargain was duly performed.' See also Mr. Roby's detailed discussion in *Classical Review*, i. 67-69.

perscriptionibus] This word is exhaustively discussed by Mr. Roby in *Classical Review*, i. 68, and 'Roman Private Law,' ii. 292-3. It means in its most

general sense the 'expression of a debt in writing,' and in a more special sense 'warrants for payment.' It is probable that the latter is the use here. For this use cp. Att. xii. 51 (598) *Tiro narravit perscriptionem tibi placere*; xvi. 2, 1 (772) *quod perscribi oportet*; Phil. v. 11 *falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque* (cheques and deeds of gift purporting to be made in pursuance of Caesar's orders): Liv. xxiv. 18, 14 *a quaestore perscribebatur*.

nominibus inductis] In the former edition we took *inducere* to mean 'to set down in the account,' as in Verr. i. 106; De Leg. Agr. ii. 70, 98; Fam. iii. 10, 6 (261); and translated 'with all the items of the compact duly entered,' or, as *nomina* may include the names of the contracting parties, 'with all the entries duly made'; and we rejected the view that *inductis* meant 'cancelled.' Mr. Roby (*Classical Review*, i. 67), however, justly says that this makes *nominibus inductis* quite otiose, and that there is no reason for giving an unusual ['entered'] instead of the usual ['cancelled'] meaning to *inductis*. The agreement does not appear to have been contained in a separate document, but to have been contained in a number of books and documents. As we have seen, Mr. Roby takes *nominibus* in this clause to be the names of the consulars and augurs; and adds (*Classical Review*, i. 68, 69): 'If it be insisted that *nominibus* should mean the same in both places (I do not think it at all necessary), we may suppose that the whole or part of the book-entries were blotted out, but that yet from the remainder or from the context the nature of the entry may have been sufficiently discoverable to support the evidence afforded by the *perscriptiones* or by Memmius' confession.'

peio. ^{i. h. blieb unbekannt er verlor nichts dabei} Hic Appius erat idem: nihil sane iacturae. ^{cosi} Corruerat alter et plane, inquam, iacebat. ^{zurückgekehrt} 3. Memmius autem dirempta coitione invito Calvino plane refrixerat, et eo magis nunc hoc iacet [ep. XVI. 6] quod iam intellegebamus enuntiationem illam Memmi valde Caesari displicere. Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populo valde fuit. Nihil gratius. Certi erant consules. At senatus decernit, ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab iis consiliis, quae erant † omnibus † sortita, in singulos

nihil sane iacturae] Appius was proverbial for his impudence; cp. Vatinius in Fam. v. 10A, 3 (696) *si mehercules Appi os haberem*. Accordingly, the exposure did him no harm; but his colleague, Domitius, was utterly knocked down by the blow.

3. *refrizerat* 'has ceased to give interest': cp. 150, 3; Att. i. 19, 4 (25), ii. 1, 6 (27); De Div. ii. 81. The opposite is *calere*: cp. 154, 3, Planc. 55 *caluit re recenti, nunc in causa refrizit*, and Fam. viii. 1, 2 (192).

hoc = *hac re*. For *hoc* = *hac re* cp. Petit. Cons. 13 (12); 153, 7, 16. There is a certain surplusage here—*eo* and *hoc*, 'and accordingly his ruin is the more irretrievable for this fact that we now learn that Memmius' disclosure is greatly resented by Caesar.' Possibly we should read with Dr. Reid *totus iacet*, who compares Muren. 30. Sternkopf supposes that the corruption *cociace*, out of which Mommsen deduced *hoc iacet*, really belongs to the passage in Ep. 158, 1, which follows this passage in the mss; and for *cociace dictaturam* he ingeniously conjectures *olfae dictaturam*; see note on that passage. For such an ellipse of the verb as is implied in Sternkopf's reading *et eo magis (refrizerat), nunc quod*, he compares 155, 2 *Commovit me et eo magis (commovit) quod*. He further urges that the proximity of *iacebat* (§ 2 *fin.*) renders *iacet* improbable: and that coming between the pluperfect *refrizerat* and the imperfect *intellegebamus*, we should have expected *iacebat*. But perhaps *refrizerat* has an instantaneous significance 'lost favour at once'; *intellegebamus* is 'we ascertained' (at the time of the disclosure); and *nunc iacet* means 'is now fallen' (at the time Cicero was writing the letter).

eius Domitius competitor] Again to distinguish the candidate Domitius from the consul Domitius; see § 2. The order of

these words is very singular; but *hyperbaton* (e.g. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea*, Petit. Cons. § 1) is a characteristic of the letters; see Index. For the singular *fuit* after two subjects cp. Att. i. 8, 1 (4), 16, 12 (22), vii. 3, 10 (294), Brut. i. 12, 2 (909), quoted among many other examples from Cicero by Lebreton, p. 16.

tacitum iudicium] It is by no means certain what a *tacitum iudicium* was, as we do not hear of such a proceeding elsewhere. The analogy of a *senatus consultum tacitum*, Capitol. Gord. 12, and the fact that we know that the senate on other occasions held sittings in strict privacy, the result of which the senators were expected not to divulge (Val. Max. ii. 2, 1 *arcana consilia*: Plutarch, De Garrulitate, 11), would lead us to interpret the *tacitum iudicium* as a trial with closed doors. The purpose of that would be to avoid the intimidation that might be exercised by the bribed voters. But perhaps the view of Lange (iii. 351) is more satisfactory, that it was a judgment which was to be made on a matter of public notoriety 'without the hearing of witnesses or the usual methods of proof, and without speeches by counsel on either side.' This motion of the senate appears to have become distorted by the authorities which Plutarch used before it reached him, as he speaks of Cato's (Cat. Min. 44) having persuaded the senate to pass a decree that magistrates when elected, even if no accuser came forward, should be required to appear before a sworn court and submit to an examination as to the means by which they attained their magistracy.

omnibus] Mr. Shuckburgh seems right in taking this as dative, and supposing that the panels meant are those of the *album iudicium*, who had been selected to try cases of *ambitus*, of which many were expected. He translates, 'But the senate has passed a decree that "a trial with

candidatos. Magnus timor candidatorum. Sed quidam iudices, in his Opimius, Veiento, Rantius, tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne iniussu populi iudicarent. Res cedit. Comitia dilata ex senatus consulto, dum lex de tacito iudicio ferretur. Venit legi dies, Terentius intercessit. Consules, qui illud levi brachio egissent, rem ad senatum detulerunt. Hic Abdera, non tacente me. Dices, 'Tamen tu non quiescis?' Ignosce, vix possum. Verum tamen quid tam ridiculum? Senatus decreverat ne prius comitia haberentur quam lex lata esset: si qui intercessisset, res integra referretur. Coepta ferri leviter, intercessum non invitis, res ad senatum: de ea re ita censuerunt, comitia primo quoque tempore haberi esse e rep. 4. [ep. XVI. 7.] Scaurus qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus, cum ego partem eius ornatissime defendissem, obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque

closed doors" should be held before the elections in respect to each of the candidates severally by the panels already allotted to them all.' Possibly *omnibus* may have been a corruption of *ambitus* or *ambitu*.

sortita] Passive, as in Verr. ii. 37 *tum cum docet Heraclius non posse eo die sortiri quod lex Rupilia vetaret diebus xxx sortiri dicam quibus scripta esset*: also §§ 42 and 127: cp. besides Prop. v. 7, 55 *nam gemina est sedes turpem sortita per amnem*, and the adverbial *sortito*. For the active form cp. *sorti* in Plaut. Cas. 395, 413; and Nonius 471 quotes *sortiunt* and *sortiant* from Ennius and Varro.

Veiento] In Att. vii. 3, 5 (294) we hear that he was left by Bibulus in command of the province of Syria. Of Opimius and Rantius nothing is known. Some suppose that the latter is the same as *Antius* in § 4; but *Antius* does not appear to have been a timid man at all. These names would seem to show that the view cannot be sustained that the *tacitum iudicium* was composed of senators only.

cedit] 'marches slowly along.' This is a meaning of *cedere* found in Plautus (Cas. 446; Pseud. 308, 955), and probably belonged to the *sermo cotidianus*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 67. Madvig suggests *cecidit*. See Adn. Crit.

levi brachio] Cp. *mollis brachio*, Att. ii. 1, 6 (27). Quintilian uses *mollis articulo* (xi. 1, 70) and *mollis manu* (ii. 4, 12).

Abdera] 'a very Bedlam to which I contribute my share of noise.' *Abdera*

is the typical home of stupidity. 'Ἀβδηρικόν is 'the act of a maniac,' Att. vii. 7, 4 (298). Cp. Mart. x. 25, 4.

non invitis] 'to the satisfaction of the consuls who were bringing in the law.'

comitia primo quoque tempore haberi] 'that the several comitia should be held each at the first opportunity.' For *primo quoque tempore* cp. Phil. iii. 39, viii. 33; also note on 364, 1.

4. *paucis diebus illis*] 'a few days before.' Contrast *his diebus*, 'in the next few days,' 148, 11. For Scaurus cp. 143, 9. He was acquitted on September 2. The use of *partem* is a little strange ('side' for 'cause'), but is defended by C. F. W. Müller who adduces Att. ii. 21, 5 (48), Fam. xiii. 29, 7 (457). Dr. Reid defends *patrem*, the reading of M, as a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke. Cicero says below (§ 5) that he does not know what he will say in favour of Scaurus in the bribery case: and it may very likely have been as difficult in the case for *repetundae*. From 144, 6, we can see how important a part of the defence the *patris memoria* might be. Dr. Reid thinks that it would be just like Cicero to slip in *patrem eius* for *eum* here; and it would suit the cynical irony of the whole paragraph. Sternkopf thinks there is a cynical allusion to the number of counsel employed by Scaurus. It was noted that he had no fewer than six (Asconius, p. 20) 'when I defended a bit of him.'

Scaevolam] One of the suite of Q. Cicero

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ad pr. Kal. Octobr., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributim domi suae satis fecerat: sed tamen, etsi uberior liberalitas huius, gratior esse videbatur eorum qui occupant. Cuperem vultum videre tuum cum haec legeres. Nam profecto spem habes nullam, haec negotia multarum nundinarum fore. Sed senatus hodie fuerat futurus, id est, Kal. Octobribus. Iam enim luciscit. Ibi loquetur praeter Antium et Favonium libere nemo; nam Cato aegrotat. De me nihil timueris, sed tamen promitto nihil.

5. [ep. XVI. 8.] Quid quaeris aliud? Iudicia credo. Drusus, Scaurus, Domitius a Memmio, Messalla a Q. Pompeio Rufo, Scaurus a Triario aut a L. Caesare. 'Quid poteris, inquires, pro iis dicere?' Ne vivam, si scio. In illis quidem libris quos tu dilaudas nihil reperio.

in Asia, cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 13 (53). He was very vehement as tribune: cp. *Ἀπὸ πρέσβων* 152, 6; 154, 4.

qui occupant] Messalla and Domitius, who had been distributing their bribes at a time when Scaurus could not stand as a candidate, as he was under prosecution.

multarum nundinarum fore] 'that this kind of business can last for many weeks.' This seems to be the meaning; but we cannot find any place where *nundinae* is used in the sense of 'weeks,' except the familiar phrase *trinum nundinum*. *Spem* is used in the neutral sense of 'anticipation.' Sternkopf rightly sees no necessity to supply *non* before *nullam*. It has been also held that the reference may be to the money-lending transactions of Atticus, 'for assuredly you can have no expectation that this business will lead to much trafficking.' The jocular tone of the

preceding clause might lend some support to this.

Antium] We hear of an Antius in Catullus 44, 11 *Nam, Sestianus dum volo esse conviva, Orationem in Antium petito-rem Plenam veneni et pestilentiae legi*; also of an Antius who was proscribed by the triumvirs in 711 (43), but was saved by his wife, who wrapped him up inside a bundle of bed-clothes (cp. Appian B.C. iv. 39).

5. *In illis . . . libris*] The reference is to the treatise *De Oratore*.

quos tu dilaudas] So Victorius for the mss *quo studio laudas*: cp. Att. vi. 3, 3 (264) for *dilaudare*. Yet it is not to be denied that a defence could be made for *quos studio laudas*; for *studio* = *con amore*, cp. Rosc. Am. 91 *ut omnes intellegant me non studio accusare sed officio defendere*; Hor. Sat. i. 4, 78 '*laedere gaudes*' inquit '*et hoc studio pravus facis*.'

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Domitius, Messalla

for Morgen grant

nichts verbroch

angklagt

se orat.

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150. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 2).

ROME; OCTOBER 11; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit Gabinium reversum in urbem male acceptum et in senatu et a Memmio tribuno pl. in contionibus vexatum esse: tum de iudicio eius proxime futuro commemorat. Deinde qui de ambitu rei sint, quae comitiorum spes sit demonstrat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. vi. Id. Octobr. Salvius Ostiam vesperi navi profectus erat cum iis rebus quas tibi domo mitti volueras. Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit. Postridie autem eius diei qui erat tum futurus, cum haec scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura inter Memmium et Ti. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios M. F. Putabamus fore ut Memmio daretur, etsi erat Neronis mira contentio. Quid quaeris? Probe ^{Gabinii}premitur, nisi noster Pompeius dis hominibusque invitis negotium everterit. 2. Cognosce nunc hominis audaciam et aliquid in re publica perdita delectare. Cum Gabinius, quacumque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset subitoque bonus imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invasisset, in senatum se non committebat.

1. *calefecerat*] 'warmed him,' that is, 'assailed him with vehement invective.' The word is perhaps chosen here for the sake of a play on the name of *Calidius*, who was counsel for Gabinius.

Memmius] a tribune of this year.

Postridie] This furnishes an excellent instance of the inconvenience arising from the Roman habit of regarding time, not from the writer's point of view, but his correspondent's. 'The day after to-morrow' becomes in epistolary language 'the day after the day which was about to arrive at the time when I wrote this letter just before dawn.' The natural way to have expressed the sentence would have been: 'the day after to-morrow; it is now nearly dawn as I write.' In beginning to read the letters, one finds that one has come unto a land in which it seemeth always (not afternoon, but) the day before yesterday.

divinatio] As only one accuser was allowed for a single offence—in case of a number of accusers coming forward—it was necessary to hold a preliminary trial to decide which was to conduct the case. This preliminary trial was called *divinatio*.

premitur] sc. Gabinius.

negotium everterit] 'turns the tables,' 'upsets the combination against Gabinius.'

2. *subitoque*] that is, 'by a sudden change of purpose.' On the actions of Gabinius at this time, cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 62.

hostium plane] Thus clearly showing that he knew Rome was a city of enemies to him, and giving evidence of his strategic skill by surprising the hostile fort by night. This is all ironical. Koch reads *hostium plenam*, denying that Cicero would have written what is in the manuscripts. On the same ground Wesenberg conjectures *hostilem in modum*.

Interim ipso decimo die, quo eum oportebat hostium *caesorum* numerum et militum renuntiare, inrepsit summa infrequentia. Cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est: introducti publicani. Homo undique saucius, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit et me trementi voce *exsulem* appellavit. Hic—o di! nihil umquam honorificentius nobis accidit—consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic, ut ad corpus eius accederet: pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quaeris? Omnes, tamquam si tu esses, ita fuerunt. Nihil hominum sermone foris clarius. Ego tamen *me teneo* ab accusando, vix mehercule, sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare—satis est quod instat de Milone—vel quod

ipso decimo die] On the tenth day after he entered the city. The rule was, that no one should have a triumph unless he had slain in one engagement 5000 enemies. But, Man. shrewdly observes, Gabinius had given up all thoughts of a triumph when he entered the city. Hence Man. conjectures that all governors returning from their provinces were obliged to make some statement before the senate as to the losses sustained by the enemy and by the Romans in whatever actions occurred during his governorship. The words of Valerius Maximus ii. 8, 1, are as follows:—*Ob levia proelia quidam imperatores triumphos sibi decerni desiderabant: quibus ut occurreretur lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque millia hostium una acie cecidisset. . . . Ceterum ne tum praeclara lex cupiditate laevoae obliteraretur legis alterius adiutorio fulta est quam P. Marcius et M. Cato tribuni pl. tulerunt: poenam enim imperatoribus minatur qui aut hostium occisorum in proelio aut amissorum civium falsum numerum litteris senatui ausi essent referre iubetque eos, cum primum urbem intrassent, apud quaestores urbanos iurare de utroque numero vere ab iis senatui esse scriptum.*

Possibly we should read only *hostium* for *hostiarum* (see Adn. Crit.). We know that provincial governors were expected to write reports to the senate of any military actions which occurred during their term of office: cp. Pis. 38 *Quis unquam provinciam cum exercitu obtinuit qui nullas ad senatum litteras miserit*, and Verr. v. 9. We may conjecture that such a commander, on his return, would be expected to make a statement in the senate as to the military position in his province;

though it must be confessed that there does not seem to be confirmatory evidence of this practice. To this Dr. Reid objects that there was so little fighting in the provinces that it is hardly likely such a law was made. On the other hand, he thinks that we may suppose that the far-reaching Lex Iulia Repetundarum embodied the conditions of a triumph of which Val. Max. informs us, and made them more stringent by the requirement of a report. This will, of course, require *hostium caesorum*.

publicani] of Syria, who could not collect their dues, owing to the depredations committed by the pirates during the absence of Gabinius, who was engaged in the unlawful enterprise of restoring Ptolemy: *ἐπειδὴ οἱ Σύροι πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβήσαν, οἱ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνήθentes τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπράξαι συχὰ ἐπωφείλησαν, ἀργίζοντο . . . καὶ ἐτοίμως εἶχον καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ* (Dio Cass. xxxix. 59, 2).

saucius] 'wounded on every side.' This is our correction of *†atus* of the ms. The confusion between *c* and *t* occurs in almost every letter. Cp. *Servilius de repetundis saucius* (Fam. viii. 8, 3 (223)).

exsulem] Dio Cass. (xxxix. 60, 1) says absurdly that it was Pompey and Crassus during their consulship who taunted Cicero with having been exiled.

me teneo] Lamb. added *me*, but before *ab*. It seems impossible to omit it. The passage is not unlike Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715) *illuc refero*, where we must either add *me*, or alter to *referor*.

de Milone] Milo intended to stand for the consulship of 702 (52); and Cicero did not want to alienate Pompey's influence.

*J. Drum. V
1640, 9*

Propos 23.
Cic. Mag. Pp.
204

Waller ans
Gall. cisalp.
Wiel. p. 427 Ann.

iudices nullos habemus. ^{Νίφαστολύ} Ἀπότευγμα formido, addo etiam malevolentiam hominum, et timeo ne illi me accusante aliquid accedat, nec despero rem et sine me et non nihil per me confici posse. 3. De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, si consulatum petunt: a Memmio Domitius, a Q. Acutio, bono et erudito adolescente, Memmius, a Q. Pompeio Messalla, a Triario Scaurus. Magno res in motu est, propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur. Opera datur ut iudicia ne fiant. Res videtur spectare ad interregnum. Consules comitia habere cupiunt: rei nolunt et maxime Memmius, quod Caesaris adventu se sperat futurum consulem. Sed mirum in modum iacet. Domitius cum Messalla certus esse videbatur, Scaurus refrixerat. Appius sine lege curiata confirmat se Lentulo nostro successurum: qui quidem mirificus illo die, quod paene praeterii, fuit in Gabinium: accusavit maiestatis: nomina data, cum ille

in Syriam

No supporter of Milo was more enthusiastic than Cicero: cp. 177, 3.

