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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

II. Literary

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and Rome will be found in the Introduction to Parts II., III. He married Pilia in Feb. 698 (56), at the age of 53. Of this marriage the only issue was a daughter, born 703 (51), who was married to M. Agrippa, and whose daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the wife of the Emperor Tiberius. We are told that at the age of 77, in 722 (32), believing that he was suffering from an incurable disease, he destroyed himself by abstaining from food for five days (Nepos, Att. 22).

No summing-up of the character of Atticus could be better than that of Mr. Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero*, p. 76). 'Atticus,' he says, 'cannot have been a selfish man, for he spent his life in doing good to his friends, at the cost of unceasing trouble, and sometimes of serious danger. He must have been a lovable man, for everyone loved him; and such affection is not to be gained except by a kindly and tender heart. But he was "void of noble rage"; he never knew that there are some wrongs which it is degradation to forgive: he could love, but his love was never strong enough to cause him to hate; and a man without the capacity of hatred is but half a man.' That he was the lifelong friend of Cicero is the best title which Atticus has to remembrance. As a man he was kindly, careful, and shrewd, but nothing more: there was never anything grand or noble in his character. He was the quintessence of prudent mediocrity.

II.—LITERARY.

§ 1. ON THE LETTERS THEMSELVES.*

IN the time of Cicero a letter was written either (1) on thin tablets (*codicilli*) of wood or ivory covered with wax, in which the letters were cut in uncial characters by the *stilus*, the characters being protected from defacement by the projecting rim of the tablets; or

* We have made much use of the learned and interesting treatise of Hermann Peter, *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur*, No. 3 des xx Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1901.

(2) they were written on paper or parchment with a reed pen and ink. Almost all the letters of Cicero were written in the second fashion. We have frequent allusions to *charta* in the letters: for instance, in Fam. vii. 18 (173), Cicero asks Trebatius why he wrote on a palimpsest, and what could have been the writing so worthless as to make way for the letter. So in Q. Fr. ii. 14, 1 (142), it is plain that *charta*, *calamus*, and *atramentum* were used. The same inference is to be drawn from Att. v. 4, 4 (187), and perhaps from the passage already adverted to above, Att. vi. 6, 4 (276), where Cicero avails himself of the services of the copying slave of Atticus to pass off on Caelius the letter which was written by himself, but purported to come from Atticus: for Cicero's writing on *charta* with a pen would have been much more easily recognised than what would be carved with a *stilus* on wax. Moreover, the use of pen and paper would be so obviously more suitable for long letters that we can hardly doubt that it was the vehicle used by Cicero for his correspondence.

On rare occasions, however, *codicilli* were used. They were also called *tabellae* or *pugillares* ('hand note-books'), of which there were different sorts, according as they consisted of two, three, five, or more tablets (*duplices διπρυχα*: *triplices*, cp. Att. xiii. 8 (618); *quinquplices*; *multiplices*)*. They would appear to have been carried about the person, and used for writing down anything which the moment required (cp. Ellis on Catull. 42, 11). It was by *codicilli* that Acidinus informed Servius Sulpicius that Marcellus was dead; cp. Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613). Cicero sent *codicilli* to Balbus when he wanted immediate information about a law; see Fam. vi. 18, 2 (534); compare also Att. xii. 7, 1 (500), Q. Fr. ii. 9, 1 (132). Rectina sent *codicilli* to the elder Pliny when she was alarmed at the sudden eruption of Vesuvius (Plin. Ep. vi. 16, 8). *Codicilli* were specially used for writing to those who were near at hand; cp. Seneca, Ep. 55. 11.

When a letter was finished, the *tabellae* or *chartae* were bound

* It is to be noted that parchment *pugillares* were also known (cp. Mart. xiv. 7), wherein the parchment was so prepared that the writing could be rubbed out: and we find C. I. L. x. 6, *pugillares membranaceos operculis eboreis*. It was the fact that the writing could be easily rubbed out which made *codicilli* so useful for rough copies of anything; cp. Marquardt, iv¹, 780 ff.

together by a thread, which was sealed at the knot; cp. Cic. Cat. iii. 10.*

The seal was looked on as the formal guaranty of genuineness; for the handwriting was generally that of a slave, if the writer possessed sufficient means to keep a *servus a manu* or *ab epistulis*. Up to July, 695 (59), Cicero appears to have always written to Atticus with his own hand, and not to have used an amanuensis; see Att. ii. 23. 1 (50): but subsequently he, in most cases, dictated his letters, except when secrecy was required; cp., for example, Att. xi. 24, 2 (441), and often.

The outside address was brief. In Att. viii. 5. 2 (336), Cicero speaks of a packet with the superscription, *M. Curio*, or *Des M. Curio*; and in a fresco at Pompeii there is a letter directed *M. Lucretio* (C. I. L. iv. 879).†

A letter began with simple greeting, *M. Cicero s. d. (salutem dicit) M. Caelio*, or *s. p. d. (salutem plurimam dicit)*; and it seems that in a very frequent or familiar correspondence even this form was dispensed with. It has been supposed by Boot that *Cicero Attico sal.* as a heading to each letter to Atticus is not genuine; for Cicero never uses the name of *Atticus* in the body of a letter until the year 704 (50), see Att. vi. i, 20 (252); *mi Pomponi* is the nearly invariable form of address: and this view is, on the whole, probable. But when we consider that Atticus went to reside in Athens in 669 (85), it is possible that he had received the surname *Atticus* before Cicero's extant correspondence began: and Cicero may have used the superscription found in the mss., though he uses a considerable diversity of forms of address in the body of the letters.‡

* For legal documents the thread had to pass three times through perforations in the *tabellae*; cp. Suet. Nero, 17.

† Similarly, in the Egyptian papyri, repeatedly we find the address either the simple dative, e.g. Ἐπαγάθω, or ἀπόδος Ἐπαγάθω, Fayum Documents, cxi and cx. The latter seems most common.

‡ Becher has noticed that whereas in the 397 letters to Atticus such addresses are found only twenty-two times, in the eleven letters of Brut. i. there are fifteen instances; and he considers this an argument against the genuineness of the correspondence with Brutus. Ruete answers this objection by pointing out that in the fourteen letters to D. Brutus such addresses are found eleven times; in the thirteen letters to Plancus, nine times; and in one letter to Dolabella, viz. Fam. ix. 14 (722), three times. The fact is that Cicero used these addresses with different degrees of frequency according to the character of his correspondent: thus only one such vocative occurs in the ten letters to Cassius in Fam. xii.

Thus Cicero occasionally calls Atticus *mi Attice*; cp. vi. 1, 20 (252); xiv. 12, 1 (715); sometimes, but rarely, *mi Tite*, ix. 6, 5 (360), and *mi T. Pomponi*, iv. 2, 5 (91). In dedicating the *De Senectute* to him, he writes O TITE; but in this passage he is quoting from Ennius. Cicero addresses Trebatius as *mi Trebati*; *mi Testa*, *Testa mi*; and in one place, Fam. vii. 16, 1 (157), as *mi vetule*. He calls him *C. Trebati* in Top. i. 1, as he is dedicating his work to Trebatius; but to address an intimate friend thus in a letter would be somewhat stiff and formal. The omission of the *praenomen* was a mark of close intimacy in the time of Cicero, as is distinctly proved by Fam. vii. 32, 1 (229) *quod sine praenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistulam misisti, primum addubitavi an a Volumnio senatore esset quocum mihi est magnus usus*.* Compare also Fam. xvi. 18, 1 (692), where Cicero addresses a letter to Tiro with the greeting *Tullius Tironi sal.*, and Tiro seems to have taken exception to the form as unsuited to their respective positions. Words which indicated close familiarity were scarcely suitable between Cicero and a manumitted slave. Cicero in reply suggests even a more familiar form of address: *Quid etiam? non sic oportet? Equidem censeo sic; addendum etiam svo?* But he adds *Sed si placet invidia vitetur, quam quidem ego semper contempsi*. The omission of the *praenomen* would have provoked unfavourable comment.†

S. V. B. E. (*si vales bene est*), as well as S. V. B. E. E. Q. V.

* Cp. Cic. pro Domo, 22.

† This is probably the real interpretation of Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 32 *Quinte, puta, aut Publi, gaudent praenomine molles Auriculæ*. Fastidious Romans wished to be addressed with distant and formal respect. The places which Orelli cites in support of his view, which is the contradictory of mine (as he holds, without evidence, that the use of the *praenomen* was a mark of intimacy), are not relevant. The passage from De Petit. Cons. (Ep. 12, 28) has no reference to the *praenomen* as distinguished from the *nomen* or *cognomen*; and that quoted from Fam. i. 9, 19 (153), is utterly irrelevant, for Cicero does not even hint that it was by calling Clodius Publius that the senators sought to flatter him: the point of the passage is wholly and solely that Clodius and Vatinius both had the *praenomen* Publius. Again, it seems to be somewhat far-fetched to explain the Horatian passage by supposing that the poet is thinking especially of the freedman Dama, who would be proud of the *praenomen* which he received on his manumission. [I cannot help thinking that this is the meaning of the Horatian passage. It is certainly the meaning of Persius, v. 74-82.—L. C. P.] The context does not warrant this supposition. Now, my explanation is very simple, and is quite in keeping with the passage in Cicero.

(*si vales bene est ego quoque valeo*), seems to have been a formal mode of address, and by Cicero is used only to distant acquaintances, dignitaries, and women.*

Frequently at the end of a letter we find *Cura ut valeas*, or some similar expression. That, too, is of old date.†

There being no postal arrangements in the time of Cicero, it was necessary to employ private messengers, either one's own or those of one's friends; or to avail oneself of the services of the *tabellarii* of the *publicani*, who were constantly travelling between Rome and the provinces. The average rate approximately at which *tabellarii* travelled was from forty to fifty Roman miles a day.‡

In Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479), Cicero says: *Accubueram hora nona cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. Dices, ubi? Apud Volumnium Eutrapelum*. Besides the custom, hardly allowable with us, of writing letters during meals,§ two words in this passage are noticeable, *exaravi* and *exemplum*. The word *exarare* is used of jotting down a hasty composition, cp. Fam. xii. 20 (930), a very short letter, *Haec cum essem in senatu exaravi*.|| The other

* It would appear to have been a survival of a mode of address which was previously common. It is constantly found in the Egyptian papyri of the early centuries before Christ. Our friends Dr. Mahaffy and Mr. Smyly have given us numerous examples, of which we may quote the following three:—

- (a) Πολυκρατης τωι πατρι χαιρειν καλως ποεις ει ερωσαι και τα λοιπα σοι κατα γνωμην εστιν ερωμεθα δε και ημεις.—*Petrie Papyri*, II. xi. 1.
- (b) Απολλωνιω Αμμωνιος ει ερωσαι και ταλλα σοι κατα λογον εστιν ειη αν ως βουλομαι καγω δ ικανως ειχον.—*Ib.* III. 53 (n).
- (c) Βαρχαϊος και 'Απολλώνιος 'Απολλωνίω τῶ ἀδελφῶ χαιρειν' ει ἔρρωμένως σοι και τᾶλλα κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη καὺτοι δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν.—*Paris Papyri*, 42.

† E. g., Tebtunis Papyri, 55, 9—τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἰν' ὑγιαίνης, cp. 12, 26; 19, 14; 20, 10. Mr. Smyly has also referred us to the introductory letter to Book ii. of the work on Conic Sections by Apollonius of Perga († circ. 190 B.C.), which begins—'Απολλώνιος Εὐδῆμω χαιρειν. Εἰ ὑγιαίνεις ἔχοι ἂν καλῶς. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετρίως ἔχω; and ends—καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίνης· εὐτίχει.

‡ See on this subject Bar dt, *Quaestiones Tullianae*, Berlin, 1866: and Ruete, *Die Correspondenz Ciceros in den Jahren 44 und 43*, Marburg, 1883.

§ Cp. for other examples Q. Fr. iii. 1, 19 (148); Att. xiv. 21, 4 (728). A hard-working man like Caesar was accustomed to sign documents while at dinner, cp. Plut. Caes. 63.

|| Add Att. xii. 1 (505): xiii. 38, 1 (690): xv. 1 b. (731): xvi. 6, 4 (775): Frag. viii. incert. 8, Tum Flavius 'Cras' inquit 'tabellarii, et ego ibidem hos inter cenam

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word, *exemplum*, suggests the idea that the letter written in *codicilli* would be afterwards copied out fair, probably by an amanuensis, and the fair copy either despatched to the correspondent or retained by the sender.* For there seems considerable evidence that the senders of letters, or, at all events, Cicero and Tiro, were accustomed to keep copies of letters, even, perhaps, letters which might seem to us of no great importance; and this is probably one of the reasons why we have such a rich collection of the correspondence of Cicero. In Q. Fr. ii. 10, 5 (133), we hear that a packet of letters (*fasciculum epistularum*) sent to Caesar in Gaul, which contained letters from Balbus and Cicero, got so soaked with wet that Caesar said they were totally illegible. "Accordingly," says Cicero, "I am sending Caesar an exact copy of the letter" (*eodem illo exemplo litteras*). The copy of a letter to Brutus which Atticus asks for, Cicero says, in Att. xiii. 6, 3 (554), he cannot send at the moment; *sed tamen saluum est et ait Tiro te habere oportere et, ut recordor, una cum illius obiurgatoria tibi meam quoque quam ad eum rescripseram misi*. Fadius Gallus had torn up a letter of Cicero, and spoke with regret of having done so; Cicero, replying in Fam. vii. 25, 1 (668), tells him not to distress himself, *salua est: domo petes cum libebit*. The letter which Fadius had destroyed was Fam. vii. 24 (665). Of course there is nothing remarkable that in the case of letters of importance rough copies should be made, and copies of the letter despatched should be kept. An interesting example of this has been given by Bardt.† He has shown that the letter to Crassus, Fam. v. 8 (131), which Cicero wrote to him in 700 (54), after their reconciliation, is really composed of two original drafts which have got tacked on to one

exaravi? Such words as *exarare* and *tabellae* are probably a survival from the ancient usage according to which letters were engraved on wax tablets with a *stilus*. We have all the materials enumerated together, the *stilus*, the wax, the thread, the tablets, and the signet-ring in Plaut. Bacch. 728-748.

* Often, too, more than one copy of a letter was made and despatched, as the dangers of loss during transmission were considerable; cp. Fam. iv. 4, 1 (495): x. 5, 1 (810): xi. 11, 1 (855): xii. 12, 1 (856). See also introductory notes to Epp. 881 and 889. Important letters which were of a public nature, and which were designed for publication, were of course copied out many times; cp. Att. viii. 9, 1 (340), *Epistulam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam*.

† *Briefe aus Ciceronischer Zeit.*, No. 21, pp. 75, 76.

another: or perhaps they were different versions of the same letter, given to different *tabellarii*.

This leads us to the consideration of the manner in which letters were kept. Letters were not preserved in books, as in our business houses, but in rolls (*volumina*). Each letter which was deemed worthy of being preserved was pasted on to the previously received letter; and the whole formed a roll, like the rolls which formed the books of the ancients. Atticus kept Cicero's letters in *volumina* (Nepos, Att. 16); and Cicero also kept those of Atticus in a similar way, as we may gather from Att. ix. 10, 4 (365). Cicero says to Tiro in Fam. xvi. 17, 1 (653), *Video quid agas: tuas quoque epistulas vis referri in volumina*. The enemies of Quintus made *volumina* of his injudicious letters, Q. Fr. i. 2, 8 (53). And as *liber* and *volumen* are virtually the same (cp. Gell. xiv. 6, 1, *liber grandi volumine*), we are not to suppose that business houses did differently because Cicero uses the word *libri* of collections of business letters in Verr. iii. 167.

Letters were generally written on separate sheets or pages (*paginae*) of *charta*; and if the communication, as was usually the case, extended to more than one sheet, each succeeding sheet used to be fastened to the preceding, in the same way as was done in the case of a book; that is, not *under* the preceding sheet, but *beside* it. The original practice, however, was to fasten the sheets one *under* the other; but this practice had fallen out of use in Cicero's time, except in the case of official letters to the Senate; and even this custom Caesar broke through, and wrote official letters to the Senate in the same way as ordinary letters.* The amount written on a *pagina* varied. Peter (p. 33, note 3) points out that in Fam. xi. 25, 2 (903) we find that a *pagella* there contained about 450 letters of the alphabet, while in Att. vi. 2, 3 (256) a *pagina* contained somewhat more than double that amount.