Ἀπότευγμα] 'a *fiasco*.'
accedat] 'lest he should gain an advantage through my being the prosecutor,' owing to the malevolence of Cicero's enemies: cp. Phil. i. 38 *huc si quid accesserit non tam mihi quam vobis accesserit*. *Accidat*, the reading of M, could not by itself = *commode accidat*; used absolutely it would rather mean *incommode accidat*; and this is the contrary to what Cicero plainly means to say. If we retain *accidat*, it will become necessary to emphasize *me accusante*, 'lest it should be owing to my accusation he be condemned,' that I should, owing to my great powers, appear plainly the cause of his condemnation, and thus incur the enmity of Pompey. For *aliquid alicui accidere* of being condemned in a prosecution cp. Mil. 58 and 99.

non nihil per me] by means of the advice which Cicero would give to the counsel for the prosecution.

3. *a Memmio*] This is C. Memmius the tribune (cp. § 1), not to be confounded with C. Memmius, the candidate for consulship. On these accusations, cp. also 149, 5.

rei nolunt] because they could not become candidates for the consulship while under accusation.

Caesaris adventu] Cp. 159, 3. This cannot mean Caesar's arrival in the neighbourhood of Rome, for the pro-consul of Gaul could not pass the Rubicon: still less his arrival inside the city which he could not enter, except as a triumphator,

without forfeiting his *imperium*. Hence Man. thinks that *adventu* refers to the arrival of Caesar in Gallia Togata, that part of his province in which were *coloniae* and *municipia* invested with the franchise. Memmius hoped that Caesar would influence these in his favour, or even send some of his soldiers to support Memmius at the election. Cp. *Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus*, 144, 6.

refrixerat] Cp. 149, 3, note. We should probably use a different metaphor, 'has lost ground.'

sine lege curiata] See note to 153, 25.
nomina data] sc. of the witnesses against Gabinus. So say the commentators. But is the reference not rather to the *nominis delatio* at which the accused had a series of questions put to him by the prosecutor for the purpose of making out a *prima facie* case? See Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 463. Silence did not mean a confession of guilt, and in any case a trial was always necessary prior to condemnation: cp. Verr. i. 25 *incognita (causa) condemnari nemo potest*. Boot (Obs. Crit. 37) has an idea that there is a reference to abusive terms having been applied to Gabinus by Appius, that he called him names: so Boot reads *nomina odiosa data*. Even if this is Ciceronian Latin, we think the addition improbable. But Boot may be right in saying 'testes non nominantur et saltem debuerat scribi *nomina edita* ut Madvigius in Emend. Liv. p. 345; apud Livium xxxix. 37, 12, *edidit collegae nomen pro vulgato dedit c. nomen restituit*.'

verbum nullum. Habes forensia. Domi recte est: ipsa domus a redemptoribus tractatur non indiligenter.

Sein Haus
auf Palat.

Wiel. II p. 428

151. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 3).

ROME; OCTOBER 21; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri nuntiat de rebus domesticis non nulla, desiderat litteras eius; comitorum dilationes commemorat, Gabinium de ambitu reum, Ciceronis Q. filii in rhetore audiendo diligentiam.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

I. Occupationum mearum tibi signum sit librari manus. Diem scito esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo. Ita, quidquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis tempus fere confero. Negotia se nostra sic habent, domestica vero, ut volumus. Valent pueri, studioso discunt, diligenter docentur, et nos et inter se amant. Expositiones utriusque nostrum sunt in manibus: † sed tua ad perfectum iam res rustica Arcani et Lateri. Praeterea de aqua, de via nihil praetermisi quadam epistula quin enucleate ad te perscriberem. Sed me illa cura sollicitat angitque vehementer, quod dierum iam amplius L intervallo nihil a te, nihil a Caesare, nihil ex istis locis non modo litterarum sed ne rumoris quidem adfluxit. Me autem iam et mare istuc et terra sollicitat, neque desino, ut fit in amore, ea quae minime volo cogitare. Qua re non equidem iam te rogo ut ad me de te, de rebus istis scribas—numquam enim, cum potes,

ipsa domus] the material edifice itself; he had just used *domi* in the wider sense of 'at home.'

The date of this letter is fixed by Koerner (p. 55); Ep. 152 was written on Oct. 24 (152, 6), probably the day after the acquittal of Gabinus. That would fix the trial to Oct. 23: and this letter was written two days before (*triduo*, § 3).

1. †sed . . . rustica] No certain emendation of this passage has been made. The words *et tuae perfectae iam res rusticae* would represent the sense, though such a reading seems to present nothing to account for the corruption. This phrase

ad perfectum, however, might perhaps possibly stand for *ad perfectum venit* (or *adest*), as such verbs of motion are not infrequently omitted in epistolary style: e.g. 145, 2 *Serius potius ad nos* (sc. *veni dum plenior*: Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727) *Eram continuo Piliam salutaturus, deinde ad epulas Vestori navicula* (sc. *iturus*). As regards the building operations in question, cp. 148, 4-6, to which letter Cicero himself here refers his brother. There we have *urbana expolitio*, 'the doing up of the two brothers' town-houses,' contrasted with *res rusticae*, 'the works at Laterium and Arcanum'; and no doubt the meaning is the same here.

p. Wiel.

For Häuser

p. 167

praetermittis—sed hoc te scire volo, nihil fere umquam me sic expectasse ut, cum haec scribebam, tuas litteras. 2. Nunc cognosce ea quae sunt in re publica. Comitiorum cotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum omnium: tanta invidia sunt consules propter suspicionem paetorum a candidatis praemiorum. Candidati ^{consulares} consulares quattuor omnes rei: causae sunt difficiles, sed enitemur ut Messalla noster salvus sit, quod est etiam cum reliquorum salute coniunctum. Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sulla, subscribente privigno Memmio, fratre Caecilio, Sulla filio. Contra dixit L. Torquatus omnibusque libentibus non obtinuit. 3. Quaeris quid fiat de Gabinio? Sciemus de maiestate triduo: quo quidem in iudicio odio premitur omnium generum, maxime testibus caeditur: accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur: consilium varium, quaesitor gravis et firmus, Alfius, Pompeius vehementis in iudicibus rogandis. Quid futurum sit nescio, locum tamen illi in civitate non video. Animum praeeo ad illius perniciem moderatum, ad rerum eventum lenissimum. 4. Habes fere de omnibus rebus. Unum illud addam: Cicero tuus nosterque summe studiosus est Paeoni sui rhetoris, hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni. Sed nostrum instituendi genus esse paullo eruditius et

2. *quattuor omnes*] ‘the whole four’; not *candidati consulares quattuor, omnes rei*, the usual reading. Cicero had already clearly told his brother several times that there were four candidates.

P. Sulla] This is the Sulla who was defended by Cicero in the summer of 692 (62).

privigno Memmio] C. Memmius the tribune. The other *subscriptores* were Sulla’s cousin Caecilius, and his son Sulla.

Contra dixit] that is, in the *divinatio* as to who was to conduct the prosecution of Gabinus.

Torquatus] He had prosecuted Sulla eight years before *de vi* when Cicero undertook the defence of Sulla.

3. *caeditur*] This is the reading of M, which, if retained, must mean ‘is being castigated by.’ But Madvig’s (A. C., p. 197) emendation *laeditur* is very attractive, and is strengthened by the addition of *maxime*, which goes well with *laeditur* (‘he is chiefly damaged by witnesses’), but ill with *caeditur*, with which we should expect *acerrime*, or some such word. ‘One might say (adds Madvig) *a testibus concidi*;

but *testibus caedi* is not a phrase at all (nihil omnino est).’

rogandis] ‘in soliciting the favour of’; *rogare* used absolutely in this sense is rare.

locum . . illi] that is, he will certainly be sent into exile, if not on one charge, e. g. *maiestas*, then on another, *ambitus* or *res repetundae*.

rerum] ‘as things may turn out.’ Cicero says that he will not glory over the downfall of Gabinus, and will take in the easiest possible way any issue of the event, condemnation or acquittal. Madvig (l.c.) requires too great accuracy of antithesis when he thinks that *rerum* must refer to acquittal only. He proposes *alterum* or *laetum*, preferring the former. For *lenissimum*, cp. 160, 1 *lenissime tuli*.

4. *summe studiosus*] ‘greatly devoted to.’ We meet *summe studiosum*, Fam. iv. 3, 3 (494). This is Wesenberg’s emendation of M, which has *summo studio est*. This, though a slightly unusual phrase with the objective genitive added, may yet be defended: cp. Brut. 237 *Murena mediocri ingenio sed magno studio rerum veterum*.

cf p. 150. 178

23. Oct.
Mag. Pp. 204

cf p. 187 ff

θετικώτερον non ignoras. Qua re neque ego impediri Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam volo, et ipse puer magis illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur—in quo quoniam ipsi quoque fuimus, patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus (eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus), sed tamen, si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus. Magna enim nobis a te proposita merces est quam certe nostra culpa numquam minus adsequemur. Quibus in locis et qua spe hiematurus sis ad me quam diligentissime scribas velim.

Wiel. II p. 432

152. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 4).

ROME; OCTOBER 25; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Gabinio absoluto perscribit et qua re eum nec accusarit nec defenderit sed tantum testimonium contra eum dixerit ostendit: addit de versibus Q. fratris et de bibliotheca.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gabinus absolutus est. Omnino nihil accusatore Lentulo subscriptoribusque eius infantius, nihil illo consilio sordidius. Sed tamen nisi incredibilis contentio, preces Pompei, dictaturae etiam rumor plenus timoris fuisset, ipsi Lentulo non respondisset, qui tamen, illo accusatore illoque consilio, sententiis condemnatus sit xxxii, cum lxx tulissent. Est omnino tam gravi fama hoc

θετικώτερον] lit. 'belonging to θέσις,' i. e. 'more abstract,' 'more argumentative,' or 'reasoned,' having no relation to individual persons or circumstances, a style of speaking more adapted for a judge than a jury, more addressed to the reason than to the feelings. Mr. Sihler quotes for θέσις Cic. Or. 46 *quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis rationem traducta appellatur θέσις*. Many θέσις are to be found in Att. ix. 4, 2 (361).

Qua re . . . inducemus] We have punctuated this whole passage according to the text of Wes. The meaning is:—I should not like to interfere with Paeonius' system of instruction; the boy himself seems to take to the declamatory rather than to the

argumentative style of rhetoric—indeed this is the school in which I was brought up myself, so we may let him follow in my steps—I am sure he will rise as high as ever I did—yet if I can get him away with me somewhere to the country, I will introduce him to my system, which you know is more argumentative than the system of Paeonius.

qua spe] that is, of promotion from Caesar.

1. *consilio sordidius*] *sordes* and *sordidus* are especially applied to describe the conduct of corrupt juries.

tulissent] sc. cum lxx indices tulissent sententias: cp. note to 143, 4.

iudicium ut videatur reliquis iudiciis periturus et maxime de pecuniis repetundis. Sed vides nullam esse rem publicam, nullum senatum, nulla iudicia, nullam in ullo nostrum dignitatem. p. 209

Quid plura de iudicibus? Duo praetorii sederunt, Domitius Calvinus, is aperte absolvit ut omnes viderent, et Cato, is diribitis tabellis de circulo se subduxit et Pompeio primus nuntiavit. 2. Aiunt non nulli, ut Sallustius, me oportuisse accusare. His ego iudicibus committerem? Quid essem, si me agente esse elapsus? Sed me alia moverunt. Non putasset sibi Pompeius de illius salute sed de sua dignitate mecum esse certamen: in urbem introisset, ad inimicitias res venisset, cum Aesernino Samnite Pacideianus comparatus viderer, auriculam fortasse mordicus abstulisset, cum Clodio quidem certe redisset in gratiam. Ego vero meum consilium, si praesertim tu non improbas, vehementer approbo. Ille, cum a me singularibus meis studiis ornatus esset cumque ego illi nihil deberem, ille mihi omnia, tamen in re publica me a se dissentientem non tulit—nihil dicam gravius—et minus potens eo tempore quid in me florentem posset ostendit. Nunc, cum ego ne curem quidem multum posse, res publica certe nihil possit, unus ille omnia possit, cum illo ipso contenderem? Sic enim faciendum fuisset. Non existimo te putare id mihi suscipiendum fuisse. 3. 'Alterutrum' inquit idem Sallustius; 'defen-

ex Albano

Gabinium,

f. p. 214. 225

aperte absolvit] For a similar case in which a *iudex* allowed his vote (though by ballot) to be known, cp. Cato in the trial of Milo, Vell. ii. 47, 5 (*Milonem reum*); *M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia*.

Cato] We cannot be sure who this Cato was. It is not probable that he was Cato Uticensis, who was praetor this year (§ 6); nor the C. Cato who was tribune in 698 (56). Possibly the name is a mistake for *Cotta*, who appears in 705 (49) to have already held the praetorship, when we find him governor of Sardinia: cp. 159, 6, and Att. x. 16, 3 (402).

diribitis tabellis] 'when the votes were counted': cp. Pis. 96 *an ego exspectem dum de te quinque et septuaginta tabellae diribeantur*.

2. *Sallustius*] Cp. 155, 1, and Index. Dio Cass. (xxxix. 62, 2) says that Cicero *δεινότερα αὐτοῦ* (sc. Gabinius) *κατηγόρησεν*. This is possibly due to a confusion with the attack which Cicero made on him in the senate (150, 2).

committerem] For this absolute use of *committere*, cp. Verr. iii. 137; iv. 16.

cum Aesernino] Cicero says the contest between him and Pompey would be like that between Pacideianus and Aeserninus. Pacideianus was the prince of gladiators; Aeserninus had none of his skill, but was very strong and very determined. In Tusc. iv. 48 Cicero, quoting Lucilius (136 Lachm.), speaks of the ferocious courage of Aeserninus. Cicero means here to say that, though the skill would be all on his side, the brute force of Pompey might inflict on him very serious injuries. We have in Pacideianus another character common to Cicero and Horace (Sat. ii. 7, 97).

3. *Alterutrum*] sc. *fecisses*; 'you should have done one thing or the other; if you refused to prosecute Gabinius, you should have defended him.' For the pluperf. subj. of neglected duty, cp. Att. ii. 1, 3 (27). It is strange that the protasis, 'if you refused to prosecute Gabinius,' is

disses idque Pompeio ^{aufs. Billen hin} contendenti dedisses: etenim vehementer
 orabat.' Lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui mihi aut inimicitias
 putet periculosas subeundas fuisse aut infamiam sempiternam!
 Ego vero hac ^{Mittelweg} mediocritate delector, ac mihi illud iucundum est,
 quod, cum testimonium secundum fidem et religionem gravissime
 dixissem, reus dixit, si in civitate licuisset sibi esse, mihi se satis
 facturum, neque me quidquam interrogavit. 4. De versibus quos sp. 213
 tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera, quae non modo
 tempus sed etiam animum vacuum ab omni cura desiderat; sed
 abest etiam *ἐνθουσιασμός*. Non enim sumus omnino sine cura
 venientis anni, etsi sumus sine timore. Simul et illud—sine ulla
 mehercule ironia loquor—tibi istius generis in scribendo priores
 partis tribuo quam mihi. 5. De bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda,
 libris ^{verfälscht} commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici,
 praesertim cum ad meum quoque usum spectent. Sed ego mihi
 ipsi ista per quem agam non habeo: neque enim venalia sunt
quae quidem placeant et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et
diligentem non possunt. Chrysippo tamen imperabo et cum sp. 214 extra
 Tyrannione loquar. De fisco quid egerit Scipio quaeram. Quod
 videbitur rectum esse curabo. De Ascanione, tu vero quod voles
 facies: me nihil interpono. De suburbano, quod non properas
 laudo: ut habeas hortor. 6. Haec scripsi a. d. ix. Kalend. einos Kampf
 Novembr., quo die ludi committebantur, in Tusculanum profi-
 ciscens ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in ludum discendi,
 non lusionis: ea re non longius quam vellem, quod Pomptino

neither expressed nor indicated. Possibly we should read *Tum alterum*. Junius seems to have felt this difficulty: for he suggests *alterum igitur*.

mediocritate] 'this middle course.' Here, as in Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 5, *mediocritas* means the keeping of a middle course. It rarely means 'mediocrity' in our sense of the word (Phil. ii. 2).

satis facturum] 'that he would repay me' for my kindness in not acting as prosecutor.

interrogavit] 'cross-questioned.' It was a token of respect not to cross-question a man. Such a course was held to show that a man's evidence seemed above question.

4. *opera*] 'leisure,' 'spare time,' often in Plautus: ep. Plaut. Merc. 286 *Dicam si videam tibi operam esse aut otium*. But

here the context makes this sense inadequate. It rather means 'power (or 'opportunity') to do it.'

ἐνθουσιασμός] 'divine afflatus.' He calls this *animi alacritas* in the next letter to Quintus.

5. *quae quidem placeant*] 'I mean really desirable purchases.' The subjunctive is used because *placeant* implies a class—the generic subjunctive, as it is called.

fisco] This is probably the same transaction as is referred to in the next letter to Quintus, 155, 6, in the words *de aerario*, &c. But what it was we have no means of conjecturing.

Ascanione] probably a slave of Quintus.

6. *ea re*] 'not wishing to be further away from Rome for this reason,' &c. The reason is then given.

Pomptino] Cp. 154, 4.

ad triumphum a. d. III. Non. Novembr. volebam adesse. Etenim erit nescio quid negotioli. Nam Cato et Servilius praetores prohibituros se minantur, nec quid possint scio. Ille enim et Appium consulem secum habebit et praetores et tribunos pl. Sed minantur tamen, in primisque Ἄρη πνέων Q. Scaevola. Cura, mi suavissime et carissime frater, ut valeas.

M. Cato

153. TO P. LENTULUS, (FAM. I. 9).
Comel. -p. 208
Wiel. II p. 329
Barth Char. 77
Spintor (cos. 57)

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

*vor dem
Proceß des Ga-
bius, der nicht
unmöglich
hätte bleib. können*

Sese excusans demonstrat cur in gratiam cum Caesare, Vatinius, Crasso redierit, de scriptis suis, de P. Lentuli rebus domesticis, de Q. fratris negotio, de suo in Lentulum studio, de Appii successione, de publicanis non offendendis.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI.

1. Periucondae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae quibus intellexi te perspicere meam in te pietatem: quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? Quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni quo diiuncti fuimus et una et Romae fuisset. 2. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum quodque et in primis potes et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sentiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque adminis-

III] Cp. 154, 4. The mss give III.

The trial of Vatinius took place in August. It would take nearly two months for the news of that to reach Cilicia, and the same period for a letter to return. Hence this letter is to be placed in December. From the remarks in § 25 on the necessity Lentulus was under of vacating his province, we may also gather that this letter was written at the end of the year. See Koerner, pp. 61, 62. With this letter ought to be compared Cicero's defence of his political position as given in Planc. 91-94.

1. pietatis] 'devotion' or 'affection.'
facis . . . ut grata sint] 'you turn into favours, that is, acts deserving (productive of) gratitude, things which are bounden duties.' This meaning of *gratus* is common in the comic poets, e. g. *tum cum gratum mihi esse potuit nolui* (Ter. Heaut. 262); *ut grata mihi sint quae facio* (omnia Ter. Eun. 396).

hoc tempore omni] It was nearly three years. We see from the earlier letters of Fam. i. that Lentulus cannot have been present at the debates in the senate in Jan. 698 (56).

tratione rei publicae floruisse:—de qua ostendam equidem paullo post qui sit meus sensus et status et rescribam tibi ad ea quae quaeris:—sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo et tu me consiliario fortasse non imperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe usus esses:—quamquam tua quidem causa te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor:—sed certe qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis quos tibi partim inimicos esse intellegis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissem: quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus in te potissimum fractam illam et debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Ea est enim conatus quibus patefactis nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. 3. Te autem etsi mallet in meis rebus expertum quam etiam in tuis,

2. *sed certe et ego*] *Sed* resumes after the parenthesis *de . . . quaeris*, and again after parenthesis *quamquam . . . laetor*. Cp. 102, 2 and § 16 below.

auctore . . . consiliario] Cp. Att. xiv. 9, 1 (712). The *auctor* guides the course of the recipient of his advice; the *consiliarius* merely suggests.

imperatorum] Lentulus had received the title *Imperator* for some trifling success against the robber hordes which infested his province. He afterwards obtained the honour of a triumph for the same achievements. Cp. Att. v. 21, 4 (250).

actionis] 'the magnificence and brilliancy of that episode,' that is, his restoration, which Lentulus helped to bring about.

ille perennis] This is usually explained as referring to C. Cato, who two years before had proposed that Lentulus should be recalled. Others suppose the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of P. Clodius, to be so described. But the allusion is probably not to either of these. The person here covertly alluded to seems to us to be no less a person than Pompey. To this conclusion we are led by the fact—(1) that Cicero complains frequently of Pompey's perfidy towards himself; hence *ille perennis inimicus amicorum*

suorum; (2) that Lentulus *did* confer great honour on Pompey, as he was one of the consuls who proposed the consular laws which gave Pompey the Corn Commissionership in 697 (57), 95, 3; (3) that this interpretation gives a meaning to *libertatis*, which is otherwise inexplicable, as may be seen by referring to Mr. Watson's note. The conduct of Pompey as regards the commission to restore Ptolemy was shifty and discreditable, and seems to have brought on him much disrepute. Cicero here says, 'now that all his duplicity stands disclosed, he has utterly forfeited not only the dignity, but even the independence of his political attitude.' Cp. 119, 3 *quae enim proposita fuerant . . . dignitas in sententiis dicendis*, *libertas in re publica capessenda*; cp. also below, § 7 *libertate*, and § 20 *cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea*. Accordingly, *libertas* means 'the assumption of a bold (outspoken) demeanour in politics,' and that is what Pompey has forfeited. The reference might perhaps be held to point to Memmius; but Memmius was hardly of sufficient political importance to warrant such emphatic language on Cicero's part.

3. *etiam in tuis*] 'in your case as well' (as in mine).

tamen in molestia gaudeo eam fidem cognosse hominum non ita magna mercede quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea quae quaeris. 4. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia, teque id non reprehendere ascribis. Vatinius autem scire te velle ostendis quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paullo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam necesse est.

Ego me Lentule, initio, . . . rerum atque actionum tuarum, non solum meis sed etiam rei publicae restitutum putabam, et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quemdam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, rei publicae quae te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantum modo communi officio civium, non aliquo erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitisssem. Hac me mente fuisse et senatus ex me te consule audivit et tu in nostris sermonibus colloctionibusque ipse vidisti. 5. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis multis rebus meus offendebatur animus, cum te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate aut occulta non nullorum odia aut ob-

4. *laudarim*] 'gave testimony to his character.'

. . . *rerum*] Some word should be inserted before *rerum*. Cicero here says that, when restored, as the result of the steps taken by Lentulus, at the very beginning of his career (*initio*) as a restored exile, he looked on himself as restored not only to the bosom of his family, but to the service of his country. He came back with his heart full of a new sense of loyalty to the country which had recalled him; and he goes on to tell what discouragements he had to meet. Boot saw (*Obs. Crit.*, p. 4) that another word on which *rerum atque actionum* should depend must be introduced; for if *rerum atque actionum* depended on *initio*, there would be a contradiction. Cicero would then speak of himself as *restored* at a time when the earliest steps towards his restoration were being taken. *Initio* is the abl. of time; it means the same as *primis temporibus illis* in § 5; and we find *initio* in the same sense in *Fam. vi. 6, 4* (488). Boot suggests *vi* or *cursu* as the word to be introduced, but *eventum* is used above, *Att. iii. 8, 4* (64), and

evento may have been omitted after *initio*, either through its broad resemblance to *initio*, or from a supposed incompatibility between the two words.

The chief objection to *evento* is that the word is so very rare in Cicero that it is hardly one that should be introduced by conjecture without some manuscript guidance. Sternkopf ingeniously, and perhaps rightly, suggests that we should alter *initio* into *beneficio* ('thanks to'), comparing *Q. Fr. i. 1, 6* (30); or add that word after *initio*.

aliquo] This, the reading of all the mss, has been changed to *alicui* by Orelli. But *aliquo* is perfectly right, as will be at once seen when the *rationale* of the passage is examined. Cicero says he now owes to the State *merito ipsius* (abl.), 'by reason of its own deserts,' the same feelings which he displayed before as being due, 'by reason of' (i.e. in discharge of) the common duty of all citizens, not *by reason of* (i.e. as a return for) any signal favour towards himself.' *Alicui* actually spoils the sense, and contravenes the tradition of the manuscripts. For the ablative, see note on *beneficio*, § 6.

scura in me studia cernebam. Nam neque de monumentis meis ab iis adiutus es a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus, neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus quae quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate senatus sarcientiis eam voluntatem quam exspectarem praestiterunt. Quae cum viderem—neque erant obscura—non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant quam erant illa grata quae fecerant. 6. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum te quidem ipso predicatore ac teste debebam et eum non solum beneficio sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam, tamen non reputans quid ille vellet in omnibus meis sententiis de re publica pristinis permanebam. 7. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum ut laudaret P. Sestium introisset in urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius me fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi me M. Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre, dixique eodem teste alio loco eosdem esse qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent et qui me coëgissent: tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus:

5. *monumentis meis*] This allusion has been sometimes misunderstood. Müller supposes a reference to Q. Fr. i. 1, 26 (30); but this is quite inconsistent with the context, which plainly refers to the period after his restoration. It seems most probable that the *monumentis meis* here spoken of are the same as the *meum monumentum* of § 15. Now this cannot have been the colonnade of Catulus, for the statue of Liberty which Clodius erected on its site was demolished by order of the senate; but we read (§ 15) that the monument thus spoken of was allowed to bear an inscription containing the bloody letters of Clodius' hostile name. We must therefore suppose, as Lange does (iii. 333), that the words refer to a building erected by Cicero in his consulship by order of the senate, to commemorate the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy: the original inscription must have been effaced by Clodius, and another bearing his own name substituted, which latter seems strangely to have been allowed to remain (§ 15). It is perhaps to this history that reference is also made in 120, 2. See note there.

haec] 'their present unsympathetic conduct.'

illa . . . quae fecerant] 'their past services' (in bringing about my restoration).

6. *beneficio*] the *ablative of cause*, very common in Cicero when the cause is an attribute or quality in the subject, as *cum alii me suspitione sui periculi non defendere*, Sest. 46; *videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse*, Brut. 91; but not so common when the cause lies outside the subject, as here; for the latter, Draeger (I², § 228, 2, p. 545) says he can cite only two examples from Cicero; *regale civitatis genus non regni quam regis vitis repudiatum est*, De Leg. iii. 15; *significaverunt se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecis*, Phil. i. 30. The present is, perhaps, a better example than either. *Amore* and *iudicio* are causal ablatives of the common kind.

sententiis . . . pristinis] the optimate policy.

7. *sedente*] present in court, to give testimony to the character (*laudare*) of Sestius.

loco] 'another passage.' The remarks about Bibulus mentioned here are not found in the oration as we have it.

interrogatio] The speech in *Vatinium tribunatus*] of Vatinius, in 695 (59).

in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum, neque vero hac in causa modo sed constanter saepe in senatu. 8. Quin etiam Marcellino et Philippo consulibus Nonis Aprilibus mihi est senatus adsensus ut de agro Campano frequenti senatu Idibus Maiis referretur; num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? Hac a me sententia dicta magnus animorum motus est factus cum eorum quorum oportuit, tum illorum etiam quorum numquam putaram. 9. Nam hoc senatus consulto in meam sententiam facto Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat, quod ego cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. Quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus quam Luca discesserat convenisset, 'Te,' inquit, 'ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est quod mihi pro illo spondidisti.' Quid multa? questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre quidque sibi is de me recepisset in memoriam redegit, seque quae de mea salute egisset voluntate Caesaris egisse ipsum meum fratrem testatus est: cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri. 10. Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset et cum tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis

in quo] = *in qua re*, i. e. *reprehensione*: cp. *hoc* = *hac re*, Att. iv. 17, 3 (149); Ep. xii. 13; and § 16 below.

donatione regnorum] See Vat. 29; see also Att. ii. 9, 1 (36), where Pompey seems to be charged with the same misdemeanours. Here Vatinius seems to be accused of high-handed acts committed no doubt under Caesar's protection. *de vi* refers especially to the expulsion of Bibulus from the *forum*; *auspiciis* to the fact that Caesar's laws were passed in defiance of the auspices.

8. *illius causae*] the triumvir's policy; *temporum* means 'the requirements of my own position'; *actionum* 'my past career.' *eorum . . . illorum*] Billerbeck sup-

poses that *eorum* refers to the triumvirs, and *illorum* to the leaders of the optimates, to whom Cicero refers as *certorum hominum* in § 10. But perhaps Watson is right (owing to what follows in § 9) to take *eorum* as referring to Caesar and Crassus, and *illorum* to Pompey and his immediate friends. So, too, Böckel and Schirmer.

9. *Te ipsum cupio*] like *te ipsum quaerebam*, a formula for a welcome greeting.

dependendum] metaphorical, 'you went bail for his fidelity to us; you will have to pay up for him unless you talk him over.'

10. *tamen*] Madvig would read *etiam*,

Vibullium misisset ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum redditum reservarem, collegi ipse me et cum ipsa quasi re publica collocutus sum, ut mihi tam multa pro se perpesso atque perfuncto concederet ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos animum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque quem bonum civem semper habuisset bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis actionibus sententiisque omnibus quae Pompeium videbantur offendere certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me: qui cum illa sentirent in re publica quae ego agebam semperque sensissent, me tamen non satis facere Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum gaudere se aiebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis quod inimicum meum—meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum otii, patriae, bonorum omnium—sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent quem ego funditus perdididi, sed certe ut facere se arbitrarentur. Hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationi-

but *tamen* is quite right, 'nevertheless' (as if one messenger, and that my brother, was not enough).

[*Vibullium*] cp. 148, 18.

[*integrum*] (the right of) 'free action'; cp. Cael. in Fam. viii. 6, 5 (242) *De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves suadeo*. Cicero uses the singular neuter of even abstract adjectives as substantives, chiefly to express ethical conceptions, as *honestum*, *beatum* = *beatitudo* (Fin. v. 84); but sometimes also in other cases, as *dilucidum breve probabile illustre suave*, Or. part. 19; generally with a pronoun, as *nostrum illud sollemne*, Att. vii. 6, 1 (297); *canorum illud in voce*, De Sen. 28 (Draeg. I², p. 53).

[*praestarem*] used somewhat zeugmatically 'to discharge my duty, show my gratitude, and redeem my brother's pledge for me.'

[*bonum virum*] Cicero begs the State, whom he personifies, to let one whom she had always regarded as an honest citizen now show himself an honest man (by fulfilling his brother's pledge that he would support the triumvirs). That is, he says to the State, 'I have always been true to you as a member of the community; now let me be true to my duty as a man.' For *bonus*, 'honest,' cp. *iustitia ex qua viri*

boni nominantur, Off. i. 20; *cum is sponcionem fecisset ni vir bonus esset*, ib. iii. 77. In Opt. Gen. 20 we find *nec vir bonus nec bene meritus de civitate*. With this whole passage cp. Planc. 92 *res vero ipsa publica, si loqui posset, ageret mecum, ut, quoniam sibi servissem semper, nunquam mihi, fructus autem ex sese non, ut oportuisset, laetos et uberes, sed magna acerbitate permixtos tulissem, ut iam mihi servirem, consulere meis: se non modo satis habere a me, sed etiam vereri ne parum mihi pro eo, quantum a me haberet, reddidisset*.

[*certorum hominum*] 'men that I wot of'; see on 114, 1. These are the jealous optimates of whom Cicero speaks with bitterness in 90, 8: 91, 5 (*qui mihi pinnas inciderant*).

[*facere se arbitrarentur*] sc. *stomachum*. Cicero, like Hamlet, say she lacks gall to make oppression bitter; but the conduct of his former friends toward Clodius was evidently dictated by a desire to rouse the indignation of Cicero. Cp. *facere dolorem*, Att. xi. 8, 2 (422); *disiunctionem*, Lael. 76.

[*circumspectis . . . omnium*] 'I made a careful review of my whole position, and, on balancing the items, arrived with care at the following sum-total' (Jeans).

busque subductis summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam.

11. Ego si ab improbis et perditis civibus rem publicam teneri viderem, sicut et Cinneis temporibus scimus et non nullis aliis accidisse, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in re publica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset vir, is qui hanc potentiam et gloriam maximis in rem publicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adiutor etiam exstitissem, cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paulum me immutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque optime meriti dignitatem adgregassem.

12. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in

11. *Cinneis temporibus*] This is the reading of G. Meis, the reading of M, which has been universally accepted hitherto, is really without meaning. It cannot mean 'within my own memory,' for then Cicero must have written *nonnullorum aliorum*, instead of *nonnullis aliis*. It cannot refer to his consulate, for Catiline could not at any time have been said *teneri remp.* Now *Cinneis temporibus*, 'in the time of Cinna,' gives a perfect sense, as is at once apparent. But it will be said *Cinnanus* is the proper adj. from Cinna. It is true that *Cinnanus* is the form used not only by Cicero (e. g. De Domo, 83) but by Velleius Paterculus, ii. 24, 4; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7, 5; v. 3, 3; Suetonius, Calig. 60, and even Nepos Vita Attici, 2. But Streicher has shown that the form *Cinneus* occurs frequently in ancient inscriptions (*Comment. Philol. Ienenses*, vol. iii., p. 141). We may accordingly assume that, though in later times the form *Cinnanus* alone was used, in earlier times *Cinnanus* and *Cinneus* existed as alternative formations from the proper name *Cinna*.

compulsus] 'under the pressure of ambition or fear'; *compulsus* should not be rendered 'compelled'; it is never so

colourless a word as 'compelled'; but always contains, or at least suggests, a metaphor.

constarent] 'should stand recorded.' This use of *constare* as a stronger form of *esse*, implying existence as opposed to non-existence, is very rare, except in Cicero and Lucretius: cp. *si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore*, N. D. i. 25.

princeps esset vir, is qui] The usual punctuation is *princeps esset, vir is qui*; but Wes. rightly observes, 'Latini non dicunt *is vir qui* nedum *vir is qui*.' On the other hand, with the punctuation here given, *princeps vir* is unusual; but we have *principibus viris* in Hor. Ep. i. 17, 35, and *principes feminae* in Plin. H. N. viii. § 119.

praetura . . consulatu] In his praetorship Cicero had supported the Manilian law, and in his consulship he had proposed a *supplicatio* in honour of Pompey's successes against Mithridates.

exstitissem] 'stood forward as.' In good Latin *existere* always means 'to come into existence,' not 'to be in existence,' like our word 'exist.'—Reid, Acad. i. 23.

adgregassem] 'had contributed my zeal, too, to the furtherance of his dignity.' The word is stronger than *adiungere*.

coniuncta et causa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia quam tu non ignoras mihi et Quinto fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et ne fieret vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit et Pompei fides quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus, 'quales in re publica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse civis.' Tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta iam ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium.

13. Postea, cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres neque res publica consules haberet sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum quasi certaminis causa in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine cum mirificus senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensus in me tuendo exstitisset, non dicam quid acciderit—multorum est enim et varia culpa—tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut

12. *brevi tempore*] 'within a short time'; cp. Att. ii. 9, 2 (36) and Rosc. Am. 74 *Romam multis annis non venit*; more usual with *in*, or the addition of the pronouns *hic, ille*, as *his annis quadringentis*, 'within the last 400 years,' De Rep. i. 58.

in hac mente] This is the reading of the codices, which Streicher (*Comment. Philol. Ienenses*, vol. iii., p. 185) justly defends against *in hanc mentem*, the correction of M². *In hac mente* is certainly the more difficult reading to explain, and therefore the more likely to be right. *Impulit* caused the change of the ablative to the accusative. But this use of the ablative is common enough: *in hac mente* = 'when I was in this state of mind'; cp. Fam. iii. 11, 4 (265) *in summis tuis*

occupationibus; Cluent. 25 *in summo timore omnium*.

tales] The passage to which Cicero is supposed to refer is Plat. Legg. iv. 711 C: μηδεις υμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλη θάπτον και βῆον μεταβάλλειν ἂν ποτε πόλις και τοὺς νόμους ἢ τῆ τῶν δυναστεύόντων ἡγεμονία.

13. *obtineres*] as propraetor, 695 (59).

mercatores provinciarum] 'provincemongers' (Jeans). Gabinus and Piso are meant.

caput meum] There does not seem to be any allusion here to *caput* = 'civil life'; *caput meum* is merely 'myself' with a certain suggestion of pity, 'my unhappy self,' as Mr. Jeans well renders it.

senatus] is, of course, the genitive.

ut iam] 'supposing for the sake of

iam sit in iis culpa qui me non defenderunt, non minor est in iis qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi si qui se timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos civis et a me conservatos et me servare cupientis, spoliatos ducibus servis armatis obiici noluerim declararique maluerim quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, cum adflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti. 14. Qua in causa—non modo non negabo sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter—usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus fortioribus in me restituendo quam fuerant iidem in tenendo: qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur, nulli improbo civi locus ad rem publicam violandam esse potuisset. 15. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. Primum illa furia muliebrum religionum, qui non plures fecerat Bonam Deam quam tris sorores, impunitatem est illorum sententiis adsecutus, qui cum tribunus pl. poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de re publica sustulerunt:

argument' (lit. 'for the moment'): cp. Att. viii. 3, 5 (333). This use of *iam* was first pointed out by Madvig in Fin. iv. 66: cp. Balb. 37; De Divin. ii. 33. See also Munro on Lucr. i. 968. We find *iam ut* in this sense in Liv. v. 54, 6 and Caesar B. G. iii. 9, 6.

15. *illa furia*] The ms gives *illa furta*. Bandinelli conjectured *furia*: cp. Vatin. 33 *furiam patriae* (also applied to Clodius). The conjecture of Lambinus *ille fur* would give a good enough sense; Clodius might be called *fur muliebrum religionum* in the same sense in which Verres is called *sacrorum omnium et religionum hostis praedoque*, Verr. iv. 75. Clodius was a thief of (the knowledge of) the sacred rites of the Bona Dea. Perhaps Cicero wrote *illa furia, fur muliebrum religionum*. But it can hardly be doubted that *furia* is right. Cicero

repeatedly applies the word to Clodius: cp. 148, 11; Sest. 33, 39; Vatin. 40; Harusp. resp. 12 *furia patriae*; De Domo 102: cp. Planc. 86 *furialis illa vox*. *Furia* with a genitive of the thing would seem to mean 'a wild spirit effecting the ruin of that thing': cp. *furia patriae*, and Verg. Aen. ii. 573 (of Helen), *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*.

illorum] the senators, not the *iudices*: cp. Sest. 95 *hic (Milo) . . . accusare eum (Clodium) moderate, a quo ipse nefarie accusatur, per senatus auctoritatem non est situs*. The senate apparently assented to the edicts of Metellus, Appius, Claudius, and Serranus (cp. Sest. 89) forbidding the trial of Clodius until after the election of quaestors: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 7.

tribunus] Milo; or possibly Racilius.

iidemque postea non meum monumentum—non enim illae manubiae meae sed operis locatio mea fuerat—monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum: sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quem ad modum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus imperfectum ac rude reliquerunt. 16. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum sed etiam inimicorum meorum, qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello L. F., quondam falsam opinionem acceperunt, quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse—(est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit et egregia animi alacritate afuerit neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse, in quo cum omnis homines tum M. illum Scaurum singularem virum constantia et gravitate superasset!)—sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur, de me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, cum res publica maiorem etiam mihi animum quam umquam habuissem

manubiae] See above on *de monumentis meis*, § 5, cp. De Domo 102, 114. He contrasts his building with the colonnade of Catulus, which was erected on the money produced by the sale of the spoils of the Cimbric war: cp. Harusp. resp. 58 *vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit*.

medici . . . aliptae] cp. Caelius Aurelianus, *Salut. praec. 6 medicorum . . . est sanitatem corporis custodire, pulcritudinem autem aliptarum*.

capite] With an allusion probably to the political sense of *caput* = 'civil status.'