As regards the preservation and publication of the *Epistulae ad Atticum* the most important passage is Nepos, Att. 16: *Eum [Atticum] praecipue dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei*

* Suet. Caes. 56 *Epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant quas primus videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli convertisse, cum antea consules et duces nonnisi transversa charta scriptas mitterent.*

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*Quintus carior fuerit aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio praeter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, undecim volumina epistularum ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum: quae qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum. Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitii ducum, mutationibus reipublicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat et facile existimari possit prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem: non enim Cicero ea solum quae vivo se acciderunt futura praedixit, sed etiam quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates.** Yet it is certain that Atticus did not publish the collection—whether it was that he thought that the taste of the public would not welcome letters which had a historical rather than a stylistic interest, or that he thought that Cicero's reputation would suffer by the publication, or that he did not wish, by interesting himself with Cicero's memory, to impair his good relations with Augustus, with whom, as we know (Nepos, Att. 20), he was most intimate. He appears to have handed on the collection of letters to his executors, who were probably Balbus and Peducaeus (ep. Nepos, Att. 21), both valued friends of Cicero's. It is possible that they may have cut out the letters of the last part of Cicero's life, from August, 711 (43), and some few others in which he probably spoke with real bitterness of Augustus.† But no such reason as this can be assigned for the suppression of any letters which may have been written to Atticus during the early part of 711 (43), for during that period Cicero had the highest hopes of Octavian. It is quite possible that the letters written to Atticus in 711 (43) were few in number, as both Atticus and Cicero appear to have been in Rome

* Pliny the younger, in a well-known passage, contrasts the meagre subjects he has to write about compared with the important subjects of which Cicero's epistles treat (Ep. ix. 2, 2). *Praeterea nec materia plura scribendi dabatur. Neque enim eadem nostra condicio quae M. Tulli ad cuius exemplum nos vocas. Illi enim et copiosissimum ingenium et ingenio qua varietas rerum qua magnitudo largissime suppetebat. Nos quam angustis terminis claudamur etiam tacente me perspicias, nisi forte volumus scholasticas tibi atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere.*

† But the letters which were suppressed can only have been those in which the tone is exceptionally bitter; for somewhat contemptuous remarks are made about Octavian here and there in the correspondence which is extant, e.g. Att. xv. 12, 2 (745)—*In Octaviano, ut perspezi, satis ingeni, satis animi. . . . Sed quid nomini, quid hereditati, quid καρχῆσει, magni consili est. Vitricus quidem nihil censebat.*

all the time;* and we think that there were not many more letters in the collection which Atticus preserved than in the collection which we actually possess; and that the loss of these is due to the fact that a few leaves of the archetype were lost, and not to any suppression of letters on an extensive scale by the original editor or editors of the correspondence.

But be that as it may, the actual publication most probably did not take place until about 60 A.D., nearly a hundred years after Cicero's death; and doubtless the editor at that time divided the collection of letters as he found them into the sixteen books which we have; and he appears to have arranged all except xii. and xiii. in a chronological order which is loose indeed, but which perhaps may be regarded as tolerable, if we consider that a literary rather than a historical interest was hoped to be served by the publication. Some of the books are divided off by fairly definite limits, and between several books a pause in the correspondence is apparent. Thus between ii. and iii. there is a lapse of six months, between iii. and iv. nine months, between iv. and v. two and a half years, between x. and xi., and between xi. and xii. seven months each. Such clearly defined aggregates of letters as iii., iv., and xi. may have fixed the normal length of a book, and the editor possibly divided up the rest in books of about the same length. At any rate, all the definite quotations from the *Epistles to Atticus* in ancient times presuppose the division into books such as we have.†

The earliest quotation from the *Epistles to Atticus* is in Seneca,

* There are only ten letters—and those short ones—extant from Cicero to Atticus which were written in 708 (46), one of which was written during the absence of Atticus from the city, eight from Tusculum, where Cicero went for two short visits in June and in the second intercalary month, and one from Arpinum. So that it would appear that Cicero and Atticus wrote little to one another when at Rome, except, perhaps, on *codicilli*, which did not lend themselves to binding in *volumina*. Peter (pp. 46 ff.) ingeniously suggests that this is a possible reason why the order of letters in xii. and xiii. became so confused. The little letters of those books, dashed off on *codicilli*, may have not been fastened together, but laid one on top of another, with the result that on any handling of them the order would probably be altered; and, as they were undated, the editor simply took them as he found them, and did not trouble himself about investigating, even approximately, their actual chronological sequence, the more so as the contents were not such as to seem worth the expenditure of much labour in editing them.

† Seneca (Ep. 97, 4) quotes *Ciceronis epistolarum ad Atticum liber i.*, and the reference is to i. 16, 5: Gellius (iv. 9, 6) in *libro epistolarum nono ad Atticum*, referring

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Ep. 97, 4, written about 66 A.D., where he quotes Att. i. 16, 5 (22): for in the passage in the earlier treatise *De Brevitate Vitae*, 5, 2—*Quam flebiles voces exprimit in quadam ad Atticum epistula iam victo patre Pompeio, adhuc filio in Hispania fracta arma refovente!* “*Quid agam*” inquit “*hic quaeris. Moror in Tusculano semiliber*”—the word *Atticum* is probably to be emended into *Axiium*.*

Again, Bücheler† and Leo‡ have noticed that Asconius, who published his commentary about 54 A.D., never mentions the Letters, though such a careful and minute investigator as he was would hardly have failed to use Att. i. 2, 1 (11), in his interesting historical criticism on the question whether or not Cicero defended Catiline (Asconius, 85, 10, Or.); and would probably not have overlooked Att. iv. 3, 3 (92), in his endeavours to justify Cicero’s veracity, and find out on what day Clodius nearly killed Milo at the Regia (Ascon. 48, 9). If this is so, the date of publication would be fixed to about 60 A.D.; and this is the date generally accepted. But it is very doubtful if we can fix this date with any degree of certainty on such evidence as the silence of Asconius;§ however, it

to ix. 5, 2: Nonius (p. 90) *M. Tullius ad Atticum lib. iiii.* to iv. 16, 10: (p. 214) *M. Tullius ad Atticum lib. ii.* to ii. 7, 5: (p. 479) *Cicero ad Atticum lib. xv.* to xv. 4, 2.

* The names *Atticus* and *Axius* are confused elsewhere: see notes in vol. vi., p. 308. Although the word *semiliber* occurs in Att. xiii. 31, 3 (607), the context is not the same as the passage quoted by Seneca. Both letters were written in 708 (45), and Cicero could not have chosen a better word than *semiliber* to express his position at the time.

† *Rheinisches Museum*, 34, 352 ff.

‡ *Nachrichten der phil.-hist. Kl. der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1895, 442 ff.

§ In a very able and elaborate essay (*Ciceros Briefschaften und ihre Verbreitung unter Augustus*, Jahrb., 1894, pp. 209–224) Gurlitt argues that publication of the *Epistles to Atticus* took place during the reign of Augustus. He does not lay much stress on the argument ‘*ex silentio Asconii*.’ He observes that Cicero’s letters were not read in the ancient world as historical documents (cp. the principle on which Fronto 107, 7, made his excerpts, *Memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistulis ea dumtaxat quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel de republica disputatio: praeterea si quid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur excerpsi*), and so we can readily suppose that a ‘scriptor historicus,’ as St. Jerome called Asconius, used Tiro’s Life of Cicero and not Cicero’s Letters, especially too when there were (relatively) so few letters belonging to the period at which Cicero composed most of the Orations on which Asconius commented. This seems a good argument; and we may add that Asconius might have known and yet have omitted both the passages which have been

is somewhat more probable than any other date: for about this time there was a reaction in the more important literary circles in favour of Ciceronian style, which became more marked in the next