16. *In quo*] = *in qua re*. This usage is very common in Cicero, even after a feminine substantive; e.g. *promulgationem . . . in quo*, Att. iii. 23, 1 (83). A list of examples is given by Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 32.

Q. Metello] Cicero has already instituted a comparison between this Metellus and himself, Att. i. 16, 4 (22), where see the note. The meaning of the passage is:—'Just as the public thought that Metellus' spirit was broken by his exile—

in which opinion they were quite wrong—so they fancied that my spirit would be broken after my exile; but in this surmise they were still more mistaken, inasmuch as the circumstances of my return had given me more courage than ever.' Metellus Numidicus refused to take the oath to observe faithfully the agrarian law of Saturninus. The law enjoined this on the senators on pain of losing their senatorial seat. Metellus went into voluntary exile; but, after the death of Saturninus, he was recalled by a tribunician law. Cicero often draws a comparison between his own case and that of Metellus, Sest. 37, 101; Planc. 89: Pis. 20: Balb. 11: Post. red. in Sen. 38.

M. illum Scaurum] Metellus is said to surpass Scaurus because, as it seems, Scaurus did take the oath for refusing which Cicero praises Metellus so much, Sest. 37, 101. Scaurus was *princeps senatus* for a long time, and eminent for *gravitas*.

sed] resumptive after a parenthesis.

daret, quae declarasset se non potuisse me uno civi carere, cumque Metellum unius tribuni plebis rogatio, me universa res publica duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus magistratibus, te ferente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recuperavisset. 17. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere: tantum enitor ut neque amicis neque etiam alienioribus opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis quibus ornem Caesarem quasi desciscere me a pristina causa. Ego autem cum illa sequor quae paullo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eundem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti: qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, non numquam postea interruptus, afflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te, totus est nunc ab iis a quibus tuendus fuerat derelictus, idque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ei qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur sed etiam sensu saepe iam tabellaque docuerunt. 18. Itaque tota iam sapien-

quae declarasset] quae not cum is certainly the right reading here, the clause quae . . . cavere not being co-ordinate with the other clauses introduced by cum.

unius tribuni] Q. Calidius, Planc. 69. te ferente] As the reference seems to be to the passing of the law at the comitia centuriata on the 4th of August, not to the previous motions of Lentulus in the senate on January 1st or in July, it appears necessary to read with Lehmann (Quaest. Tull., p. 55) te ferente for referente; cp. Pis. 35 De me cum omnes magistratus promulgassent . . . legem comitiis centuriatis tulit P. Lentulus consul de collegae Q. Metelli sententia, on the basis of which passage Lehmann adds magistratibus after omnibus. For omnibus after promulgantibus Schütz reads octo tribunis, and transposes referente consule to precede promulgantibus. But even if Schütz's emendation be accepted, the transposition is hardly necessary. It was on the strength of the bill of the eight tribunes that Lentulus made his motion on Jan. 1st.

But it would be desirable to read referente <te> consule.

17. adsumpsi] 'take upon myself,' do what ought rather be done by another; cp. Sull. 84; Planc. 56.

Hic . . . cursus] His choice of a forensic life.

Illud] introduces a new subject of complaint = 'the following': rather confusingly, in the next sentence illa refers to the subjects already treated, while hoc is 'the following.'

non numquam] 692-694 (62-60).

ante te consulem] 695, 696 (59, 58).

nostro illo statu] 'under that régime of ours.'

sensu] This word, which is found in all the mss, was changed by Man. to sententia; and the conjecture of Man. has been accepted by every editor to Klotz. Yet Cicero would certainly have said sententiis tabellisque if he had meant 'their votes in the senate and as jurymen.' Moreover, sensu gives an excellent sense. The expression fronte ac vultu refers to the feeling which they professed

tium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim iubet idem ille Plato quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor, 'tantum contendere in re publica quantum probare tuis civibus possis: vim neque parenti nec patriae adferre oportere.' Atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae rei publicae fuisse, quod, cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute cumque eum nec persuadendo nec nisi cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. Mea ratio fuit alia, quod neque desipiente populo nec integra re mihi ad consulendum capesseremne rem publicam implicatus tenebar; sed laetatus tamen sum quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. Huc accessit commemoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi quascumque res iniret tuendus esset: nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis,

(cf. Q. Fr. i. 1, 15 (30)): the expression *sensu tabellaque* signifies the feelings which they really entertained and showed by their votes. The fact that the sentence is so expressed that, if we examine closely, we find Cicero to have really said that *sensus* is expressed by *sensus* will not create a difficulty for anyone familiar with the letters, or indeed the Latin writers in general; *sensus* first means broadly the 'mental attitude' of the *boni*; when used afterwards, it means 'the real feelings' as opposed to 'the professed feelings'; cp. Att. v. 10, 3 (198) *haec ipsa fero equidem fronte, ut puto, et vultu bellis, sed angor intimis sensibus*; so there is no real tautology; *sensu tabellaque* means 'the real inward feeling with the outward expression of it in their verdicts.' *Sensus* (plural) in *rep.* is, as Dr. Reid says (Sull. 64), the proper expression for 'political sympathy': cp. Fam. xii. 15, 2 (882); Att. xv. 7 (739), where *placebant* should be read.

18. *sententia et voluntas*] This expresses in reverse order nearly the same thought as *sensu tabellaque*; *voluntas* = *sensus*, 'the real feelings'; *sententia* = 'the outward expression of them in the senate,' while *tabella* referred to 'the outward expression of them on the bench of jurors.' There is an interesting passage in Planc. 16, where Cicero shows why the ballot is so popular with voters *Et enim si populo grata est tabella quae frontis aperit hominum, mentis tegit datque eam*

libertatem ut quod velint faciant, promittant autem quod rogentur, cur tu id in iudicio ut fiat exprimis, quod non fit in campo?

[Plato] See Crito 51 C *Tantum . . . possis* is rather an inference from Plato's words than a translation; *vim . . . oportere* is a translation of *βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐκ ὕσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολλὸν δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἤττον τὴν πατρίδα.*

[*offendisset*] Here he refers to two passages in the 5th letter of Plato (322 A and B), of the genuineness of which Cicero seems to have no doubt: *Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γέγονεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέλαβεν ἤδη πρεσβύτερον*; and again, *ἐπεὶ πάντων ἐν ἡδίστα καθάπερ πατρὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μάτην μὲν κινδυνεύσειν φέτο, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν ποιήσειν.*

[*cumque eum*] The logic of the sentence is defective, unless we insert *nisi*; or with Sternkopf omit *posse* after *regi*, which might have intruded itself from the adjacent *posse*. The former seems the simpler. Some edd. regard *cumque . . . vidisset* as spurious; but the words are found in all the mss.

[*in eadem causa*] In his speech on one and the same question (*i.e.* the speech *De Prov. Cons.*, in which he argued that Caesar's command should be continued) he was able to take a line which combined his own interests (Caesar's favour) with the espousal of a measure which must commend itself to every one of the *boni*, or conservatives of his party.

[*iniret*] See Adn. Crit. *Inire consilium,*

etiam si in nos non is esset qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim, cum a vobis meae salutis auctoribus discesserim, neminem esse cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear sed etiam gaudeam. 19. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea quae a me de Vatinius et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Caesare, te non reprehendere, gaudeo tibi consilium probari meum. De Vatinius autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium statim ut ille praetor est factus, cum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis. Post autem Caesaris ut illum defenderem mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudarim, peto a te ut id a me neve in hoc reo neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam cum veneris; tametsi possum vel absentem: recordare enim quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris: nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatini fuit etiam ille stimulus de quo in iudicio, cum illum defenderim, dixi me facere quiddam quod in Eunuchus parasitus suaderet militi:

Ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam continuo. Si quando illa dicet, 'Phaedriam intromittamus commissatum,' 'Pamphilam cantatum provocemus': si laudabit haec illius formam, tu huius contra. Denique par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.

Sic petivi a iudicibus ut, quoniam quidem nobiles homines et de

rationem, ingredi in rem are common expressions in Cicero.

cum . . . discesserim] the regular phrase in Cicero for 'except,' 'after,' 'next to,' in comparisons.

19. *Appio*] Pompey's son had married a daughter of Appius. It was through the intervention of Pompey that a reconciliation was effected between Appius and Cicero, who naturally resented the way in which Appius had abetted the schemes of his brother, P. Clodius, against him.

laudarim] 'gave evidence of good character.'

quibus] It is not known to whom Cicero is referring.

Sed tamen] Cicero says he had another reason for befriending Vatinius; his former friends among the *optimates* often annoyed him by showing special marks of friendliness to his persecutor, P. Clodius: cp. *Prov. Cons.*, 48 fin. Cicero says he will give them a little stab (*leviter repungere*) for the slight mortification they cause him (*mediocriter lacessitus*) by showing friendliness on his part to Vatinius, the creature of Caesar, and thus play his Publius (Vatinius) off against their Publius (Clodius), just as the parasite Gnatho in Terence's *Eunuchus* advises the soldier Thraso to play off Pamphila against Phaedria, that is, to rouse his mistress's

me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum meque inspec-
tante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familia-
riter atque hilare amplexarentur, quoniamque illi haberent suum
Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium in quo possem illorum
animos mediocriter laecessitus leviter repungere. Neque solum
dixi sed etiam saepe facio, deis hominibusque approbantibus.
20. Habes de Vatino; cognosce de Crasso. Ego, cum mihi cum
illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnis gravissimas iniurias
communis concordiae causa voluntaria quadam oblivione contrie-
ram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabini, quem proximis superi-
oribus diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea
contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed cum me disputantem, non
laecessentem laeisset, exarsi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia
—nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset—, sed cum inclusum
illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego effudisse
me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne
repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines et
iidem illi quos saepe significo neque appello, cum se maximum
fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea meque tum denique sibi
esse visum rei publicae qualis fuisset restitutum, cumque ea
contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset, gaudere se
dicebant mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent,
numquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per
homines honestissimos perferrentur cumque Pompeius ita conten-
disset ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam,
Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione adfec-

jealousy by an allusion to Pamphila when-
ever she annoys him by a reference to his
rival Phaedria, Eun. 440.

severe seducerent] 'took aside for serious
consultation.'

suum Publium] It will be seen, from
the explanation given above, that this
passage cannot be quoted to show that
the use of the *praenomen* was a mark of
intimacy. It was the *omission* of the
praenomen that was the mark of intimacy.
See vol. I³, p. 57.

20. *defensionem Gabini*] when accused
by the publicani in the autumn of 699
(55) for having left Syria exposed to the
attacks of pirates: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 56.

significo neque appello] So Madvig for

significationeque of M. This is better
than adding *nutu* before *significationeque*
with Ernesti. The addition of *-que* after
a short syllable could hardly be considered
an objection, if the reading were other-
wise defensible; see Lebreton, p. 416.

libertate mea] 'my outspokenness,' 'in-
dependence.'

ea contentio] with Crassus.

foris] 'outside' the senate, with the
people.

illum] Crassus; *eos*, Caesar and Pom-
pey. This course of Cicero's they thought
would establish a feud between him and
Crassus, and would prevent a *rapproche-
ment* on his part towards Caesar and
Pompey.

tum ostenderet, habui non temporum solum rationem meorum sed etiam naturae, Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. Quam ob rem eius causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. 21. Accepisti quibus rebus adductus quamque rem causamque defenderim quique meus in re publica sit pro mea parte capessenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent; nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes neque delendum, etiam si id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum, neque permanendum in una sententia conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus mutatis sed temporibus adsentiendum. Numquam enim in praestantibus in re publica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio, sed, ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas, cum vero id possis mutata velificatione adsequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum quem ceperis potius quam eo commutato quo velis tamen pervenire, sic cum omnibus nobis in administranda re publica propositum esse debeat id quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quam ob rem, ut paullo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in re publica non alius essem atque nunc sum. Cum vero in hunc sensum et adliciar beneficiis hominum et compellar iniuriis, facile patior ea me de re publica sentire ac dicere quae maxime cum meis tum etiam rei publicae rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus frater meus legatus est Caesaris et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit quod ille

temporum] 'circumstances.'
condixisset] 'had offered to come and dine with me.' In Rome it was a compliment to ask oneself to dinner. To ask a favour is still an act requiring a closer friendship than to confer one. The full phrase seems to be *condicere ad cenam* Plaut. Men. 124, Stich. 447; or simply *condicere cenam* (Suet. Tib. 42). Possibly we should add *cenam* after *condixisset*, as it might have been lost before *cenavit*.

causam . . . defendi in senatu] cp. 131, 1.

illius commendatione] 'on the strong recommendation of Pompey.'

21. *ut in navigando*] There is virtually the same illustration in Planc. 94 and Balb. 61.

tamen] 'for all that' (though on another tack).

solutissima] 'though I were quite untrammelled.'

cf. above Att.
 4, 13, 2, p. 117

non ita illustri gratia acceperit ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque eius omni et gratia quae summa est et opibus quas intellegis esse maximas sic fruor ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere nisi cum praesidiis iis quae semper habui nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam coniunxissem. 22. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae: novi animum cum mihi amicissimum tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum contraque cum magnum et excelsum tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te talis, qualis tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum: tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. Me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis, neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita quam ut cotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23. Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam quae post discesum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae, ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam—nam animum ab orationibus diiungo fere referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me *nunc* maxime, sicut iam a prima adulescentia delectarunt—scripsi igitur Aristotelio more, quem ad modum quidem volui, tris

praesidiis] the sympathy of the middle classes in Rome and throughout Italy, and of certain of the nobles in Rome.

22. *His . . . consiliis*] a fortuitous hexameter.

suffusum] 'with no pale cast of spite.'

socium comitemque] There does not seem to be any difference in meaning, unless *comes* rather means 'one of your retinue,' and thus politely concedes the superior position to Lentulus. *Socium* is found much more frequently coupled with *particeps, adiutor, consors*.

vehementius] 'more strongly than before.' Cp. xii. 42. See note on Att. i. 20, 7 (26).

23. *orationes*] those of 698 (56), *pro Sestio, Caelio, Balbo, De Har. resp., De Prov. Cons.*, &c.; of 699 (55), *in Pisonem, pro Gallo*; of 700 (54), *pro Crasso, pro*

Plancio, and others: see Watson, p. xxxi.

Menocrito] a freedman of Lentulus.

ne pertimescas] This is not imperative, which would be *ne pertimueris*; it is dependent on a sentence understood '[which I tell you] that you may be alarmed' (at the prospect of having too many speeches to read): cp. Verr. iv. 52 and 148.

maxime] sc. *delectant*. We have put a comma after *maxime*, to show the ellipsis. Wesenberg (Em. Alt. p. 3) compares Fam. xiii. 41, 2 (55); vii. 24, 1 (665); xv. 14, 3 (241).

Aristotelio] Aristotle had written some treatises (which have perished) in dialogue, with prefaces such as Cicero employs; see 144, 2. These appear to have been the models which Cicero took for the *De Oratore*. The dialogues of Cicero

libros in disputatione ac dialogo 'de oratore,' quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutilis. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis atque omnem antiquorum et Aristoteliam et Isocratiam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tris libros 'de temporibus meis,' quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem—sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis—, sed quia verebar non eos qui se laesos arbitrarentur—etenim id feci parce et molliter—sed eos quos erat infinitum bene de me meritis omnis nominare Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte committam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum qui haec semper amasti libentissime conferemus. 24. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt ut me nolim admoneri, rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possim. Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis te priore aetate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum ut conficias, id scito esse eius modi ut frater meus vere existimet adiuncto isto fundo patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiozem et quam saepissime facias existimesque neminem cuiquam neque cariorem neque iucundiozem umquam fuisse quam te mihi, idque me non

form a strong contrast to those of Plato in their want of the dramatic element. Cicero explains, in Att. xiii. 19, 4 (631), what he means there by 'Ἀριστοτέλειον morem, viz. that in quo sermo ita inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus; but it does not suit this passage. He constantly describes the style of Aristotle as highly ornate, a criticism which certainly does not seem suitable to the works which we possess. See Dr. Reid's note on *flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles*, Acad. ii. 119. Observe that *Aristoteliam*, *Isocratiam*, have the penult. long.

quem ad modum] 'such at least was my aim.'

in disputatione] Wesenberg omits in, comparing *scripsi versibus*, below. But cp. Cluent. 197 *non illi in libellis laudationem decretam miserunt*.

'*de temporibus meis*'] The poem is referred to 147, 5. The period embraced by *tempora mea* is defined in the words *Tenebam—honorum omnium*, above, § 12.

quia verebar] Either (1) *quia* must be expunged, with Gronovius; or (2) we must suppose, with Wesenberg, that after *nominare* some such words as *vetui* (*nolui*) *divulgari* have dropped out; or (3) we must postulate before *quia* a harsh ellipse of some words like *non putavi edendos* taken out of *edendos putassem*, above. *erat infinitum*] Cp. *longum est*, 'twere tedious.'

istam quidem partem] 'all this department of my life and occupations I submit unreservedly to you' (Jeans).

24. *de Quinti fratris negotio*] Quintus wished to purchase some farm near his own estate in Arpinum from a man who

cf p. 96, 3

modo ut tu sentias sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intellegat esse facturum. 25. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam, sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortiturum esse cum collega provinciam: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibi que successurum: legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse: se, quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset. Ego quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat nescio: varias esse opiniones intellego. Sunt qui putant posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur: sunt etiam qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de iure certum est—quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est—quam illud, ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, libertatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere te sine ulla mora provinciam successor concedere, praesertim cum sine suspicione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse et quid sentiam ostendere et quod feceris defendere.

was then in Cilicia, and thought that Lentulus might be able to effect the transaction for him.

25. *legem curiatam*] Mr. Greenidge (*Roman Public Life*, p. 251) says: 'The full exercise of the *imperium*, whether in jurisdiction, in military command, or in the transmission of office, was in suspense until the *lex curiata* had been elicited. Without it the praetor could not give justice from his tribunal (Dio Cass. xxxix. 19), the consul could not hold an assembly for the creation of his successor (*ib.* xli. 43), and whether as magistrate or promagistrate could not exercise the full *imperium* in the field (De lege agraria, ii. 30) until the ambiguous wording of the *Lex Cornelia de provinciis ordinandis* made the requirement in this last particular a doubtful point. Sulla's law had said that the magistrate should retain *imperium* until he re-entered the city, apparently without mentioning the *lex curiata*. App. Claudius, consul for 54 B.C., who had been prevented by the tribunician veto from getting his *lex curiata* passed, presumed on this silence, and said *legem curiatam . . . introisset* (Cicero ad Fam. i. 9. 25).' From 154, 4 we may infer that the decree of the senate granting

Appius the allowance for his province was passed conditionally on his getting the *lex curiata*. Appius probably did ultimately get a *lex curiata*.

paraturum] We need not alter *paraturum* to *comparaturum* with Wessenberg. The former is found in Cassius Hemina (ap. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.*, p. 70, 13) *Pastorum vulgus sine contentione consentiendo praefecerunt aequaliter imperio Remum et Romulum, ita ut de regno pararent inter se: Lex Iulia Municipalis, l. 24, aed. cur. aed. pl. . . . inter se paranto aut sortiunto; cp. Hauler in 'Archiv,' iii. 536.*

Sunt qui putant] This must mean 'a certain party or school' (of jurists or interpreters of Roman procedure) hold that you may refuse to leave your province. *Sunt qui putent* would be far more natural; but *putant* had better be retained, as the more difficult, and therefore more probable, reading. M. Lebreton (p. 315) quotes Att. x. 4, 11 (382), De Inv. i. 72, ii. 167 as other examples of the indicative.

libertatem] 'independence,' as in §§ 2, 20.

refutare] 'to thwart,' 'check': cp. De Prov. Cons. 32. In baffling the greed of Appius to get the province, he would

26. Scripta iam epistula superiore accepi tuas litteras de publicanis, quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare: felicitate quadam vellem consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis quem semper ornasti rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere: sed nosti consuetudinem hominum, scis quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae.

Wiel. II p. 417

154. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 18).

ROME; OCTOBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De Gabinio absoluto, de sua condicione, de expectato Attici reditu de interregno futuro, de multitudine reorum, pravitate iudicum, de Gabinio Antiocho condemnato, de Pomptini cupiditate triumphii, de Appio, de Q. fratris et Caesaris litteris, de expectato Attici cum Dionysio adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. [Ep. XVI. 9.] . . . † Nunc ut opinionem habeas rerum, ferendum est. Quaeris ego me ut gesserim? Constanter et libere. 'Quid ille, inquires, ut ferebat?' Humaniter, meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat.

himself incur the suspicion of greed (over-eagerness for office), by refusing to give up his province.

26. This is a postscript.

quibus] Most edd. add *in*; perhaps rightly, as no word is more often omitted from the manuscripts. But still *quibus* may be defended as instrumental, 'your letters which compelled me to commend your fairness': cp. Fam. iv. 15, 1 (484) *litteras quibus id quod scire cupiebam cognoscere non potui*; but it must be confessed that the instrumental is more natural there than here.

felicitate quadam] 'I can only wish you a kind of *luck* to escape running counter to their wishes or feelings' (everything that does not depend on chance you will bring to bear yourself). In Fam. iii. 8, 7 (222) *minus felicem* is

used in a very similar context. See Adn. Crit.

Scaevolae] who governed Asia most uprightly in 655 (99), and thus incurred the enmity of the publicans.

prudentiae tuae] 'within the reach of your sagacity' (Jeans).

1. The beginning of this letter has been lost; it, no doubt, recorded the acquittal of Gabinius on the charge of *maiestas*. Possibly we should add *meam* after *opinionem*.

me ut gesserim] See 150, 2.

ille] Pompey. See 148, 15.

Humaniter] 'he made the best of the matter, and decided to consider my dignity, until satisfactory atonement should be made to me for the conduct of Gabinius towards me.'

Wiel. p. 417

Freispruch des Gabin. de maie-
iestate
24. Oct.

Quomodo ergo absolutus est? Omnino ^{Ρορπαζοει νερε} γοργυία γυμνά, accusatorum incredibilis infantia, id est, L. Lentuli, L. f., quem fremunt omnes praevaricatum, deinde Pompei mira contentio, iudicium sordes. Ac tamen xxxii condemnarunt, xxxiix absolverunt. Iudicia reliqua ^{Βοσιου ιδιω} impendent: nondum est plane expeditus. 2. [ep. XVI. 10.] Dices, 'Tu ergo haec quo modo fers?' Belle mehercule et in eo me valde amo. Amisimus, mi Pomponi, omnem modo sucum atque sanguinem sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinam civitatis. Nulla est res publica quae delectet, in qua acquiescam. 'Idne igitur,' inquires, 'facile fers?' Id ipsum. Recordor enim quam bella paullisper nobis gubernantibus civitas fuerit, quae mihi gratia relata sit. Nullus dolor me angit unum omnia posse; dirumpuntur ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt: multa mihi dant solatia, nec tamen ego de meo statu demigro, quaeque vita maxime est ad naturam, ad eam me refero, ad litteras et studia nostra: dicendi laborem delectatione oratoria consolor. ^{compensatio} Domus me et rura nostra delectant. Non recordor unde ceciderim sed unde surrexerim. Fratrem mecum et te si habebo,

γοργυία γυμνά] (The charges were 'mere bugbears'; that is, the accusers pretended much eagerness to procure a verdict against Gabinius, but really refrained from exerting themselves to bring about that result. Their impeachment was 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' We should rather say, 'it was a mere flash in the pan'—was not intended to issue in a verdict against Gabinius. He has already said *accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur* (151, 3); but to conceal their collusion with the defence, the prosecutors were obliged to assume great animosity, while withholding such evidence as would really tell against the accused. Hence γοργυία γυμνά, the conjecture of Bosius, is such a phrase as is required here; and it may be almost said to be the reading of M (see Adn. Crit.), there being no great difference palaeographically between Γ and Π, which always has its second stroke very much shortened in mss. γυμνά is just the word in Cicero's Greek for 'mere,' 'bare': cp. γυμνός κώϊκος, 1 Cor. xv. 37. Cp. 'Ho! such bugs and goblins,' Hamlet v. 2, 22. But the suggestion of Man. is worth considering. He proposes πρόρα πρόμνα (better πρόρα et πρόμνα: the et would be easily

lost in the middle of the Greek letters). The phrase πρόρα καὶ πρόμνα is often found expressing the whole of a thing from top to bottom: ep. Cic. Fam. xvi. 24, 1 *mihī prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi ut rationes meas explicares.* Dio Chrys. xxxvii., p. 120 R *ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρόρα καὶ πρόμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίοι καὶ ἄφραιοι*: Apost. 15, 97 *τὰ ἐκ πρόρας καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρόμνης ἀπόλλυται ἐπὶ τῶν πανολεθρία φθειρομένων.* Translate, 'In short, the Alpha and the Omega of it was the incredible feebleness of the prosecution.' *infantia*] 'weakness in the prosecution,' though no doubt intentional weakness on the part of the accusers. For *infantia* cp. De Orat. iii. 142, 198. *contentio*] to procure the acquittal of Gabinius. *Iudicia reliqua*] *de repetundis* and *de ambitu*. 2. *me valde amo*] 'I do congratulate myself.' *Multum te amamus, valde te amo* means 'I am much obliged to you.' *dirumpuntur*] For this word used of 'bursting' with envy, cp. Fam. xii. 2, 2 (790). It is used with *dolore* ('irritation') in Att. vii. 12, 3 (293).

per me isti pedibus trahantur, vobis ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι possum. Locus ille animi nostri stomachus ubi habitabat olim concalluit. Privata modo et domestica nos delectant. Miram securitatem videbis cuius plurimae mehercule partes sunt in tuo reditu. Nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus. 3. [ep. XVI. 11.] Sed accipe alia. Res fluit ad interregnum et est non nullus odor dictaturae, sermo quidem multus, qui etiam Gabinium apud timidos iudices adiuvit. Candidati consulatus omnes rei ambitus. Accedit etiam Gabinius quem P. Sulla non dubitans quin foris esset postularat, contra dicente et nihil obtinente Torquato. Sed omnes absolventur nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit. Hoc tamen agitur severius, itaque indicia calent. M. Fulvius Nobilior damnatus est. Multi alii urbani ne respondent

[isti] sc. ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt.

[pedibus trahantur] a formula of ex-creation, meaning, 'let the worst happen to them for all I care.' Cp. Fam. vii. 32, 2 (229) *trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei*: Liv. xxiv. 22, 9 *pedibus tractum non ego insidentem relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere*. Boot compares the words of Ulysses to Telemachus, Od. xvi. 276, when he tells Telemachus to endure calmly whatever outrages he may see the suitors inflict on his father—

ἢν περ καὶ διὰ δῶμα ποδῶν ἔλκωσι θύραζε.

[ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι] This reading of M may be retained, as is pointed out to us by Mr. W. Headlam, of King's College, Cambridge. He says it means 'to air my philosophy on you,' 'to make you the recipients or victims of my philosophical views.' He compares ἐμπολιτεύομαι σοι iam dudum, in Att. vii. 7, 7 (298), 'I have long been inflicting my political views on you.' Somewhat similar would be the use of ἐνσχολάζω σοι if that were read in Att. vii. 11, 2 (304). 'Er, says Mr. Headlam, may be prefixed to any verb, thereby giving the meaning of 'exercise . . . upon.' Thus in Eurip. Baech. 200, we should read with Musgrave οὐδ' ἐνσοφίζομεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι.

3. *foris esset*] Here and at Pis. 12 this expression is explained to mean 'to be bankrupt'; *egere*, *foris esse* is the phrase in Pis. 12, where it is applied to this same Gabinius. But the reading there is by no means certain, good editors reading for *foris esse* a superlative adverb, e.g.

sordidissime (Madvig), *foedissime* (conj. Müller). If the text is sound, *foris esse* must bear the meaning of 'being bankrupt'; for Sulla could not have been encouraged to prosecute Gabinius by knowing that he was 'outside the city'; besides, he had long since entered the city. But how does *foris esse* come to mean 'to be destitute of money' (for purposes of bribery)? 'To be in the people's power, that is, in debt,' say the Dictt., but this is plainly insufficient. If *foris esse* means 'to be bankrupt,' it must be an expression like our 'to be out at elbows,' 'to have nothing *domi*' (cp. *meo sum pauper in aere*); and it is very strange that it should not occur in Latin comedy, nor anywhere, save in two passages of Cicero, and with reference to the same man. Of course, this meaning would excellently suit the present passage. Sulla may have believed that Gabinius had spent the spoils of his province in bribing the jury which acquitted him of *maiestas*; he would, therefore, be now without means to bribe the jury in Sulla's suit. Dio Cassius (xxxix. 55, 4) says that bribery had become so common at Rome that a small fraction of what Gabinius received from Ptolemy sufficed to bribe the influential men and jurors at Rome.

[*contra dicente*] contending against Sulla for the office of prosecutor.

[*occiderit*] e.g. Prociilius: see 143, 4.

[*Hoc*] apparently the trial of Gabinius for *ambitus*.

[*urbani*] 'several others are polite enough not to enter any defence,' and so save the *iudices* the trouble of trying the case.

Wial. p.
419
ep. 220
adn. ext.

Stoken
Rate

quidem. 4. [ep. XVI. 12.] Quid aliud novi? Etiam. Absoluto Gabinio stomachantes alii iudices hora post Antiochum Gabinium nescio quem e Sopolidis pictoribus, libertum, accensum Gabini, lege Papia condemnarunt. Itaque dixit statim † resp. lege maiestatis ΟΥCOΙΜΠΙCΑΜΑΦΙΗΙ.† Pomptinus vult a. d. IIII. Non. Novembr. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato et Servilius praetores ad portam et Q. Mucius tribunus. Negant enim latum de imperio, et est latum hereule insulse. Sed erit cum Pomptino Appius consul. Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum. Id ego puto, ut multa eiusdem, ad nihilum recasurum. Appius sine lege, suo sumptu, in Cilicium cogitat. 5. [ep. XVII. 3.] A

4. Etiam] 'Yes, one thing more.'

ο υ σ ο ι μ π ρ ι σ α μ α φ η ρ] Boot rightly says of these words that Cicero must be raised from the dead to explain them, if ever they are to be understood. The old commentators see in the last of the corrupt words the name Παφίη, and suppose a play on the Papiian law and the Paphian goddess, οὐ σ' οὐδ' Ἄρης ἄμα Παφίη, or some such words. But such a joke would be very poor and far-fetched, and the supposed *nonne scio Mars te cum Paphia rem habuisse* cannot be got out of the words. The circumstances were these: an hour after Gabinius was acquitted of *maiestas* another jury found his freedman and *accensus*, a person employed in the studio of Sopolis, a celebrated painter of the time (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 40, 43), guilty under the Papiian law of 688 (66) *ne quis peregrinus se pro cive gereret*. His condemnation was due to the indignation felt against Gabinius. His *mot*, whatever it was, may be supposed to have referred to the cause of his condemnation, or else to the certainty that Gabinius would be found guilty in the *reliqua iudicia*, which are above spoken of. Mr. Shuckburgh offers an ingenious suggestion, *Itaque dixit statim 'respublica lege maiestatis οὐ σοί κεν ἄρ' Ἰσα μ' ἀφείη'* (or ἀφίη), the end of an unknown hexameter). 'So the Republic will not acquit me under the law of treason, as it did you (Gabinius).' He means to infer that his condemnation was really in place of Gabinius, whose acquittal had irritated his jury; therefore he was practically convicted of *maiestas* instead of his patron Gabinius.

IIII. Non. Novembr.] In 152, 6, Cicero states that the day of triumph was to be

November 3rd (a. d. iii. Non.). Pomptinus claimed the triumph for successes against the Allobroges in 693 (61): cp. Prov. Cons. 32, Dio Cass. xxxvii. 47 f.; and he celebrated it (Dio Cass. xxxix. 65).

ad portam] i. e. the Porta Triumphalis. 'Cato and Servilius are going to oppose him at the gate.'

insulse] The opponents of the triumph declared that the law to confer the *imperium* had not been passed; 'and stupid enough, indeed, the passing of it was,' says Cicero, who despises the want of originality displayed by Servius Galba (for this man cp. 841), in resorting to the old-fashioned method of carrying his law, by presenting himself in the assembly before dawn. Cicero does not stop to directly contradict the allegation of the opponents of the triumph. Dio Cass. xxxix. 65 says, in reference to this very transaction, οὐκ ἔξην ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πρὶν πρότερον ἔραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ δῆμον τι χρηματισθῆναι.

Appius . . . cogitat] The consul, whether as magistrate or pro-magistrate, could not exercise the full *imperium* in the field until he obtained the *lex curiata*: cp. De Leg. Agr. ii. 30 *consuli, si legem curiatam non habet, attingere rem militarem non licet*. That law was generally a form; but it was one of those forms which give an opportunity to the enemies of an unpopular man to thwart him. Appius cleverly evaded it by an appeal to the *Lex Cornelia de ordinandis provinciis*, which was somewhat loosely worded: cp. 153, 24. The senate, which voted the grant of supplies for the provinces, would seem to have required the passing of the curiate law as a necessary condition of making the grant.

Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. ix. Kal. Nov. litteras, datas a litoribus Britanniae proximis a. d. vi. Kal. Octobr. Confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia, exercitum e Britannia reportabant. Q. Pilius erat iam ad Caesarem profectus. Tu, si aut amor in te est nostri ac tuorum aut ulla veritas aut etiam si sapis ac frui tuis commodis cogitas, adventare ac prope adesse iam debes. Non mehercule aequo animo te careo. Te autem quid mirum, qui Dionysium tanto opere desiderem? quem quidem abs te, cum dies venerit, et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. Abs te proximas litteras habebam Epheso a. d. v. Id. Sextil. datas.

*Silvagoz
Jas. A.H.*

Wiel. II 437

155. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 5 AND 6).

TUSCULANUM; OCTOBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de libris De Re Publica Sallustii monitu refingendis, de Caesaris erga se amore exponit: sequitur de versibus scribendis excusatio, de rei publicae statu conquestio, de Gabinio a se non defenso, de suo in libris Quinti emendis studio, de tragoediis a Quinto scriptis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Quod quaeris quid de illis libris egerim quos, cum essem in Cumano, scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso, sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi. Nam iam duobus factis libris, in quibus novendialibus iis feriis, quae fuerunt Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus, sermo est a me institutus Africani paullo ante mortem et Laeli, Phili, Manili, P. Rutili, Q. Tuberonis et Laeli generorum, Fani et Scaevolae, sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive—sane texebatur opus luculente hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis adferebat—ii libri cum in Tusculano

republ.

5. *proximis*] sc. to Italy.
Confecta] 'settled,' 'finished off.'
imperata . . . pecunia] 'having imposed a money tribute.'

1. *illis libris*] 'De Republica.'
saepe] This word seems rather out of

place. Did Cicero write *ut saepe* or *coepi* . . . *mutare*? He goes on to say that he has remodelled the plan of the whole work; but why 'often'? If he wrote *ut saepe*, the meaning would be clear: 'I have remodelled the plan of my book, as I often have done in other works.'

mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de re publica, praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus sed consularis et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem: quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse: oratorum sermonem in illis nostris libris quod esset de ratione dicendi belle a me removisse, ad eos tamen rettulisse quos ipse vidissem; Aristotelem denique quae de re publica et praestanti viro scribat ipsum loqui. 2. Commovit me et eo magis quod maximos motus nostrae civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores quam illorum aetas qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam. Nunc et id vitabo et loquar ipse tecum et tamen illa quae institueram, ad te, si Romam venero, mittam; puto enim te existimaturum a me illos libros non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse refictos. 3. Caesaris amore quem ad me perscripti unice delector: promissis iis quae ostendit non valde pendeo, nec sitio honores nec desidero gloriam magisque eius voluntatis perpetuitatem quam promissorum exitum exspecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, *tamquam* id quod non postulo exspectem. 4. Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore, nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea quae vis canenda. †ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ vero ad ea quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem

[*Heraclides*] a mere theorist, who never took any active part in politics, as Cicero did. He was a pupil of Plato's, and wrote treatises on political philosophy.

[*illis nostris libris*] The three books *De Oratore*.

[*quod esset*] This reading of the manuscripts is well defended by Lehmann (*Quaest. Tull.* 35), who shows that there is no necessity to alter to *qui essent* with Wesenberg. Cicero was so absolutely supreme in oratory that his part would have to be that of an autocrat, and such a rôle would savour of arrogance; whereas he was not superior to his fellows as a politician, and so would be only one among equals in a discussion on the ideal State.

[*Aristotelem*] cp. 144, 2; 153, 23.

[*2. inferiores*] 'later than.'

[*refictos*] 'remodelled.' This is a probable correction of *relictos*, which the margin of M has for *redditos*, the corrupt

reading which that ms gives in the text. Most editors give *relictos*, 'that those books (i.e. the first sketch of the 'De Republica') were not abandoned by me without a pang.' *Illa quae institueram* means 'my first sketch.' The meaning of *enim* thus becomes clear: 'I will send you the work in its original form [I have kept it, still feeling an affection for it]; for you can fancy that the remodelling cost me a pang.'

[*4. ἀμπώεις*] The reading presented by most edd. is *ὑποθέσεις*, a word found in 146, 4. Bücheler proposes *διατυπώσεις*, which appears to mean 'realistic' or 'vivid passages': cp. Longinus *De Sublim.* 20 *ὅποια καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Μειδίαν, ταῖς ἀναφοραῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ διατυπώσει συναναπλεγμένα τὰ ἀσύνδετα*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *ἐμπνεύσεις*, 'inspirations.' He would then be bantering his brother for asking him for *hints* about a poem on the exploits of Caesar, though he was on

consequor, tu, qui omnis isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis? Facerem tamen ut possem, sed, quod te minime fugit, opus est ad poëma quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Abduco me equidem ab omni rei publicae cura dedoque litteris, sed tamen indicabo tibi quod mehercule in primis te celatum volebam. Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor nullam esse rem publicam, nulla iudicia nostrumque hoc tempus aetatis, quod in illa auctoritate senatoria florere debebat, aut forensi labore ^{sicq. abmiserit} iactari aut domesticis litteris sustentari, illud vero quod a puero adamaram,

Πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπέροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλον,

totum occidisse, inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos, partim etiam esse defensos, meum non modo animum sed ne odium quidem esse liberum, unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum qui me tantum quantum ego vellem amaret, aut etiam, sicut alii putant, hunc unum esse qui vellet. Quorum tamen nihil est eius modi ut ego me non multa consolatione cotidie leniam, sed illa erit consolatio maxima si una erimus. Nunc ad illa vel gravissimum accedit desiderium tui. 5. Gabinium si, ut Pansa putat oportuisse, defendissem, concidissem: qui illum oderunt — ii sunt toti ordines — propter quem oderunt, me ipsum odisse coepissent. Tenui me, ut puto, egregie, tantum ut facerem quantum omnes viderent. Et in omni summa, ut mones, valde me ad otium pacemque converto. 6. De libris, Tyrannio est cessator: Chrysippo dicam, sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis. Sentio ipse qui in summo studio nihil adsequor. De Latinis vero quo

the spot, and ought to be inspired by the place itself.