adduced. In Att. i. 2, 1 (11) Cicero only says *Hoc tempore Catilinam competitorem nostrum defendere cogitamus* ('I am *thinking* of defending'): it does not follow that he actually did defend Catiline, though it makes in that direction. And the affray of which Cicero gives a description in Att. iv. 3, 3 (92), occurred on November 11th, 697 (57), four and a half years before the delivery of the *Pro Milone*, which, when we consider the many riots and exciting incidents which happened in Rome during that period, was somewhat ancient history, and is certainly stretching to its extreme limits the very elastic word *nuper* in Mil. 37. If Cicero's story is not apocryphal (see Mr. A. C. Clark's note on Mil. 37), the occurrence to which he refers is more probably that indicated by Asconius as having taken place in 701 (53) than the affray of November, 697 (57). But Gurlitt's other arguments do not seem so satisfactory. He rightly considers that there is no reason to suppose that Augustus would have objected to the publication of the Letters; but we cannot agree with the reason assigned, viz. that he encouraged Nicolaus of Damascus, who wrote with a certain contempt of Julius (see chapters 19, 23, and 24 of that writer's *Bios Kaisaros*). For there is nothing very contemptuous in those chapters. They say (c. 19) that Julius very justly plumed himself on his victories, and thought himself more than human; but that is only an incidental remark: and (c. 23) that Julius was afflicted with fits (*νόσος σκοτάδης*): and in c. 24 Julius appears somewhat irresolute and dominated by the influence of Decimus Brutus; but the whole tone of the description is sympathetic towards Caesar. Gurlitt holds too that there is not a hard word of Octavian in the Correspondence of Cicero with Atticus. Yet surely Att. xv. 12, 2 (745) and xvi. 14, 1 (805) are censorious, and there are frequent references to his being a mere boy, e.g. xiv. 12, 2 (715), xvi. 8, 1 (797), xvi. 9, 1 (798). The story told at the end of Plutarch's Life of Cicero of the fear exhibited by one of the grandsons of Augustus when the Emperor discovered him reading a work of Cicero's would seem to imply that there was an opinion abroad that any recognition of Cicero's excellences would not be taken in good part by Augustus, and may have deterred those who were in possession of Cicero's Epistles to Atticus (probably Balbus and Peducaeus, both Caesarians) from publishing them. And thus, even though we suppose that no great danger would have attended their publication, any more than danger attended the publication of Tiro's Life of Cicero or of Cicero's Correspondence as far as it was issued by Tiro, yet it is quite possible that Atticus, owing to his friendship with Augustus (Nepos, Att. 20), left injunctions that the letters of Cicero to him were not to be published during the Emperor's lifetime. If the letters were published long before 60 A.D., it is certainly strange that there are no quotations from them before Seneca; so that there is some probability, though not certainty, that the accepted date of publication, viz. 60 A.D., is approximately accurate. Gurlitt also urges that there would have been no reason in Nero's time to suppress the letters of the last part of Cicero's life. This is true, but is hardly applicable to the letters to Atticus; for it is doubtful if there were many letters from Cicero to Atticus after his return to Rome in September, 710 (44), and probably such as he did write disappeared owing to the loss of a leaf of some early archetype: see above, p. 62.

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generations in Quintilian, Suetonius, and Tacitus (*De Oratoribus*);* and under the reign of Nero there was much less likelihood of causing offence by publishing severe criticisms on the founder of the Caesarian monarchy than there would have been during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.†

It is generally allowed that the rest of Cicero's correspondence‡ was arranged by Tiro and for the most part published by him in separate books. It is possible that some books which show a strong anti-Caesarian bias may have been withheld until after the deaths of Augustus and Tiberius: yet it is doubtful if Augustus would have severely resented the publication of even such harsh expressions against Julius Caesar as are contained in a letter to Cassius in *Fam.* xii. 1, 1 (723), where he is called *hominis impuri*, if they were published after the authority of Augustus was fully established. Cicero's political opposition to Caesarism was well known; the cause which he defended was irretrievably ruined; and if Livy was allowed to praise Cicero highly, it is difficult to suppose that any official opposition would have been made to the publication of letters which contained here and there a bitter word against the great dictator. Atticus may have refrained from publishing Cicero's correspondence with him, as he was on terms of close intimacy with Augustus (see above, p. 61); but Tiro had no such reason to refrain from publishing the correspondence which he had

* References to the *Epp. ad Att.* are found in Quintilian (vi. 3, 109; viii. 3, 32; and perhaps v. 11, 21) and Suetonius (*Tib.* 7; *De Gramm.* 14, 16).

† Peter (p. 52*n.*) has an ingenious, if somewhat far-fetched, theory that family considerations may have caused the publication in the early part of Nero's reign. Vipsania, daughter of Pomponia Attica and Agrippa, when she was compelled to separate from Tiberius, married Asinius Gallus, and bore him several sons who attained high rank, *ep. Tac. Ann.* vi. 23. After the death of Claudius some one of the Galli may have published the letters of Cicero to Atticus in order to show the importance of the ancestor of this much-persecuted family. Seneca (*Ep.* 21, 4) considers, and rightly considers, that the fame of Atticus rests wholly on his correspondence with Cicero; he says, *Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistulae non sinunt: nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa et Tiberius progener et Drusus Caesar pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur nisi Cicero illum adplicuisset.*

‡ Two letters which appear in *Fam.* afterwards appeared in *Att.*—viz. *Fam.* viii. 16, ix. 14 (= *Att.* x. 9*A*, xiv. 17*A*), *Epp.* 383, 722. These were important letters, of which probably Tiro kept copies and Atticus the originals, Tiro possibly in each case having fastened them on to the covering letter of Cicero. Hence their publication in both collections.

at his disposal; and he was doubtless actuated solely by the consideration as to what would most redound to the literary and political honour of the master to whom he was so faithfully attached. Yet he probably omitted some letters, especially letters to Brutus and Cassius, written after Aug. 17, 711 (43), as it is impossible to believe that Cicero did not, after that date, express himself to some of his correspondents with fierce and righteous indignation at the treachery of Octavian.

The letters were, as stated, published in separate books. This is proved from the manner in which they are quoted. Gellius (xii. 13, 21) quotes a passage as *in libro M. Tullii Epistularum ad Servium Sulpicium*, i.e. Fam. iv. 4, 4 (495): again (i. 22, 19), *in libro epistularum M. Ciceronis ad L. Plancum et in epistula Asini Pollionis ad Ciceronem*, i.e. x. 33, 5 (890). Nonius similarly makes such references as (83, 25) *Cicero ad Varronem epistola Paeti*, i.e. Fam. ix. 20, 3 (475); and (278, 5) *M. Tullius ad Cassium lib. i.*, i.e. Fam. xv. 16, 3 (531). Further, it is proved from the way in which the beginning and ending of each book are indicated in the *codices*: for example, Fam. ix. in M and H has at the beginning *Incip. ad M. Varronem feliciter liber I.*,* and at the end *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistularum ad Varronem et ceteros expli.* The separate books were styled after the person to whom the first letter was addressed, even though letters addressed to others were comprised in the book, just as a volume of tales with us generally bears the name of the first tale. When a writer wishing to be careful quoted from a letter addressed to a person different from the addressee of the first letter, he indicated both in his reference; thus, *Cicero ad Varronem epistola Paeti*† signifies that Fam. ix. is referred to (for the first letter of that book is addressed to Varro), and the quotation is to be found in one of the letters to Paetus, i.e. 20, 3 (475), which form the greater part of that book.

The extent of the correspondence of Cicero with his friends

* This *liber I.* may perhaps point to the fact that Book ix. originally formed the beginning of a volume in M and H; see below, p. 94.

† Cp. Nonius, who (259, 22) speaks of *Epistola Cassi*, meaning *ad Cassium*, viz. Fam. xv. 14, 5 (241), where, however, we must not with Quicherat and L. Müller alter to *ad Cassium*.

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(excluding that with Atticus and his brother Quintus) which was known to the ancients appears to have been very large. Besides the collection *ad Fam.* which we possess, we have evidence of letters or books of letters to the following:—Four books to Pompey,* two books to Cornelius Nepos (Macrob. ii. 1, 14, cp. Suet. Caes. 55), three books *ad Caesarem*, three books *ad Caesarem iuniorem* (Nonius)—if both these collections are not to be referred to Octavian,†—three books to Pansa (Nonius), nine‡ books to Hirtius (Nonius), nine books to Brutus (Nonius), two books to his son Marcus (Nonius), a book to Calvus (Priscian), two books to Axius (Nonius), letters to Cato (Nonius), Caerellia (Quintilian), Titinnius (Suetonius), Hostilius (Charisius), not to mention his Greek epistles (Plut. Cic. 34). From all this collection of Latin letters we have nearly 90 fragments remaining, the most numerous being from the correspondence with Octavian, which has 41 fragments,§ and that with Brutus, which has 17.§

It is very probable that Tiro|| was the editor of all the *libelli* of

* That is, if Nonius (293, 37) is right, *M. Tullius ad Pompeium lib. iiii.* The letter referred to (Ep. 343, 3) is that enclosed (D) with Att. viii. 11. It is an important document, and, if Nonius has not blundered, we must suppose that it found its way into the collection *ad Pompeium* from Tiro's copy, and into the collection *ad Atticum* in the same way as *Fam.* viii. 16 and ix. 17; see above, p. 65*n.*

† We agree with Gurlitt (*Nonius Marcellus und die Cicerobriefe*, pp. 4 ff.) in thinking that they are identical: cp. vol. vi. pp. 292, 293.

‡ The number seems excessive for a correspondence which began in 708 (46) and ended in 711 (43), during which period both correspondents were for a considerable time in Rome: see Gurlitt, p. 23, note 1. So that when Nonius (450, 2) quotes the ninth book to Hirtius, we should probably hold the statement to be a mistake of that inaccurate compiler.