Πολλὸν] Hom. II. vi. 208; xi. 784. In both places the first word of the line is Αἰὲρ.

non oppugnatos] He means Gabinus; defensos, Vatinius.

liberum] There was much to justify Late-
rensis, who, when prosecuting Plancius, declared (Planc. 91) that Cicero had forfeited his liberty of action by his attachment to the triumvirs. Cicero during all this period was profoundly dissatisfied with himself, cp. 110, 1; and in his

speeches he is constantly explaining his conduct, cp. Prov. Cons. 40 ff., Pis. 79 ff., Planc. 91 ff., all masterly examples of Cicero's great powers as an advocate. 'They're eloquent, they're well, but are not true.'

5. tantum . . . viderent] 'I confined myself to doing what all could see,' namely, giving evidence against Gabinus: see 152, 3; 160, 1.

in omni summa] For omnis summa cp. Fin. ii. 86; v. 38; Rep. ii. 39.

6. cessator] 'idler' in copying. For Tyrannio and Chrysippus cp. 152, 5.

cf p. 144-171

cf Mon. Pp. 204-205

cf Quint. 7, 14

loc. mid. liban

cf p. 188 f. 225

cf p. 182

cf p. 189

me veritam nescio : ita mendose exscribuntur et veneunt, sed tamen quod fieri poterit non neglegam. † Crebrius, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est, et qui omnia † adiurat, debere tibi valde renuntiant. De aerario puto confectum esse, dum absum.

Wiel. p. 447. Quattuor tragoedias XVI diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et † ΠΛΕΟΣ quaeris, cum Electram et † Trodam scripseris? Cessator esse noli, et illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas. ^{vorläufig} Habes ad duas epistulas proximas.

last hand
exscribuntur] 'are being copied out': cp. Fam. xvi. 21, 8 (786) in exscribendis hypomnematis.

† Crebrius] A comparison with 152, 5 will lead us to think that the events referred to had something to say to the town-household of Quintus (for Ascanio was probably a slave of Quintus) and the suburbanum in which Quintus was interested. It is just possible that for Crebrius we should read Cincius: cp. 148, 6 *Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius: sed etiam ipse crebro intervivo, quod est facile factu.* The connexion of the topics hardly admits of the clever emendation of Orelli, *C. Rebilus*, advocated by Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 38). Two years after this Rebilus was a lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul (Caes. B. G. vii. 83, 90). Boot supposes that he was now a centurion in Quintus' legion on furlough in Rome.

et qui omnia] For the corrupt words of the ms here Boot (loc. cit.) would read *et qui omnia tibi debere dixerat valde te nunc iactat.* By *iactat* he understands 'runs you down,' 'abuses you.' For this sense of *iactare* see note on 122, 1. We do not know to whom Cicero is referring. Possibly he may be that untrustworthy person T. Anicius (cp. 148, 23); and perhaps we should read *et qui omnia adiurat debere tibi <omnia tibi> valde renuntiat*, 'and he who protests that he owes you everything emphatically refuses you everything.' For this sense of *renuntiare* cp. Att. ii. 1, 8 (27) *Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus.* But this is very uncertain.

De aerario] See on 152, 5.

7. Quattuor . . . mittas] Quintus would appear to have been studying Sophocles about this time: cp. 147, 3. Accordingly, perhaps, we should read *Troilum* (for *Trodam*) with Fritzsche. A play of Sophocles bore that name: see Nauck, *Fragm. Trag.* p. 266. Sophocles also wrote on *Erigone*, who was the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra: cp. Nauck, p. 180. For πλέος Usener suggested πᾶθος, and that is adopted by C. F. W. Müller. Quintus thought his tragedies lacked emotion, though he had such eminently tragic subjects to treat as *Electra* and *Troilus*. Marcus considered that such slipshod work as the dramatic efforts of Quintus must have been was mere idling. Bücheler, who is followed by C. F. W. Müller, wishes to read *Aeropam* (for *Trodam*): for (1) a similar corruption is found in Apicius, *tropetes* for *aeropetes*; (2) there was an *Aeropa* of Carcinus (if we should not read Μερόπη with Valckenaer), which was apparently very affecting (cp. Aelian V. H. xiv. 40); (3) the Mycenaean horrors were a favourite subject with the Romans. But the presumption that Quintus would appear at this time to have been devoting himself to the adaptation of plays of Sophocles outweighs these considerations.

For a most learned and ingenious discussion of this passage by Professor Ellis, see *Addenda to the Commentary*, Note III. *absolvisse]* The omission of the subject before the infinitive is common: cp. 106, 6.

illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν] Lebreton (p. 89) compares Att. v. 10, 3 (198) *O illud verum ἔρδοι τις.*

of as d.
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Logg. p. 75. Vict. II 444

156. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 7).

TUSCULANUM; OCTOBER (END) OR NOVEMBER (BEGINNING);

A. U. C. 700; B.C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri Romae ingentem alluviem fuisse scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Romae et maxime . . . et Appia ad Martis mira alluvies; Crassipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernae plurimae, magna vis aquae usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri,

"Ηματ' ὄπωρινῶ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄνδρεςσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνην.

Cadit enim in absolutionem Gabini:

Οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
'Εκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Sed haec non curare decrevi. 2. Romam cum venero, quae perspexero scribam ad te et maxime de dictatura, et ad Labienum

1. *et Appia*] See Adn. Crit. Something is no doubt lost here. Most edd. disregard the *et* before *Appia*, and print *Romae et maxime Appia*, 'in Rome, and especially on the Appian Way.' But Cicero would hardly have spoken of the *Via Appia* as a part of Rome, and the *et* before *Appia* points to an omission. Dr. Reid, however, notes that there was a portion of the Appian Way which really was in Rome: along the first mile of it, between the Porta Capena and the old temple of Mars, close to the first milestone, there was a large suburb which seems to have gone by the name of *ad Martis*. He thinks we should read *ex*: 'In Rome and especially in the direction of the Appian Road in the suburb by the temple of Mars'; cp. *e contraria parte* and such phrases. He thinks we might, as an alternative, simply omit the *et* before *Appia*. The temple is that of 'Mars without the Wall'; cp. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1521.

alluvies] So we read with Vict., though the word does not occur elsewhere in Cicero: and *proluviēs*, the word given by M² and the early editions, is also un-Ciceronian. Boot conjectures *eluvio*, comparing Rep. vi. 23: De Div. i. 111.

Viget] 'the Homeric theory is still true.' Zeus sends violent rain to punish men for their unjust dealings. This plague of rain is his protest against the acquittal of Gabinius. On these inundations see Dio Cass. xxxix. 61. He places them before the trial of Gabinius, and considers that they increased the popular indignation against him.

Cadit . . . in] This may mean—(1) 'is applicable to,' or (2) 'synchronises with.' The former interpretation is the more probable, for the most natural subject for *cadit* is *illud Homeri*, not *alluvies*. But *cadit* has both meanings. The passage is Il. xvi. 385.

et ad Ligurium litteras dabo. Hanc scripsi ante lucem ad lychnuchum ligneolum, qui mihi erat pericucundus, quod eum te aiebant, cum esses Sami, curasse faciendum. Vale, mi suavissime et optime frater.

Wiel. II 327

157. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 16).

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Facete M. Cicero laudat C. Trebati sapientiam in vitando belli discrimine, ut timiditatis eum arguat.

[M.] CICERO TREBATIO.

1. In 'Equo Troiano' scis esse, 'in extremo sero sapiunt.' Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero. Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas *s.c. epistulas*

2. *lychnuchum*] Saglio, in his fine article on *candelabrum*, says that wooden *lychnuchi* were the commonest. Cp. Petronius 95, and Martial xiv. 44. Others were made of gold, silver, bronze, marble, glass, and clay. *Ligneolus* probably means 'of very thin wood,' which would, of course, enhance the beauty of the *candelabrum*.

Sami] This island belonged to Asia, the province of Quintus, and was no doubt visited by Quintus during his propraetorship.

1. *Equo Troiano*] A play of this name is ascribed both to Livius and to Naevius. The proverb as quoted by Cicero is usually supposed to be no more than *sero sapiunt* because Festus (343 M.) says *sero sapiunt Phryges proverbium est natum a Troianis qui decimo denique anno velle coeperunt Helenam quaeque cum ea erant rapta reddere*. But according to Festus *sero sapiunt Phryges* is the proverb, and he says nothing about its being a quotation from a play. Here we have expressly a quotation from a play. We believe the words quoted from this play to be *in extremo sero sapiunt*, referring possibly to the Phrygians, but possibly having a general application.

in extremo] The words mean 'when a man comes to extremities, it is too late to show the discretion which might have

saved him.' The passage is usually printed, in *Equo Troiano scis esse in extremo: Sero sapiunt*. But why should Cicero mention the *part of the play* at which the words occur? Besides, *sero sapiunt* is rather a bald sentiment, while *in extremo sero sapiunt* is a good proverb. For the words require some further qualification; they should give some class of men who 'are wise too late,' or some circumstances under which it is too late to be sensible. The proverb fulfils the last condition, and says that 'when things have come to an extremity, it is too late to be wise.' It is plain that the words as given above,

in extremo sero sapiunt,

form the beginning of a good iambic verse according to old Latin prosody and scansion.

mi vetule] This address is merely playful. He calls Trebatius 'my old fellow,' because he is cautious—has an old head on young shoulders. He congratulates Trebatius on being wise in time, and seeing the folly of the spirit reflected in his earlier letters—a spirit of impatience and discontent, and foolish yearning for Rome.

Primas] 'Your earlier snappy [so Mr. Shuckburgh translates] letters were silly enough [cp. 136, 1]—but then—you know the rest—you know how you

dedisti: deinde . . . Quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te praebuisti, plane non reprehendo: nunc vero in hibernis iniectus mihi videris: itaque te commovere non curas.

'Usque quaque sapere oportet: id erit telum acerrimum.'

2. Ego si foris cenitarem, Cn. Octavio familiari tuo non defuissem: cui tamen dixi, eum me aliquotiens invitaret, 'Oro te, quis tu es?' Sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est: vellem eum tecum abduxisses. 3. Quid agatis et equid in Italiam venturi sitis hac hieme fac plane sciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum, an, quo modo Stoici dicunt 'omnis esse divites qui caelo et terra frui possint,' postea videbo. Qui istinc veniunt

changed your tone.' This is perhaps better than to take *deinde* closely with *quod*.

in Britannia] 'In the matter of going to Britain.' Mendelssohn suggests τῶν Βρεττανῶν, because Trebatius did not cross over into Britain (161, 1). But this is requiring too great accuracy of expression.

non nimis φιλοθέωρον] 'not too great a gadabout.'

iniectus] It appears from 161, 2, that there was an insufficient supply of the *sagum* or military cloak, which may have been also used as a blanket. If we read *intectus*, Cicero may allude to this fact, and say, 'therefore, naturally you don't care to stir abroad.' Then he quotes a verse from some poet which seems to have little point, except in so far as there is a kind of play on *sapere* 'to be a man of sense,' which meaning it seems to bear in the quotation, and *sapere* as applied especially to juriconsults, *sapiens* having been the *sobriquet* of Curius, Fabricius, Coruncanus, &c. (Lael. 18). So in 161, 1, he congratulates Trebatius on being in a country where he might seem *aliquid sapere*, that is, where (in the absence of rivalry) he would be at the very top of his profession. But all this is very far-fetched. And it must be remembered that *iniectus*, not *intectus*, is the ms reading. If the word is right, it should mean *vestem iniectus* (like *indutus*), as Dr. Reid has pointed out to us, comparing Apul. Met. ix. 20 *Interdum Philesitherus cognito strepitu raptim tunicas iniectus sed plane prae turbatione pedibus intectis procurrit*

cubiculo. It is just possible that another interpretation may deserve consideration, inasmuch as *inicere*, as well as *iniectio*, has a juridical sense, 'to seize on as one's property without a judicial decision,' as in the case of a runaway slave. If *iniectus* could possibly mean 'subjected to this process,' we should have a characteristically playful use of a juridical term, 'under arrest'; *inicere manum* takes an accusative of the person arrested; but we will not go so far as to say that this would justify *iniectus* 'arrested.' If neither of the views given above is considered satisfactory, we must regard the word as unsound, and adopt some conjecture such as *intectus*, or possibly *in tectis*, i.e. in houses and not under canvas (*sub pellibus*). See Adm. Crit.

2. *Cn. Octavio*] cp. 145, 2.

vellem eum] 'a capital fellow surely. Would you had taken him away with you.' Cp. *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 1, 254:

First Serv. My lord, you nod: you do not mind the play.

Sly. Yes, by Saint Anne, do I. A good matter, surely: comes there any more of it?

Page. My lord, 'tis but begun.

Sly. 'Tis a very excellent piece of work, madam lady: would 'twere done.

3. *equid*] 'whether at all.'

in Italiam] into winter quarters to Ravenna, which was the nearest point to Rome in the province of Caesar.

Romano more] 'literally.' Sometimes the phrase means 'simply,' 'plainly,' 'without circumlocution,' like *more maiorum*, Att. i. 1, 1 (10).

superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percontantibus respondere. Sed tamen est quod gaudeas; constat enim inter omnis neminem te uno Samarobriuae iuris peritiorum esse.

Wiel. II p. 445

158. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 19).

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De adventu Attici sibi gratissimo, de condicione rei publicae, de sua et Q. fratris Caesare coniunctione, de legatione sua Pompeio accepta, de Dionysio eiusque cum Attico adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

I. O exspectatas mihi tuas litteras! o gratum adventum! o constantiam promissi et fidem miram! o navigationem amandam! quam mehercule ego valde timebam, recordans superioris tuae transmissionis δέρπεις. Sed, nisi fallor, citius te quam scribis

quod negent] 'because, as they say, you do not.' This is the virtual oblique, for which see on Att. i. 1, 4 (10) *diceret*.

respondere] is a technical term for giving counsel's opinion. Hence the *responsa prudentium*, or opinions of counsel, were an authoritative source of Roman Law. Of course Trebatius does not 'give counsel's opinions' in the camp of Caesar; but *respondere percontantibus* also means 'to reply to one who asks you a question'; 'to fail to do this would show much arrogant reserve. Hence the joke, which, though certainly not of much merit, is repeated afterwards, 162, in writing to L. Valerius, another juriconsult. Dr. Reid says: "To realise the full force of the jest one must remember that to refuse to give a civil answer to a civil question was regarded by the Romans as a typical act of rudeness. See Acad. ii., § 94, and the passages to which I have referred in my note there. There is really the same jest (an oxymoron) in Att. iv. 18, 3 (154) *multi urbani ne respondent quidem*. No doubt the impression of Tiberius' arrogance was greatly due to his taciturnity when addressed (cp. Suet. Tib. 68 *plerumque tacitus*, &c.)."

Samarobriuae] Amiens, the chief town in Gallia Belgica.

1. *adventum*] from Asia.

δέρπεις] The word δέρπεις has generally been taken as meaning skins which were used as a kind of overcoat 'ad corpus adversus maritimas tempestates tuendum' (Schütz), 'ad frigus arcendum' (Boot). It is rather, perhaps, to be taken for the skins stretched along the sides of the ship, which were used during bad weather to keep the waves from washing into the ship, and drenching the crew: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 15, 4 *atque etiam uno tempore accidit ut, difficultioribus usi tempestatibus, ex pellibus quibus erant tectae naves, nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur*. These seem to have been technically called παραρύματα or παραβλήματα in Greek; and we sometimes find them used when, a fight being imminent, it was necessary to conceal the marines: cp. Xen. Hell. i. 6, 19; ii. 1, 22. In C. I. A. ii. 809, Col. e. 85, 104, we find παραρύματα τρίχυνα, of which Mr. Torr (*Ancient Ships*, p. 53, note 123) says: 'The other παραρύματα were perhaps of horsehair, for that seems the likeliest meaning of τρίχυνα, but were possibly of hide: cp. Caesar, de Bello Civili, iii. 15.' But it is remarkable that above (154, 2) δέρπεις is found where it is obviously corrupt. For *nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus*, M gives δέρπεις for *terris*, M¹ reading *nemo enim δέρπεις in terris*, &c., M² *nemo enim*

videbo. Credo enim te putasse tuas mulieres in Apulia esse, quod cum secus erit, quid te Apulia moretur? num Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus ἀττικισμὸς ex intervallo regustandus? Quin tu huc advolas et invisisti illius nostrae rei publicae germanae . . . ?

† putavi de nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisim palam,

δεῖπτι in ceteris. Yet it can hardly be a corruption of *terris* or *terra* here; *transmissio* means a 'passage by sea,' and the context shows, moreover, that two sea voyages are compared. Dr. Reid conjectures *terrores*.

erit] If the text is sound here, *erit* must mean 'will be found to be,' 'when this—that the ladies of your family are in Apulia—is found by you not to be the case.' Wesenberg thinks this such an unnatural construction that he would read here *quod quoniam secus erit*. But this use of the future is characteristic of the language of the comic stage, and, therefore, natural in a letter. Cp. *hic inerunt* ('will be found to be'), *vigintiminae*, Plaut. *Asin.* 734; *conveniet*, 'you'll find it right,' Ter. *Phorm.* 53. Cp. also *quiescet*, Juv. i. 126, and Mayor's note there. *Sic erit*, 'you'll find it to be so,' is common in the comic poets.

num] We read *num* for *nam*. This is the answer to *quid te A. moretur*: 'Surely you won't give any days to Vestorius, or feel disposed to taste again of his home-made Attic salt?' This is probably the meaning; for with *nam* of the ms there is no connexion: 'Why should Apulia detain you? For you must give some days to V., &c. Come here at once.' With *num* the train of thought is 'Why should Apulia detain you? Surely you won't let Vestorius do so. Come at once.' Vestorius was no doubt at Puteoli; and the words *ille Latinus ἀττικισμὸς* seem to be ironical. Cp. *Att.* xiv. 12, 3 (715).

germanae . . .] The usual reading here is *germanam*, and the meaning is supposed to be 'fly hither at once, and visit again this very sister of the old republic' (*germanam* ironical). But Cicero does not use *germana* without *soror*, for 'a sister,' and even if he did, he would not have employed the awkward irony which is usually here imputed to him, and which is justly ridiculed by Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.*, p. 102). Now, Cicero is very fond of the word *germanus* in the sense 'real,' 'genuine.' We agree with the

theory of Wesenberg, that some words on which *germanae* depends have here fallen out. The words he suggests are *umbram*, *imaginem*, or *simulacrum*, all of which are used to indicate an absence of genuineness, and are contrasted with words like *germanus*. He quotes many examples, but one is sufficient; it is *Off.* iii. 69 *germanae iustitiae solidam effigiem nullam habemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur*. Hence we would read, nearly with Wesenberg, *quin tu huc advolas et invisisti illius nostrae reipublicae germanae hanc umbram et imaginem*, 'this mere shadow and semblance of the real republic that we once enjoyed.' A reference to the *Adn. Crit.* will show that *germanae* is nearer to the ms than *germanam*. Prof. Robinson Ellis has discussed this passage at length in *Hermathena* (1887), p. 137 f. We have printed his learned note in the *Addenda* to the *Commentary*, No. iv.

putavi de] These words are quite corrupt. We might perhaps read *peti vides nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisim palam, inde absolutum Gabinium; in dictaturam rem ruere (or fluere) iustitio et omnium rerum licentia*, 'you see from my letters how the candidature is being carried on with utterly undisguised corruption; that to this is to be ascribed the acquittal of Gabinium; that things are fast tending to a dictatorship,' &c. In 160, 3, he says the acquittal of Gabinium is equivalent to an Amnesty Act. See also *Adn. Crit.* Sternkopf, however (*Hermes*, 1905, p. 40), holds with much probability that *cociace* of the mss above (149, 3, for which we read *hoc iacet* with Mommsen), which occurs just at the point of dislocation, belongs to this passage and not to the former passage; and he reads here *peti vides* (so Man.) *nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisim palam, vides absolutum Gabinium, olface [for cociace] dictaturam, fruere iustitio et omnium rerum licentia*; and for the metaphor in *olface* he compares 154, 3 *et est non nullus odor dictaturae*; and for the actual word *olfaecere*, used in a metaphorical sense, *De Leg. Agr.* i. 11.

auf d. Got
in Campan.

Restorjgellor

nach Vestorius

Wiel p. 517

ib. Dr. B. R. Landgraf, Sid. 2
Planc. 9

leg: vide
 inde absolutum Gabinium. [ep. XVIII. 3.] †dictaturam, frueret
 iustitio et omnium rerum licentia. 2. Perspice aequitatem animi
 mei et † ludum et contemptionem Felicianae unctiae et mehercule
 cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem—haec enim me una ex
 hoc naufragio tabula delectat—, qui quidem Quintum meum
 tuumque; di boni! quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate,
 gratia! non secus ac si ego essem imperator. Hiberna legionis eli-
 gendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me Quintus scribit. Hunc tu
 non ames? quem igitur istorum? Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi
 me esse legatum Pompeio? et extra urbem quidem fore ex Idibus
 Ianuariis? Visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. Sed quid

2. *ludum*] This word must be corrupt. It could only be rendered here 'my sportive, playful nature,' just as *aequitatem* means 'my easy-going temper.' But *ludus* could not bear any such meaning. Probably we should read *laudam contemptionem*, with Boot.

Felicianae] We have made bold, even in such a quagmire as this letter presents, to set up here a conjecture of our own for *Selicianae* of C, which is accepted by Kl., Btr., and most edd. For what does *Selicianae unctiae* mean? We hear of a usurer Selicius; but how does that help us here? Now, in 160, 8, written certainly within a month from the date of this letter, perhaps less, we find Cicero telling his brother (as he had no doubt already told Atticus in a lost letter) how a certain Felix had intended to leave some one or more persons (no doubt Marcus and Quintus Cicero) heirs each to a twelfth of his property; but through the negligence of Felix himself and his slave Sicurra, a different testament was signed by Felix, and so Marcus and Quintus lost their bequests through an accident. *Felicianus* is from Felix, as *Ciceronianus*, *Caesarianus* from Cicero, Caesar. Cicero here writes to Atticus: 'commend me for my indifference to this loss, as well as for the charming intimacy I have established with Caesar.' Dr. Reid thinks that the words *et ludum et contemptionem Seleucianae provinciae* ought to come after *Gabinium*; and that they mean that the acquittal of Gabinius was 'a farce and a mockery of the Seleucian province'—the latter term being applied to the province of Syria, which was part of the kingdom of the Seleucidae. Distorted order seems to be a special disease

of the mss in this portion of the Letters. Dr. Reid offers as a conjectural restoration of the preceding words, *dictaturae servire iustitiam et omni rerum licentiae*.

enim] The sentence explains why he called his *coniunctio* with Caesar *suausissima*. We learn from a previous letter (Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, *dirumparis licet*, 149, 7) that Atticus was opposed to Cicero's close connexion with Caesar.

tabula] He compares the state of things to a wreck: the one plank to which he clings is his connexion with Caesar.

Hiberna legionis] We have adopted this reading of Nipperdey in preference to that of Ernesti, *Hiberna legionum*. It is unlikely that Caesar would have left the question of the winter quarters of the whole army to Quintus, but quite probable that he left it to his discretion as to where the legion which Quintus commanded should winter. Sternkopf, however (Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 850–2), thinks that the mss reading, *Hibernam legionem*, may be right. Caesar arranged the various wintering stations for the legions, and then gave Quintus the choice of what legion he would command. Sternkopf quotes instances of commanders being transferred from one legion to another in the Gallic War. For the use of *hiberna legio*, 'a wintering legion,' he compares Suet. Cal. 8 *Versiculi* . . . *apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant*. For the wintering arrangements of this year, cp. Caes. B. G. v. 24, 2.

delata] to Quintus. *Commodum* = *modo*, *paullo ante*, is quite a colloquialism, frequent in comedy and the Letters, rarely elsewhere in classical writers.

quadrare] 'to fall in with' (my plans).

Wiel. p. 450

= paullo ante

nach Span.

f. Mag. p. 2043

plura? Coram, opinor, reliqua, ut tu tamen ^{novi} aliquid exspectes. Dionysio plurimam salutem, cui quidem ego non modo servavi ^{novi} sed etiam aedificavi ^{novi} locum. Quid quaeris? ad summam laetitiam ^{novi} meam quam ex tuo reditu capio magnus illius adventus cumulus ^{novi} accedet. Quo die ad me venies tu, si me amas, apud me cum tuis maneas.

in meum
Hause

Wiel. II 457

159. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 8). *Sj. Nr. 6 p. 76*

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de perferendis militiae molestiis et cautione in litteris dandis adhibenda, de carmine ad Caesarem componendo, de spe candidatorum consulatus, de dictaturae timore, de Serrani funere, de Milonis ludis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Superiori epistulae quod respondeam nihil est, quae plena stomachi et querelarum est, quo in genere alteram quoque te scribis pridie Labieno dedisse, qui adhuc non venerat. Delevit enim mihi omnem molestiam recentior epistula. Tantum te et moneo et rogo ut in istis molestiis et laboribus et desideriiis recordere consilium nostrum quod fuerit perfectionis tuae. Non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria. Quid enim erat quod ^{frange} discessu nostro emendum putarem? Praesidium firmissimum petebamus ex optimi et potentissimi viri benevolentia ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis. Plura ponuntur in spe quam

1. *Labieno*] As Labienus was in Gaul in the autumn and all through the winter of 54 B.C. (cp. Caes. B. G. v. 24; 37; 53: vi. 5: Cic. Q. Fr. iii. 7, 2), Rauschen (p. 60) reads *quae for qui*, comparing Fam. xi. 24, 2 *cum tibi litterae meae veniant*. Quintus, no doubt, asked Labienus to forward the letters by his couriers: cp. § 2 *Tu velim cures ut sciam, quibus nos dare oporteat eas, quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus, Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni*. Schiche proposes *Labieni tabellariis*. Either of these suggestions is better than to read *Labeoni*, with Ziehen (Rh. Mus. xli. (1896), p. 594). Labeo was in Rome at the end of September, and not likely to start for Gaul soon (148, 21).

Even if he had done so, it would hardly have been possible for him to reach Quintus, and be back in Rome by the end of November, the date of this letter.

consilium . . . perfectionis tuae] 'what was the way in which I regarded your going to the camp of Caesar,' 'what was my view of the reasons for your taking that step.'

Plura ponuntur] 'You have made a larger investment in the form of ambition (your future prospects) than of money. The necessary sum to meet your expenses will be found.' Such seems to us to be the meaning of the passage, not as Schütz takes it, *reliqua emolumenta, ut pecuniarum, sic tibi parabis, ut etiam iacturam eorum, si acciderit, aequo animo ferre*

in pecuniis: reliqua ad iacturam struentur. Qua re si crebro referes animum tuum ad rationem et veteris consili nostri et spei, facilius istos militiae labores ceteraque quae te offendunt feres, et tamen cum voles depones. Sed eius rei maturitas nequedum venit et tamen iam appropinquat. 2. Etiam illud te admoneo, ne quid ullis litteris committas quod, si prolatum sit, moleste feramus. Multa sunt quae ego nescire malo quam cum aliquo periculo fieri certior. Plura ad te vacuo animo scribam, cum, ut spero, se Cicero meus belle habebit. Tu velim cures ut sciam quibus nos dare oporteat eas quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus; Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni: ubi enim isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint nescio. 3. De virtute et gravitate Caesaris quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistula tua accepi voluptatem. Quod me institutum ad illum poëma iubes perficere, etsi distentus cum opera tum animo sum multo magis, tamen, quoniam ex epistula quam ad te miseram cognovit Caesar me aliquid esse exorsum, revertar ad institutum idque perficiam his supplicationum otiosis diebus, quibus Messallam iam nostrum reliquosque molestia levatos vehementer gaudeo, eumque quod certum consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messallam Caesari praestabo. Sed Memmius in adventu Caesaris habet spem, in quo illum puto errare: hic quidem friget. Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius abiecit. 4. Res prolatae: ad interregnum comitia adducta. Rumor dictatoris iniucundus bonis, mihi etiam magis quae loquuntur. Sed tota res et timetur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat velle: antea mihi ipse non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur.

possis, which sentiment does not seem to lie in the words. Possibly one might render 'other gains (except one's hopes from Caesar) will be made only to be thrown away' (i. e. will not be permanent). The reading of Cratander's Codex is *petimus* for *in pecuniis* and *reserventur* for *struentur*. 'Our hopes stretch further than the immediate objects we are seeking. Let the rest be reserved to secure you from loss' (i. e. let whatever money you make, or the material advantages you gain, not exceed what will secure you from loss).

et tamen . . . depones] 'and after all (tamen) you will be able to give them up when you please.'

2. *isti . . . Nervii*] 'those Nervii of yours,' where you are in winter quarters.

3. *adhibuisset*] 'shown by him, as you tell me'; such is the force of the subjunctive.

molestia levatos] because the trials were suspended during the days of *supplicatio* decreed in honour of Caesar.

praestabo] 'I will guarantee that his conduct shall be acceptable to Caesar.'

in adventu Caesaris] Cp. 150, 23 p. 184

4. *adducta*] 'the elections have been so often postponed that an interregnum seems likely.'

auctor] 'will propose that Pompey should assume the dictatorship.'

ref. Caes.
of p. 144. 227

of p. 184

v. a. f. a.

O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali! Caelium Vinicianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit nolit scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente nolle se non probabit. Aliud hōc tempore de re publica nihil loquebantur: agebatur quidem certe nihil. 5. Serrani Domestici filii funus perluctuosum fuit a. d. iix Kalend. Decembr. Laudavit pater scripto meo. 6. Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit et omnia Cottae dicitque se perfecturum ut illo Caesar incumbat. Hoc horret Milo, nec iniuria, et, si ille dictator factus sit, paene diffidit. Intercessorem dictaturae si iuverit manu et praesidio suo, Pompeium metuit inimicum: si non iuverit, timet ne per vim perferatur. Ludos apparatus magnificentissimos: sic, inquam, ut nemo sumptuosiores: stulte bis terque, non postulatos, vel quia munus magnificentum dederat vel quia facultates non erant, [vel quia magister,] vel quia

quam ineptus] This seems to refer to Pompey, not to Hirrus.—

sine rivali] Cp. *quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares*, Hor. A. P. 444; *licebit eum solus ames; me aemulum non habebis*, Att. vi. 3, 7 (264).

Caelium Vinicianum] This name is restored by Man. for *Crassum Iunianum*. The latter was a Pompeian (cp. Plut. Cat. Min. 70); and his name is frequently found on coins (cp. Drumann, iv., pp. 117 f.). But the former is mentioned in Fam. viii. 4, 3 (206) in connexion with the appointment of Pompey as dictator.

per me] 'through my agency Pompey prevented him from moving for a dictator.'

non probabit] 'he will not be able to persuade people that he does not care for the dictatorship if Hirrus is the mover in the matter.'

5. *Laudavit*] 'delivered over him a funeral oration written by me.'

6. *nihil tribuit*] 'gives him no countenance' in his candidature for the consulship in the ensuing year.

Cottae] The mss read *Guttae*; but we have never heard of a Gutta as praetor; how, then, does he come to be a candidate for consulship in 702 (52)? Again, we know who Milo's opponents were, P. Plautius Hypsaesus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, who was strongly supported by Pompey. Hence Boot thinks that we should read *Hypsaeso* for *Guttae*. There would have been no occasion to mention Metellus Scipio, for, of course, Pompey would support his father-in-law.

Yet *Hypsaeso* is very unlikely to have been changed to *Guttae*, though mss do make strange mistakes in proper names, as may be seen by referring to the critical notes on this letter. Hoffa, in his ed. of the Epistles to Quintus (Heidelberg, 1843), suggests that the right reading may be *Cottae*, who, as an ex-praetor, held command in Sardinia in 705 (49): cp. Caes. B. C. i. 30, 2, 3; Cic. Att. x. 16, 2 (402); and this conjecture we have adopted. This letter was written in November, 700 (54), and Cotta may have dropped out of the list of competitors before the election took place.

illo] adverb, 'that Caesar may throw his weight into that scale' (lit. 'thither'). The mss give *in illo*, whence Lamb. read *in illum*.

Ludos] Milo took the opportunity of the death of a friend to give as an executor magnificent games in his honour. Cicero says he acted very foolishly in giving these games, which were not demanded of him (*non postulatos*) by his position as executor, and which he could not afford; moreover, he had before given a magnificent show to the people as aedile. Milo's object was to recommend himself to the people as a candidate for the consulship.

bis terque] 'twice or thrice at least'; so *δῖς καὶ τρίς*: *bis terve* is 'twice or thrice at most,' as in 166, 1: cp. *quatuor aut summum quinque*, Mil. 12; and *δύο ἢ τρεῖς* in Greek.

vel quia poterat] Another reason,

potuerat magistrum se, non aedilem putare. Omnia fere scripsi.
Cura, mi carissime frater, ut valeas.

in Gall. Dial. II 457
160. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 9). *Sj. Nr. 7 p. 78*

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de Gabinio a se non defenso, de Milonis in ludis instituentis profusione, de anni venientis motibus, de mancipiis emendis, de Vatini epistula, de poemate ad Caesarem absoluto, de Q. fratris aedificiis, de Felicis testamento, de Q. filio.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum quae a te amatissime cogitata sunt. Τότε μοι χάνοι. Feci summa cum gravitate, ut omnes sentiunt, et summa cum lenitate quae feci: illum neque ursi neque levavi. Testis vehemens fui, praeterea quievi. Exitum iudici foedum et perniciosum lenissime tuli. Quod quidem bonum mihi nunc denique redundat, ut iis malis rei publicae licentiaque audacium qua ante rumpebar nunc ne movear quidem: nihil est enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus. 2. Itaque ex re publica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher nescio. Litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque delectant maximeque pueri nostri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem adferat consulationis: in quo enitar non minus quam sum enisus in

says Cicero, for not giving the games is, that he might have bethought him that he was not now an aedile, but only an executor to a deceased friend. But this is not satisfactorily expressed. See Adn. Crit.

magistrum] *Magister auctionis* or *venditionis* is often found in the case of the sale of a bankrupt's estate (*bonorum emptio*), e.g. Pro Quinct. 50; Att. i. 1, 3 (10); vi. 1, 15 (252); Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899). Here it would appear to mean simply the executor of the sale of an estate (which in the present case would appear not to have been bankrupt). Schütz brackets *vel quia magister*, probably rightly.

1. *De Gabinio*] Quintus had thought that Cicero's interests would demand that

he should defend Gabinius, and had suggested to him some course of action which should be adopted by him, to avoid the appearance of inconsistency. Cicero now says: 'I need not defend him. Perish the thought! The course which I have taken has, as all feel, shown much dignity and much good temper. I neither assailed him as a prosecutor nor aided him as an advocate. I gave strong evidence against him, and took no further step. And I showed no bad temper at the disgraceful issue of the trial.'

Τότε μοι χάνοι] εἰρεία χθών, Hom. Il. iv. 182, translated by Virgil (Aen. iv. 24):

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat.

2. *finem adferat*] sc. to his mad expenditure.

nostro, tuque istinc, quod facis, adiuvabis. De ^{consulat} quo cetera, nisi plane vis eripuierit, recte sunt; de re familiari timeo, ^{Milonis}

^{Mil} ὁ δὲ μάλινεται οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτῶς,

qui ludos HS ccccccccc. comparet. Cuius in hoc uno inconsiderantiam et ego sustinebo, ut potero, et tu ut possis est tuorum nervorum. 3. De motu temporum venientis anni nihil te intellegere volueram domestici timoris sed de communi rei publicae statu, in quo etiam si nihil procuro, tamen nihil curare vix possum. Quam autem te velim cautum esse in scribendo ex hoc conicito, quod ego ad te ne haec quidem scribo quae palam in re publica turbantur, ne cuiusquam animum meae litterae interceptae offendant. Qua re domestica cura te levatum volo: in re publica scio quam sollicitus esse soleas. Video Messallam nostrum consulem, si per interregem, sine iudicio: si per dictatorem, tamen sine periculo. Odi nihil habet. Hortensi calor multum valebit. Gabini absolutio lex impunitatis putatur. Ἐν παρέργῳ: de dictatore

δ . . . ἀνεκτῶς] Hom. II. viii. 355. Comparet depends on μάλινεται, 'he is mad to give such entertainments.'

cccccccc] = HS. decies = 1,000,000 sesterces.

inconsiderantiam] See Adn. Crit. *sustinebo*] 'will make good'; that is, 'I will endeavour to save him from the effects of his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter only) by as much pecuniary aid as I can.' This is the explanation of Schütz, who also suggests that the passage means, 'I will restrain his thoughtlessness as far as I can.' The first explanation seems to strain the verb *sustinere*; 'to make good a man's thoughtlessness' is a strange expression if one means 'to protect him from the consequences of it.' The second is not quite consistent with what follows. It would hardly require *nervi*, 'strength of mind,' in Quintus to help Cicero to restrain the recklessness of Milo. The meaning seems to be: 'I will bear his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter) as well as I can; and it will require your strength of mind to do the same.' *Nervi* is used in a very similar way in Fam. iii. 10, 1 (261), where Cicero, writing to Appius to console him for the prosecution which would cost him his triumph, says, *ego enim plane video fore nervis opibus sapientia tua vehementer ut inimicos tuos paeniteat in-*

temperantiae suae, where one might read *fore nervis opus et sapientia tua*, &c. Furthermore, it is quite possible that Cicero may not mean, 'his thoughtlessness shown in this one matter only,' though the order of the words naturally suggests this interpretation; but may mean, 'I will put up with his recklessness, but only in this one matter; afterwards I shall wash my hands of him.' We have before remarked what a characteristic feature of these letters is hyperbaton, such as *de meis ad te rationibus*, Att. i. 2, 1 (11). We are told that Milo spent three fortunes on acts of extravagance like this (Mil. 95). Did anyone ever hear of a man who had spent two fortunes or four?

3. *si per interregem*] 'if he is created consul by the *interrex*, he will escape trial altogether (for he will enter on his office at once); if by the dictator, he will still escape all danger (for, though he will be brought to trial, he will certainly be acquitted).'