§ Assuming *Caesar* and *Caesar iunior* of Nonius to be identical.

|| That the editor was Atticus, though not impossible, is improbable. It is, of course, true that Atticus published works of Cicero during his lifetime, e. g., the work on his consulship, cp. Att. ii. 1, 2 (27), and the *De Finibus*, Att. xiii. 21, 5 (632). But it is certain that Atticus did not publish the correspondence addressed to himself. Why, then, should he have published all the rest of Cicero's correspondence? And why should he have taken out of the hands of Tiro a work which Tiro himself had planned, and which Cicero had entrusted to Tiro? In doing so he would have had to ask Tiro for copies of the letters which he (Tiro) had received, e. g. *Fam.* xvi: and is it likely that he would have published the contemptuous judgment on himself contained in *Fam.* xvi. 23, 2 (754):—*Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri parvois intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt quibus praesidiis philosophiae saeptus sim, et hercle, quod timidus ipse est, θορυβοποιεῖ?*

the correspondence except the *Epistles to Atticus*.* We know that even in Cicero's lifetime a publication of some sort was projected. In a letter written on July 9, 710 (44), Att. xvi. 5, 5 (770), this is distinctly stated: *Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae: eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam.* But we know neither whether this συναγωγή with the additions from Atticus was ever published, nor, even if it was, what those seventy letters were. The view of Gurlitt,† that they were those comprising Fam. xiii., has met with much approval. Peter, in his elaborate discussion (pp. 36 ff.), accepts it: but we are unable to concur with this opinion. That book, Fam. xiii., is composed of letters written at the request of others, in order to gain some favour; and they are mostly *epistulae commendaticiae*—letters of introduction to provincial governors, asking that they should do what they can in each case for the interest of the bearer. Gurlitt urges, in support of his view, that no letters are found in Fam. xiii. which are later than July, 710 (44), any recommendatory letters which were written subsequently being attached to other books.‡ He supposes that the reason for the publication was a desire to exhibit Cicero's great skill in treating a commonplace subject with infinite variety. But is it probable that when he proposed to issue a collection of epistles, Cicero would have, in the first instance, put forth a

* Peter (*op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82, 94) supposes that Fam. x., xi., xii. 1–16, and probably the correspondence with Brutus, were not published until after the death of Tiberius, and that they may have appeared simultaneously with the Epp. ad Att. But this view seems to be based on the ground that Augustus and Tiberius would not have tolerated the publication of such anti-Caesarian documents—a view which, in our opinion, supposes a more rigorous censorship than probably existed. See above, p. 65.

† See his article, *Genera usitata Epistularum*, in *Jahrbuch*, 1888, pp. 863–866. In this he shows, by a comparison of Fam. iv. 13 (483) and ii. 4 (175), the different classes of letters besides *epistulae commendaticiae*, viz. :—

1. *Epistulae quibus certiores facimus absentis.*
2. *Genus familiare et iocosum quo secundis rebus uti solemus.*
3. *Genus severum et grave, triste et miserum, comprising—(a) promissio auxilii, cohortatio, and (b) consolatio doloris, rationes quibus a molestiis quis abducatur.*

‡ For example, Fam. xii. 21 (698) is put with the other letters to Cornificius, and xi. 22 (912) with the letters to Decimus Brutus.

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volume which was so utterly dreary and uninteresting in matter? Would a distinguished politician and literary man to-day desire that the first instalment of his correspondence should be a collection of testimonials which he gave to applicants for posts? We cannot think so; nor do we think that Cicero's variety of treatment is so strikingly marked as to overcome the weariness arising from the great poverty of ideas which is manifested in the letters of this book. Most probably, when Tiro determined definitely on the publication of the letters, he bound up a large number of copies of these recommendatory letters, prefixing to the volume the long and important and carefully-written letter to Memnius: but we cannot think that they are the seventy letters referred to in Att. xvi. 5, 5 (770), which Cicero intended to correct and publish. Just as a writer of tales puts forth the best work at his disposal first, and afterwards, when he has made his name, publishes inferior compositions; so we can well suppose that, after Tiro had issued several books of Cicero's more valuable epistles, when the demand persisted for more letters of Cicero, he may have published Fam. xiii., so that nothing which was written by the great stylist should, as Cicero said himself of another work,* remain an unpaid debt to the youth of his country. Accordingly we agree with those scholars who think that the seventy letters which Cicero intended to revise and publish were the choicest flowers of his correspondence, such letters as Fam. i. 9 (153); iii. 10 (261); iv. 4 (495); v. 7 (15); v. 12 (109); vii. 1 (127), &c. We have seen that some letters were to be obtained from Atticus, possibly some of the enclosures which appeared afterwards in Att. viii. and ix. Our own impression is that the volume which Cicero projected was never revised by him or published, owing to the storm and stress in which the remainder of his life was passed, but that Tiro did not abandon the idea, and devoted the remainder of a long life to the issue of what has proved one of the greatest and most valued memorials of his master's mind and art.†

* Att. iv. 2, 1 (91) *Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae deberi non potest.*

† The view of Nake (*Historia critica Ciceronis epistularum*, 1861, pp. 13 ff.), that the Epp. ad Fam. were 'excerpta' from the whole mass of the correspondence, is improbable. For (1) surely the 'excerptor' would have had more letters from

Tiro does not appear to have observed any one principle in making up his various *libelli*. We have seen that Fam. xiii. is a collection of recommendatory letters. No other book seems to have been formed exclusively on the ground of subject-matter, except, probably,* vii., which exemplifies for the most part Cicero's powers in the lighter strain of *urbanitas*. The other books are mostly collections of letters addressed to definite people, often with a few stray letters added at the end, in order to make the volume of normal size. Thus, Fam. i. consists of letters to Lentulus Spinther, Governor of Cilicia;† ii., of letters chiefly to Curio and Caelius—that interesting pair of young politicians—with a few additions; iii., wholly of letters to Appius Claudius Pulcher, Cicero's predecessor in the government of Cilicia;‡ viii., wholly of letters from Caelius to Cicero; x., of letters touching Gallie and Spanish affairs, principally to and from L. Munatius Plancus, with a few letters to Furnius, who was with Plancus, and some letters to and from Lepidus and Pollio; xi., of letters to and from Decimus Brutus, with a few additions; xii., of letters to or from Cassius Longinus and other officers commanding in the east, and letters to Cornificius, who was Governor of Africa, with a few additions; xiv., of letters to Cicero's family; xvi., of letters to Tiro. Book iv. consists mostly of consolatory or encouraging letters to Servius Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, the consuls of

Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, Octavian, and other great men; and many trivial letters which we have would have been omitted; (2) certain groups of our collection give one the impression, arranged, as they are, in fair chronological order, that we have therein no selection, but every letter in possession of the editor which was written within the period to each correspondent; e. g. Fam. i.; iii. 1-9; viii.; x. 1-24; xi. 4-26. We must rather suppose that the sixteen books which we possess are those that survived the ravages of time, though it is most difficult to ascertain what were the causes which brought it to pass that just those *libelli* were bound in larger volumes, and thus escaped destruction.

* The third epistle is an exception; but it owes its place to a desire to put together the few letters addressed to M. Marius.

† Fam. i. 10 (162), to Valerius, was probably despatched with one of the letters to Lentulus.

‡ There is a curious excision in iii. 10, 11 (261), of Cicero's provincial regulations—a loss which we must deeply regret. Possibly the editor thought the letter was already too long, and that a reader might enjoy Cicero's criticism of Appius, but would regard a list of Cicero's own regulations as tedious.

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703 (51),* one containing the account given by the former of the murder of the latter. Book vi. consists also of consolatory letters, with a few of miscellaneous import. Books v. and xv. are somewhat heterogeneous: v. refers mostly to certain periods of Cicero's public life, though there are a few consolatory letters; † xv., to Cicero's provincial administration, including a letter written in 703 (51) to Cassius Longinus, who was in command of the army in Syria, which caused the addition of a portion of the rest of Cicero's correspondence with Cassius up to 709 (45).‡ Within most of these books a kind of chronological order is more or less observed in the letters addressed to the same correspondent; but in some of the books, e. g. v., vii., xiii., xv., xvi., no chronological arrangement can be said to exist.