Hortensi calor] The earnestness of Hortensius in defending Messalla will be of considerable avail in procuring his acquittal.

lex impunitatis] 'the acquittal of Gabinius is regarded as a general Amnesty Act.' Cp. 158, 1.

Ἐν παρέργῳ] 'en passant: after all,

tamen actum adhuc nihil est. Pompeius abest, Appius miscet, Hirrus parat, multi intercessores numerantur, populus non curat, principes nolunt, ego quiesco. 4. De mancipiis quod mihi polliceris, valde te amo, et sum equidem, ut scribis, et Romae et in praediis infrequens. Sed cave, amabo, quidquam quod ad meum commodum attineat, nisi maximo tuo commodo et maxima tua facultate, mi frater, cogitaris. 5. De epistula Vatini risi. Sed me ab eo ita observari scio ut eius ista odia non sorbeam solum sed etiam concoquam. 6. Quod me hortaris ut absolvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἔπος ad Caesarem, sed quaero locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigonae tuae, quoi soli Caesare imperatore iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. 7. **Quid? si caementum bonum non haberem, deturbarem

there is nothing done about the dictatorship yet.' *ὁδοῦ πάρεργον* is the more usual phrase in the letters. *Tamen* often depends on a clause understood, such as here—'though everyone thought that things tended that way.' It may in such cases be rendered 'after all.'

4. *infrequens*] 'short-handed'; that is, not well provided with slaves, as *infrequens aedificiis*, Liv. xxxvii. 32, 2.

maximo tuo commodo . . . facultate] 'unless it is quite suitable to your convenience and your means.'

5. *Vatini*] Vatinius had written to Caesar a letter, which Quintus had seen, showing that he was watching every act of Cicero, and reporting them (with, no doubt, unfriendly comments) to Caesar. 'But though I know I am being watched by him, I can swallow his hatred and digest it too' (Shuckburgh). Or, perhaps, there is a play on the two meanings of *observare*, 'to watch' and 'to pay attention to.' The phrase would then be ironical—'I am so conscious of the kind attentions of Vatinius to me, that I can,' &c.

6. *locupletem*] 'trustworthy,' 'responsible,' like *ἐχέγγυος, ἀξιώχεος*.

quoi soli] Quintus' play, *Erigona*, was lost in its transmission from Gaul to Rome.

7. *caementum*] This is the reading of the ed. Iensoniana. M gives *canem tam*. This Professor Ellis retains, and gives (Hermathena xiii. (1887), pp. 141, 142) the following learned explanation of it:—

"1. After speaking of Erigone, what can be more natural than to mention her 'good dog'? And Maera was emphati-

cally a good dog; for not only did she by her faithful watch discover to Erigone where her murdered father Icarus lay, but when Erigone, in grief at his loss, hung herself on Mount Hymettus, Maera died with a howl beneath her feet.

"Aelian (H. A. vii. 28) says the Delphian oracle ordered sacrifice to be made to Maera, ὅτι ἄρα δι' ὑπερβολὴν εἰνολίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν βιάσθαι μετ' αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔγνω. παίξει δὲ Εὐριπίδης λέγων

χρηστοῖσι δούλοις συμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν
κακῶς πίνοντα καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται,

'for where,' he asks, 'is a man found to have died over his master's body, albeit a dog did so?'

"2. Erigone's dog was proverbial. Martial (xi. 69, 3, 4), speaking of *Lydia*, a remarkably faithful dog, says:

*Lydia dicebar domino fidissima Dextro,
Qui non Erigones mallet habere canem.*

"3. The connexion, then, is not very hard to follow. 'I am afraid of trusting my poem to any carrier, lest it should be intercepted on the way, like your *Erigone*, the only passenger that has been molested on its journey since Caesar had command of Gaul. Possibly, too, I might not have a guardian-dog, like Erigone; and then the chance of my poem escaping safely would be less even than yours.'

"The joke is flat, no doubt; but I fancy that this is true of many others, not only in Cicero's letters, but in his finished speeches. What can be flatter than the well-known *Guttam aspergit huic Bulbo* in the *Pro Cluentio*?"

deturbarem] 'was I to pull down the

Haus des
Quint.

aedificium ? quod quidem mihi cotidie magis placet, in primisque inferior porticus et eius conclavia fiunt recte. De Arcano, Caesaris opus est vel mehercule etiam elegantioris alicuius. Imagines enim istae et palaestra et piscina et nilus multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum. Sed et ipsi ea adibimus et mittemus et mandabimus. 8. De Felicis testamento tum magis querare, si scias. Quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus † in unciis firmissimum tenest, eas vero—lapsus est per errorem et suum et Sicurae servi—non obsignavit: quas noluit eas obsignavit. ἄλλ' οἰμωζέτω! nos modo valeamus. 9. Ciceronem et ut rogas amo et ut meretur et debeo. Dimitto autem a me, et ut a magistris ne abducam et quod mater † Porcia non † discedit, sine

house?'—a rhetorical question. Cp. *ego tibi irascerer*? Q. Fr. i. 3, 1 (66); *his ego iudiciis committerem*, 152, 2. See also note on Att. ii. 1, 3 (27).

[*Caesaris opus*] 'a work worthy of Caesar'; that is, as beautiful as the work of Caesar referred to in 144, 8. But the mention of Caesar as one who would give advice on the adornment of a country-house is somewhat strange. Possibly we should read *Caesi*: cp. 148, 2 fin *Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore: curat enim diligentissime Caesius qui tum erat mecum*. From the last words we gather that Caesius does not appear to have been continually overseeing the repairs at the Arcanum of Q. Cicero.

[*nilus*] 'a conduit.' All these excellent building projects of Quintus demand, he says, many a Philotimus, not a Diphilus, that is, architects like Philotimus, and many of them, not like Diphilus. Cp. for this use of the plural 92, § 3 *omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'he made every wretch like Catiline seem henceforth as respectable as Acidinus.' Philotimus is praised in contrast with Diphilus in 148, 1, 6.

8. *De Felicis testamento*] See on 158, § 2.

[† *in unciis . . . tenes*] For these corrupt words Wes. would write *in quibus ex III unciis firmissimum locum tenes*. Perhaps we should read *in quibus in singulis unciis firmissimum locum tenemus*. Probably Cicero and Quintus were both heirs of Felix; otherwise Cicero would not have dismissed the loss of his brother so curtly with the words ἄλλ' οἰμωζέτω, 'let it go

be-hanged.' In a passage like this a change of *tenes* to *tenemus* is very slight. The meaning is, 'the will, in which we both beyond all doubt stand as heirs to one-twelfth of the property each—through a mistake caused by his own negligence and his slave's—he did not seal; but sealed another, which he did not intend to seal.' For *firmissimum locum tenere* Wes. compares Brut. 81; cp. *obtinere locum*, Fam. iii. 9, 2 (249).

For *in* cp. Fam. xiii. 29, 4 (457) *in sextante*. The palaeographical *sin.* for *singulis* (see Chassant) is very like *in*; hence *singulis* may have fallen out after *in*.

9. † *Porcia non*] The *non* must be wrong, as is shown by the words *sine qua* which follow. Moreover, Pomponia, not Porcia, was the mother of Quintus' son. Hence the earliest edd. gave *Pomponia discedit*. But this is obviously bad criticism, since it does not account for the corruption. The correction of Wes., on the other hand, though it cannot be said to be certain, is quite scientific. He would read *quod mater in Porcianam discedit*, 'because his mother is going to stay with Porcius.' For *Porcianam* = *Porci domum*, cp. *Autronianam*, Att. i. 13, 6 (19); *Rabirianam*, Att. i. 6, 1 (2); *Amniana*, Att. iv. 3, 3 (92). In these passages *domum* is expressed, but such an ellipse need not surprise us in Cicero's letters. *Porcianam* without *domum* would have misled the copyist into writing *Porcia non*, which seems corrupt. Professor Ellis proposes simply to add *a* before *Porcia*, and supposes that Pomponia was so much with Porcia (sister

qua edacitatem pueri pertimesco. Sed sumus una tamen valde multum. Rescripsi ad omnia. Mi suavissime et optime frater, vale.

Wiel, II p. 314

161. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 10).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocans carpit M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod scripserat se Caesari valde iure consultum videri litterasque de eius rebus privatis requirit. Si enim in rebus suis nihil proficiat, male facere, quod non in urbem redeat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. Legi tuas litteras ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde iure consultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verum tamen—rideamus licet: sum enim a te invitatus—subinvideo tibi ultro *te* etiam arcessitum ab eo ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam eius sed propter occupationem aspirare non possunt. 2. Sed tu in ista epistula nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis: quam ob rem camino luculento utendum censeo: idem Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere

of Cato and wife of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus) that she was not able to look after the boy and prevent him from overeating himself. This is a very simple and attractive suggestion.

1. *iure consultum*] 'very learned in the law.' The word must not be written *iureconsultum*, which would require an adjective, instead of *valde*. Caesar had probably summoned Trebatius as an assessor on some trial, as would appear from the phrase *ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo*; though possibly Cicero only means that Caesar has not had much opportunity of judging of your merits as a soldier, though no doubt he rates highly your qualities as a lawyer.

aliquid sapere] See on 157, 1.

2. *frigeas*] It seems probable that *frigeas* is here used in its metaphorical sense of 'having nothing to do.' Cicero then passes to the literal meaning of *frigeas*, and says: 'you ought to keep your hearth blazing.' *Calere* in the next sentence is certainly metaphorical—'though you are so frozen out in your winter quarters, yet I hear you have hot work over there,' alluding to the Gallic rising under Ambiorix (Caes. B. G. v. 26).

abundares] This word must depend on the clause *idem . . . placebat*, else the present tense must have been used; hence we have slightly changed the usual punctuation, which makes *idem . . . placebat* parenthetical. This meaning is, 'this was the counsel's opinion of these celebrated

Woll-
Mantel

audio: quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus. 3. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis: quam saepe, ego. Sed mehercule iam intermiseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis litteris quas proxime dedi putavi esse hominem commendandum. Id feci. Quid profecerim facias me velim certiore et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid expectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. 4. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solacium qua re facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam: sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius: me, qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa

jurists, Mucius and Manilius, especially for one who, like you, has not a sufficient campaigning kit.' The only trace of humour is the appealing to the *responsa prudentium*, to confirm such a very obvious truth, that if you are cold you ought to keep a good fire. Probably Trebatius did not provide himself largely with military equipments, not intending really to take part in the campaign. A formal phrase for 'taking the field' was *saga sumere*. Perhaps Cicero wishes to hint that Trebatius was not very eager for this. But we must not look for too much point in jests which were dictated perhaps by a momentary access of high spirits, and which were not intended for anyone but his correspondent. Cicero himself says: *quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis quae prolata si sint inepta esse videantur*, Phil. ii. 7. It appears from Att. v. 5, 1 (188), that Cicero regarded jokes as one of the ordinary ingredients of a letter—*plane deest quod scribam: nam nec quod mandem habeo . . . nec quod narrem . . . nec iocandi locus est, ita multa me sollicitant*.

cautior] 'but though you are a very safe opinion at the bar, you are a much safer campaigner, seeing that you would not cross the water to Britain, fond as you are of the water, and would not have a look at the British charioteers, though in

Rome we could not cheat you out of a single gladiatorial show, however low.' We read (Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 8) that Trebatius recommends swimming as a corrective of a tendency to write verses. Trebatius seems to have been devoted to those sports of the amphitheatre which Cicero found so dull. The *andabata* fought blindfold (probably mounted, too; hence suggested here by *essedarii*) for the amusement of the lowest class of spectators: cp. Holden on Sest. 126. For *defraudare* with two accusatives the commentators quote *aes defraudasse couponem*, Varro ap. Non. 25, 1. But the alteration of *andabatam* to *andabata* is so slight that we have not hesitated to make it, in order to recover the ordinary construction.

3. *ad Caesarem*] in 134.

4. *Una . . . Haedui*] 'one hour's talk, grave or gay, will be of more importance to us than all the foes in Gaul—aye, and our "right trusty brothers," the Haedui to boot.' He hints a disparagement of the Haedui, who were called *fratres consanguineique* by the Roman senate (Caes. B. G. i. 33). A comparison of this passage with 167, 2, *una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobriuae*, shows that there is no double meaning in *congressio* here.

Zus. sein

congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Qua re omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam :

‘ aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero.’

Wiel. II 468

162. TO L. VALERIUS (FAM. I. 10).

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocose significat L. Valerio iure consulto se eius nomine P. Lentulo gratias egisse, eumque ut domum redeat hortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. L. VALERIO IURIS CONSULTO ;

cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer nescio, praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter. Sed tu velim desinas iam nostris litteris uti et nos aliquando revisas et ibi malis esse ubi aliquo numero sis quam istie ubi solus sapere videre. Quamquam qui istine veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. Sed iam cupio tecum coram iocari. Qua re fac ut quam primum venias neque in Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus salvum venisse gaudere ; nam illo si veneris, tu, ut Ulixes, cognosces tuorum neminem.

procos. Cilic.

aut . . . iuvero] Ter. Heaut. 86.

cur enim] This is one of those letters in which the meaning of the first sentence depends on the superscribed address. The others are Att. iii. 20 (78) ; Fam. vii. 29 (677) ; Fam. xvi. 18 (692).

sapientia] Cicero has again recourse to the threadbare play on *sapientia* in its wide sense, and in its restricted application to the profession of a juriseconsult. So again in *solus sapere*.

nihil respondeas] *Respondere* has in law a technical sense (found also in the phrase *responsa prudentium*, ‘counsel’s opinions’), ‘to give an authoritative opinion on a law point.’ Valerius would have no clients in Cilicia, where he now was. In the other sense *respondere* would read ‘to give a reply when addressed.’

Hence *nihil respondere* would be a mark of arrogance. The play in *quod male respondeas* seems rather impolite. *Male respondere* in one sense would be ‘to answer abusively’ ; hence he is called *contumeliosus* ; but, in the other sense, it would mean ‘to give bad, unsound opinions on legal questions.’ This must be the sense in which the word is here applied to Valerius. Cicero often jokes Trebatius also on his indifferent knowledge of the law (172, 1). We may infer from an expression in a letter to Appius (181, 3) that Cicero had not a high opinion of the professional capacity of Valerius, though he valued him highly as a friend. For the technical sense of *respondere*, cp. 157, 3, and the letters to Trebatius.

illo si veneris] ‘if you come back to Apulia, your return will have been so

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163. TO CURIUS (FAM. XIII. 49).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero Curio commendat Q. Pompeium.

CICERO CURIO PROCOS.

Q. Pompeius Sext. F. multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi coniunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem et gratiam et auctoritatem suam tueri consuerit, nunc profecto te provinciam obtinente meis litteris adsequi debet, ut nemini se intellegat commendatiorem unquam fuisse. Quam ob rem a te maiorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnis meos aequae ac tuos observare pro necessitudine nostra debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias ut ipse intellegat nullam rem sibi maiori usui aut ornamento quam meam commendationem esse potuisse. Vale.

long delayed, you will know none of your friends.' Ulysses did know his friends, but was not recognized by them for some time. Cicero appears to have made a much greater slip here than in De Div. ii. 63, or Tusc. iv. 49. Mendelssohn wishes to punctuate *Nam, illo si veneris tam Ulixes, cognosces tuorum neminem*, 'for if you come there such a Ulysses (i.e. one who has been away from home so long), you will not recognize any of your friends.' For *tam* used in this sense may be compared Fam. ix. 2, 2 (461) *tam Lynceus*. The reading of Klotz, *cognoscere tuorum nemini* (adopted in our former edition), is, as Mr. Roby points out

(*Classical Review*, i. 70), not Ciceronian Latin. Cicero only uses the dative of the agent with a finite verb where 'for' a person is as suitable a meaning as 'by' him: cp. N. D. ii. 48 *bestiis cibus quaeritur*; Q. Fr. i. 1, 25 (30) *aes alienum contrahi civitatibus*.

CURIO] It is probable that this Curio was the tribune of 696 (58): cp. Q. Fr. i. 4, 3 (72), and Fam. ii. 19, 2 (262). But it is quite uncertain what province he governed, and at what time. O. E. Schmidt (*Der Briefwechsel*, p. 232) dates this letter between 707 (47) and 710 (44).

164. TO C. MUNATIUS (FAM. XIII. 60).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero L. Livineium Tryphonem C. Munatio commendat.

M. CICERO C. MUNATIO C. F. S.

1. L. Livineius Trypho est omnino L. Reguli familiarissimi mei libertus: cuius calamitas etiam officiosiore me facit in illum: nam benevolentior quam semper fui esse non possum. Sed ego libertum eius per se ipsum diligo: summa enim eius erga me officia exstiterunt iis nostris temporibus quibus facillime [bonam] benevolentiam hominum et fidem perspicere potui. 2. Eum tibi ita commendo ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

Nothing further can be said about the date of this letter than that it was written possibly not very long after Cicero's return. Nothing seems to be known of this Munatius except what can be gathered from this letter.

1. L. Livineius] See Att. iii. 17, 1 (75) Livineius L. Reguli libertus ad me a Regulo missus venit.

omnino] 'at all events'; that is, in any case I should feel an interest in him as the freedman of Regulus, but, in addition to this, I esteem Livineius for himself.

calamitas] probably 'exile,' a common meaning of calamitas.

iis nostris temporibus quibus] 'that crisis in my life when': the phrase iis

nostris temporibus must be closely taken with quibus. Taken by themselves, these words would refer to the period of Cicero's consulate, and his subsequent paramount influence, defined particularly in 153, 12.

bonam] may possibly be wrong; benevolentiam and fidem are found together, without any epithet for either, Fam. xiii. 69, 1 (508); xv. 4, 5 (238). Lambinus transposes the word to precede fidem. Mendelssohn, however, thinks that bona benevolentia means 'true,' 'sincere,' not 'assumed,' kindness, and compares Fam. ix. 16, 2 (472) nam etsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidit eius modi tempus ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspicui possit.

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165. TO PHILIPPUS (FAM. XIII. 73).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero Q. Philippum salvum ex provincia redisse gaudet, Egnati et Oppi causa gratias agit, ut Antipatri filios sibi condonet rogat.

M. CICERO Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.

1. Gratulor tibi quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti, incolumi fama et re publica. Quod si Romae fuisset, te vidissem coramque gratias egissem quod tibi L. Egnatius familiarissimus meus absens, L. Oppius praesens curae fuisset. 2. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer susceussisse audivi et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi persuadeo te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. *A* te autem pro veteri nostra necessitudine etiam atque etiam peto ut eius filios qui in tua potestate sunt mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, numquam te rogarem, mihi tua fama multo antiquior esset quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo—potest fieri ut fallar—eam rem laudi tibi potius quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri possit et quid mea causa facere possis—nam quin velis non dubito—, velim, si tibi grave non erit, certio rem me facias.

Q. Marcius Philippus was probably governor of Asia, but in what year is uncertain: see note to Fam. xiii. 43 (918).

1. *L. Egnatius*] a negotiator, or banker, in the province of Philippus: as was also *L. Oppius*: the latter was befriended by Philippus personally when in his province (*praesens*); the former by a letter, or through the agency of others (*absens*).

2. *Antipatro Derbete*] an unknown Greek of Derbe, in Lycaonia.

nisi] 'yet still.' *Quod* is inserted b

Ernesti and most edd. But we have here a characteristic colloquialism common in comedy. For this elliptico-adversative use of *nisi*, cp. *nisi mirumst facinus*, 'yet still it is a wonder,' Plaut. Mil. 377: see also Trin. 233; Rud. 751. Somewhat similar is the use in such a phrase as *nescio, nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99. A good instance is in Plaut. Mil. 24 *nisi unum: epityrum illi estur insanum bene*, 'yet still there is one thing—his olive salad eats à ravir.'