Some time about the fifth century the scattered *libelli* were bound into larger volumes—possibly at first four books were bound together, and afterwards eight. That there were volumes consisting of eight books is quite plain from the two Harleian manuscripts 2773 (G) and 2682 (H), see § III. The Medicean (M)

* It was because xv. 9 (216), addressed to Marcellus, was not consolatory, and was written from Cilicia, that it appears in xv. and not in iv. Similarly, vii. 5 (134), though a recommendatory letter, and one to Caesar, appears, not in xiii., but at the beginning of the correspondence with Trebatius in Gaul, as it introduced Trebatius to Caesar. Conversely, xiii. 17-28 (512-524), as purely recommendatory, appear in xiii., and not with the other correspondence with Servius Sulpicius in iv.; for the epistles in iv. are of a consolatory nature. The recommendatory letter, xiii. 29 (457), to Plancus, written in 708 (46), remains where it does, as the correspondence with Plancus in x. comprises only letters written after Caesar's death, when Plancus was in command in Gaul.

† As no letter in v. or vi. was written after 710 (44), Gurlitt (*Genera usitata epistularum*, in Jahrbuch, 1888, p. 864 f.) thinks that probably these books were published immediately after xiii., as further exemplifications of Cicero's great mastery of style in the *genus grave et severum* of consolation, where 'common is the commonplace,' and where the greatest art is required to write in good taste, and to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of the recipients. The same objections (though in a less degree) rest against this view as against that which supposes the first volume published to have been xiii., viz. the uninteresting and dismal nature of the subject-matter.

‡ Nonius (278, 5) prefaces his quotation from xv. 16, 3 (531) with *M. Tullius ad Cassium lib. i.* This was probably a brief and convenient way of indicating that the quotation was in xv. and not in xii.; but if he had wished to express himself with strict accuracy, he should have said *M. Tullius ad senatum epistula ad Cassium (or Cassi)*: see above, p. 66.

has the whole sixteen books bound up together. The title of the collection in the Parisinus 17812 (R) is *M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolarum liber primus incipit*, and in G it is *Incipiunt epistolae Ciceronis*. There is no heading in M. So, strictly speaking, the title of the collection ought to be *Epistulae*, not *Epistulae ad familiares*; but the latter is the title which use has consecrated. It first appeared, as far as we know, in the edition of Rob. Stephanus, in 1526. The earliest editors, however, call the collection *Epistolae familiares*. In a Gryphius edition of 1540, according to Sternkopf, the title runs thus: *Epistolarum M. T. C. ad diversos missarum quae hactenus familiares dictae libri quindecim ex Petri Victorii castigatione*. The title *ad diversos* is bad Latin. The title *ad familiares* is, on the whole, satisfactory, though some very few of Cicero's correspondents are not what could be strictly called *familiares*.

The Epistles *ad Quintum fratrem* extend over but a brief period. They consist of two letters of admonition written in 694 (60), two letters written from exile, and two books written between December, 697 (57) and December, 700 (54). Marcus Cicero must have written many letters to his brother before 694 (60)* and after 700 (54): so that we have only a portion of the correspondence between the brothers; and even within these six years we most probably have not by any means all the letters which passed between them. Peter (p. 91) has pointed out that between February, 699 (55) and January, 700 (54) we have only three letters remaining, though Cicero alludes to a daily letter in Q. Fr. ii. 9, 2 (132). Several of the letters sent to Quintus in Gaul may have miscarried or have been destroyed by Quintus himself: but it is strange that we have no letters of later date than 700 (54). But Quintus was with Marcus in Cilicia; and during the Civil War the relations between the brothers were so strained that an editor who was devoted to the family might well suppress letters which were doubtless in many cases *parum fraterne scriptas*, cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 12 (53). The letters to Quintus are interesting, though not written with that complete freedom which characterises the letters to Atticus. Indeed, one is greatly struck and somewhat puzzled by the stately and respectful courtesy of the great con-

* For this we have direct evidence, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 1 (30).

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sular to his younger and comparatively undistinguished brother in the first letter of this correspondence (Ep. 30). It is, however, rather a formal Essay on Provincial Government than a letter, and was intended as a return for the letter of Quintus *De Petitione Consulatus* (Ep. 12).

The *Epistulae ad Brutum*, as we have them, consist of one book and a portion of another, which alone remain from a collection which contained at least nine* books. They comprise most of a correspondence extending from the end of March to July 27, 711 (43). For a long time it was supposed that this collection was a forgery; but it is now almost universally allowed that, with the possible exception of i. 16, 17, the rest of the correspondence is genuine. We believe in the genuineness of the whole, including i. 16, 17: see vol. VI., pp. cxi.-cxvii., and Introductory Note to Brut. i. 16 (864). Whether it is probable or not that they were published by Tiro during the lifetime of Augustus depends on the question how far Augustus was inclined to restrain the publication of the works of the political opponents of his early years. He may well have winced at Brut. i. 18, 4 (915);† but he was in our opinion too great a man to resent in any practical manner such expressions of honest opinion, though contrary to his own, as Cicero delivers in his letters. As far as we know, the first quotation from the *Epistles to Brutus* is in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxix. 5, 24), *agebat autem haec Tullianum illud advertens quod 'salutaris rigor vincit inanem speciem clementiae,'* which passage (with *severitas rigor*) is found in Brut. i. 2, 5 (843).

We have not hesitated to include the treatise called *De Petitione Consulatus* in this correspondence, as it deserves a place there, as well as Q. Fr. i. 1 (30), which is an Essay on Provincial Government rather than a letter. Many views have been taken of the nature of the treatise *De Petitione Consulatus*: but one (that of Eussner) would clearly deny to it a place in the volume. We feel

* If Nonius (421, 31) is right. It is probable that he is right in this case, as Cicero corresponded with Brutus even so far back as the time of his provincial administration: cp. O. E. Schmidt in *Philologus*, 1890, pp. 38-48.

† *Quanquam et hunc, ut spero, tenebo multis repugnantibus; videtur enim esse in eo indoles, sed flexibilis aetas multique ad depravandum parati, qui splendore falsi honoris obiecto aciem boni ingeni praestringi posse confidunt. . . . Magis enim illum pro quo spopondi quam me ipsum obligavi.*

bound, therefore, to show that this theory is untenable. Here, however, is not the best place to discuss the question. The reader will find a full statement of the case in an Appendix to the Introduction.

§ 2. ON THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS.

We have in the letters of Cicero an almost unique literary monument. The history of one of the most interesting epochs in the annals of the world is unfolded to us in a series of cabinet pictures by a master-hand. We contemplate, passed in review before us, a procession of those Roman nobles who in the last few decades of the Republic wielded a greater power than is now given to kings, and lived with greater splendour. The Senate has been called a mob of kings. Most of its members had held, or would at some time hold, governments more irresponsible and hardly less important than the Governor-General of India now administers. And all these we see in the letters in the aspect which they presented to their friends and associates, not in the aspect which they presented to the world and to the historian. We see Pompey, with his embroidered toga and with his chalked bandages on his legs, sulking because no one would thrust on him that greatness which he might have grasped if he had but put forth his hand. We hear how Lucullus thought more about teaching his bearded mullets to eat out of his hand than about the interests of the *causa optima* so dear to Cicero. We have a distinct portrait even of such an obscure figure as Piso (consul in 693, b.c. 61), in whose caustic words and supercilious visage we fancy we can detect a likeness to the late Lord Westbury. In Caelius and Dolabella we have a type of the *jeunesse dorée* of Rome; in Trebatius, of the genial professional man. To each of these Cicero writes in a tone suitable to his correspondent's years and views. Whether he exchanges *rumusculi* with Caelius, jokes with Paetus, or politics with Lentulus—whether he complains or apologises, congratulates or condoles—whether he lectures his brother Quintus on his violence of temper, or addresses himself to the kindly task of bantering Trebatius out of his discontent with the camp of Caesar in Gaul—we never miss

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the sustained brilliancy and fertility of thought and language. It is most interesting to observe the superiority of his letters to those of his correspondents. For instance (to confine ourselves to the present instalment), observe in the letter of Quintus (Ep. xii.) the forcible-feeble rhetoric, the constant employment of the word *ratione*, which reminds us how vaguely indefinite words like *relation*, *attitude*, *element*, are used by slipshod writers in the present day to conceal inaccuracy of thought. And compare the letter from Q. Metellus Celer (Ep. 13) with Cicero's reply (Ep. 14). The one is the almost inarticulate grumble of a man labouring under a sense of injury; it is vague and indefinite: though very short, the writer repeats the same sentiment twice, and he finishes with an obscure menace which seems to have escaped from him involuntarily. It is, in short, such a letter as would be written by the average colonel of the present day. The reply is a masterpiece of ingenious defence, which, if necessary, Cicero might afterwards describe as an apology, but which really puts the aggrieved Proconsul completely in the wrong; and it concludes with a quiet smile at the stupid threat—a smile which Metellus would not see, but which would be enjoyed by the intelligent. We have, it is true, many charming letters from Caelius and others of Cicero's correspondents, notably the exquisite letter of Sulpicius and the manly letter of Matius before referred to. These, however, are quite exceptional, and the net result of the comparison of the letters of Cicero with those of his contemporaries is a greatly strengthened belief in the amazing literary endowments of Cicero.* But the quality in Cicero's letters† which makes them most valuable is that they were not (like the letters of Pliny, and Seneca, and Madame de Sévigné) written

* For a few points of difference between the letters of Cicero and his correspondents, see pp. 91-93.

† Of course we here refer to the private letters, and especially to the letters to Atticus. The public letters have not this quality. For an instance of the degree to which Cicero disguises his real feelings in his public letters, see Att. xiv. 13b (717), where he sends to Atticus a copy of a letter to Antony. For the confidential and trustworthy nature of the Epp. ad Atticum ep. Att. xii. 36, 1 (643) *nam habeo ne me quidem ipsum quicum tam audacter communicem quam tecum*. In these letters, as Meyer says, referring to a passage of Horace, 'omnis Ciceronis vita votiva patet veluti descripta tabella.'

to be published. The letters are absolutely trustworthy; they set forth the failures and foibles of their writer, as well as his virtues and his triumphs. The portraits with which they abound were never to be shown to his involuntary sitters, so there was no reason why they should not be faithful. In his speeches this is not so: according to the requirements of his brief, his subjects are glorified or caricatured beyond recognition.

As a motto for the whole correspondence may be taken his own words* in which he exalts the letter of Atticus over the oral description of Curio. He should be a good talker who could surpass the vivacity of Cicero's letters. But it is a serious error to ascribe carelessness to them. His style is colloquial, but thoroughly accurate. Cicero is the most precise of writers. Every sentence corresponds to a definite thought, and each word gives its aid to the adequate expression of the whole. Those who think that the speeches are a mere effusion of rhetoric, a piling up of superlatives for most of which another superlative might easily be substituted without any injury to the meaning or effect of the passage, have (it seems to us) not read Cicero aright. Every adjective is set down with as careful a pen as ever was plied by a master-hand; each is almost as essential to the sentence as the principal verb. We have an amusing testimony to the carefulness—one might say purism—of his letters in Att. vii. 3, 10 (294), where he so earnestly defends his use of *in* before *Piraeum* (while he avows with shame that he should have written *Piraeum*, not *Piraeæ*), on the ground that Piraeus cannot be regarded as a *town*; citing in defence of his usage Dionysius and Nicias Cous, and quoting a passage in point from Caecilius, whom he candidly allows to be but a poor authority, as well as one from Terence, whose *elegantia* he considers to be beyond dispute. All this, too, at a time when one might have supposed that he would have been more concerned in deciding on the political position to be assumed by him on his return to Rome, which he was fast approaching, and from which were constantly reaching him *miri terrores Caesariani*, and reports which he describes as *falsa, spero, sed certe horribilia*. We should, therefore, never admit the theory of carelessness in the writer to

* Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζώσης φωνῆς, Att. ii. 12, 2 (37).

influence our opinion about the soundness or unsoundness of a phrase or construction.*

In treating of the Latinity of these letters, one must, of course, in an Introduction dwell mainly on the general aspects of the style, for details referring the student to the notes and to special treatises on the style of the letters, such as Stinner's and Paul Meyer's, afterwards to be mentioned; as well as to elaborate histories of Latin style, such as Nägelsbach's *Stylistik*, and Dräger's *Historische Syntax*. Having pointed out, therefore, what seem to be the distinctive characteristics of the correspondence as a whole, we shall give a general sketch of the broad peculiarities of this branch of literature as regards the *use* of words, and offer a few observations on the distinctions which may be observed between the letters of Cicero and those of his correspondents.

A.

There is a very remarkable characteristic of the style of these letters† which is deserving of most careful consideration—a very close parallelism between their diction and the diction of the comic drama.‡ It is, indeed, to be expected *a priori* that the language

* The letters from exile are not marked by the carefulness and accuracy of his other letters. He tells us himself that this is so. We find a remarkable statement in Ep. 63, 3, *ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnibus partis mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademerit*; and we do find a carelessness and inaccuracy which contrast strongly with the style of his happier days. Like Hamlet, he has not 'skill to reckon his groans.' Hence expressions and constructions which in Parts I. and II. would call for the knife, in Part III. may often be regarded as genuine. The great stylist no longer feels the energy to achieve, or the pride in achieving, that precision and grace of expression in which he so vastly outstripped his contemporaries. Remarkable examples of this *pigritia* (to use Cicero's own word for his 'listlessness,' his 'unstrung condition' during exile, 66, 2) may be found twice in 63, 1 (the very letter in which he owns his feeling of literary impotence); twice in 64, 4; as well as in other letters written during his exile.

† Stinner, A. (*de eo quo Cicero in Epistolis usus est sermone*, Oppeln, 1879), notices this feature in the letters, but does not pursue the subject. It is dwelt upon with more detail by Paul Meyer, *De Ciceronis in epistulis ad Atticum sermone*, Bayreuth, 1887, and *Beiträge zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, 1900. See also Landgraf, G., *Bemerkungen zum sermo cotidianus in den Briefen Ciceros und an Cicero*, in the "Blätter für das bayerische Gymnasialwesen," 1880, pp. 274-280; 317-331.

‡ Cicero has in a passage already quoted expressed his high opinion of the *elegantia* of Terence: in Off. i. 104, he lays down that there are two kinds of humour—*unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscaenum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum*,

of familiar letter-writing would closely resemble the language of familiar dialogue. In both cases the language may be expected to be largely tinged with the idiom of the *sermo vulgaris*, or colloquialism.* Cicero, in an important passage,† recognises the colloquial character of his letters, referring, no doubt, especially to those which we have spoken of as his more private letters, namely, those to Atticus, Trebatius, Caelius, and his brother Quintus. It would be impossible here to enter into an elaborate comparison between the language of Cicero's letters and that of the comic stage. But in order to show that the subject well deserves a full treatment (as has been suggested by Iwan Müller, the able reviewer of the first edition of this volume in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*), we may here point out some of the coincidences which have struck us. We may first take one play, the *Miles Gloriosus*, and note the coincidences, adding such general resemblances as have not been touched upon.

(1). In the following examples it is not contended that in every case the usage adduced is confined to Cic. Epp. and the comic drama; but it is contended that it is far more prevalent there, and that this circumstance is not fortuitous, but arises from the fact that the usage referred to partakes of that colloquial character which the Germans call *Vulgarismus*.

Mil. 11, *tam bellatorem*: for *tam* with predic. subst., cp. *tam Lynceus*, Fam. ix. 2, 2 (461); *tam matula*, Plaut. Pers. 533; *parum leno*, Ter. Phorm. 508.

Mil. 44, *sic memini tamen*: for *sic* = 'as things now stand,' cp. *sed sic . . . me privas*, Fam. v. 20, 4 (302); *sic vero fallaces sunt*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 16 (30). See under *sic* v. 3 in Lewis and Short.

Mil. 67, *dare operam*, 'to attend to': see L. S., *opera*, ii. A 1.

facetum; and of the latter he makes Plautus a type, in this judgment differing from the verdict of Horace (*Ars Poet.* 270; Epp. ii. 1, 170) and of Quintilian (x. 1, 99); but afterwards corroborated by Gellius (vi. (vii.) 17, 4), who pronounces Plautus *homo linguae atque elegantiae in verbis Latinae princeps*.

* It must be borne in mind that *archaism* is a large ingredient in *colloquialism*, as has been pointed out (p. 127) by Paul Meyer, *Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cicero ad Brutum*. Stuttgart, 1881.

† *Quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut contioni? Quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo; privatas causas et eas tenuis agimus subtilius, capitis aut famae ornatius. Epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus.*—Fam. ix. 21, 1 (497).

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II. § 2. ON THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS. 79

Mil. 217, *tibi ego dico*: cp. *narro tibi* in Cic. Epp. See n. on Ep. 22, 10.

Mil. 250, *quid agimus?* For this emphatic use of pres. indic. instead of delib. subjunc., cp. *nunc quid respondemus?* Att. xvi. 7, 4 (783).

Mil. 273, *certo . . . scio*: *certo* is rarely found except in comic poets and in Cic., nearly always in his letters.

Mil. 581, *nassa*: cp. *ex hac nassa exire constitui*, Att. xv. 20, 2 (752); Juvenal, 12, 123.

Mil. 583, *irae*: for abstract substantives in plural, cp. in Plaut. *opulentiae*, Trin. 490; *parsimoniae*, ib. 1028; *perfidiae*, Capt. 522; *industriæ*, Most. 348; *paces*, Pers. 753; *superbiae*, Stich, 300. In Cic. Epp. we find *iracundiae*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 39 (30); *admurmurationes*, Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93); *aestimationes*, Fam. ix. 18, 4 (473); *apparitiones*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 12 (30); *compellationes*, Fam. xii. 25, 2 (825); *compotationes* and *concentrationes*, Fam. ix. 24, 3 (820); *desperationes*, Fam. ii. 16, 6 (394); *iocationes*, Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472); *avaritiae*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 40 (30); *incunditates*, Att. x. 8, 9 (392); *tranquillitates*, Att. vi. 8, 4 (281); *urbanitates*, Fam. xvi. 21, 7 (786).

Mil. 636, *nota noscere*: cp. *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419; *inventum inveniri*, Capt. 441; *perditum perdamus*, Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82).

Mil. 642, *cavillator*: cp. *cavillator genere illo moroso*, Att. i. 13, 2 (19); Plaut. Truc. 683.

Mil. 743, *odiorum Ilias*: cp. *malorum impendet Ἰλιάς*, Att. viii. 11, 3 (342).

Mil. 852, *loculi*: Plaut. affects strange diminutives, like this from *locus*; e. g. *recula*, from *res*; *specula*, from *spes*; *ralla*, for *rarula*; *celocula*; *nepotulus*; *uxorcula*. See below, pp. 88, 89, for a list of dimin. in Cic. Epp.

Mil. 1092, *tago*; old form of *tango*: cp. *tagax*, Att. vi. 3, 1 (264).

Mil. 1153, *nihil huius*: cp. *quod huius, quod eius, &c.*, in Cic. Epp., *passim*. This expression is also common in official formulæ.

Mil. 1256, *hariolatur*: used in Att. viii. 11, 3 (342); very frequent in comic poets; elsewhere only, as far as we know, in Cic. De Div. i. 132. The dialogues of Cic. naturally present points of contact with the letters; for instance, the *tnesis* of *per* with

adjectives and verbs is common to the letters and dialogues of Cic. and the comic drama, but does not occur elsewhere in classical Latin.

(2). Thus the examination of one play of Plautus yields a dozen coincidences between the drama and the letters. We now add such general stylistic resemblances as have not been necessarily suggested by the *Miles*.

(a) The prevalence of such interjections as *hui*; *sodes*; *amabo te*; *absque* for *sine*; *mi* for *mihī*.

(b) Such phrases as *nullus venit*, 'not a bit of him came'; *ab armis nullus discedere*, 'not to move an inch from one's post'; *Corumbus nullus adhuc*, 'not a sign of Corumbus yet'; *nullus tu quidem domum*, 'don't stir a foot to visit him.*'

(c) *Teneo*, *habeo* in sense of *scio*, especially in imperative, *sic habeto*, *tantum habeto* with accus. and infin.; and *habeo* = *possum* with infin.

(d) Copious use of ejaculatory phrases: *at te Romae non fore!* Att. v. 20, 7 (228); *O tempora! fore cum dubitet*, Att. xii. 49, 1 (597); *facinus indignum! epistulam . . . neminem reddidisse*, Att. ii. 13, 1 (40); *esse locum tam prope Romam ubi*, Att. ii. 6, 2 (33); *hui! totiensne me dedisse*, Att. v. 11, 1 (200); *me miserum! te . . . incidisse*, Fam. xiv. 1, 1 (82); *te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis*; Fam. xiv. 2, 2 (79).

(e) Isolated agreements in the employment of a peculiar word (or phrase), as *susque deque est*, which is found only in Plautus and Cic. Epp. among classical writers. Paul Meyer (*Untersuchung*, p. 127) defends *expedire* = *narrare* in Epp. ad Brut. i. 15, 1 (914), on the ground that it is an archaism. The use of *vereri* with a genitive in Att. viii. 4, 1 (335) is an archaism found in Accius, Pacuvius (see Ribbeck's Index), Terence Phorm. 971, and Apuleius, Met. ii. 2—a writer who affects archaism. On similar grounds one might introduce *accuderim* in Att. i. 1, 2 (10) as a Plautine word, and *PIPULO ac convicio* for *populi convicio* in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1 (133). On a like principle Meyer (p. 134) vindicates *tardare* intrans. in Att. vi. 7 (270), 2 by *durare* intrans. in Plautus,

* Att. xi. 24, 4 (441); xv. 22, 1 (755); xiv. 3, 1 (705); xv. 29, 1 (768). For similar usage in the comic poets, Ter. Eun. 216; Hec. 79; Andr. 370; Plaut. Trin. 606.

where, however, it is doubtful if *tardare* is used intransitively. Such cases as these will be noticed in the notes where they occur.

(f) A very striking coincidence with the diction of the comic stage is illustrated by the phrase *quid mi auctor es*, Att. xiii. 40, 2 (660); *quid sim tibi auctor*, Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), where *auctor es* is treated as a verb, and takes an object in the accusative. This construction is very common in Plautus, e. g. *ubi quadruplator quempiam iniecit manum*, Pers. i. 70; *sitis gnarures hanc rem*, Most. 100; *quod gravida est*, Amph. 878, where see Ussing's note.

(g) In Plautus, words like *videlicet*, *scilicet*, *ilicet*, are, as it were, resolved into their component elements and govern a case, as if (e. g.) *videlicet* were *videre licet*. A very good example of this is found in Plautus Stich. 555, 557:—

videlicet parcum fuisse illum senem . . .
videlicet fuisse illum nequam adolescentem.

Hence, we hold it is unsound criticism to change *tum videlicet datas*, the ms reading in Att. v. 11, 7 (200), to *datae*, which, indeed, would not stand without *sunt*, as Boot observes. A similar construction is found in Att. xiii. 5, 1 (615).

(h) Another use of the accus., which the letters and the *comici* have in common, is illustrated by *scelus hominis*, 'a villain,' Att. xi. 9, 2 (423). This usage is pushed very far by Plautus, who not only has *scelus viri*, Mil. 1434, but even *hallex viri*, Poen. 1310; *hominum mendicabula* = *mendicos*, Aul. 703.

(i) The use of the *ethical dative* is far more common in the letters and in comedy than elsewhere in classical literature. In fact, the ethical dative without *en* or *ecce* is very rare in the other writings of Cicero. For this reason we would defend TIBI of the mss in Att. iv. 2, 4 (91) *vix tandem TIBI de mea voluntate concessum est*, 'after all, at last, lo and behold you with my consent, the point was conceded.' The vigorous exclamation is justified by the unexpected announcement that Cicero himself was for conceding the request of Serranus, which was so adverse to his interests. It seems most unscientific to read *illi*, or *id ei*, or *homini* for *tibi*. Surely no copyist, however stupid, finding any of these readings, all of which yield an obvious sense, would have written *tibi*, which at first sight seems to give no sense at all.

(k) A passage in the letters *ad Fam.* affords an example, in our opinion, of a characteristic idiom borrowed from the comic stage. The passage, *Fam.* vii. 1, 1 (127) runs thus:—

‘Neque tamen dubito quin tu *ex illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et patefecisti sinum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris.*’

All editors have either changed *ex* to *in* or changed *lectiunculis* to *spectiunculis*. But the ms reading as given above is right. What Cicero means is this: he had said above that the leisure of Marius (gained by absenting himself from the games) would not be rightly employed unless he did something useful. Now to take ‘little dips into books’ might fairly be called useful as compared with dozing over hackneyed farces. *Spectiunculis*, ‘taking little peeps’ at the beauties of the bay of Naples, would hardly satisfy this condition; again, *spectiunculis* is against the mss; finally, the word *spectarent* would not have been used after *spectiunculis*. Accordingly, nearly all the edd., retaining *lectiunculis*, change *ex* to *in* before *illo cubiculo*. But if Cicero wrote the easy *in illo cubiculo*, why do all the mss give us the difficult *ex illo cubiculo*? The fact is, that in *ex illo cubiculo tuo ex quo* we have an example of that *inverse attraction* which is common in Plautus; cp. :—

indidem unde oritur facito ut facias stultitiam sepelibilem.

Cist. 63.

ego te hodie reddam madidum si vivo probe
tibi quoi decretumst bibere aquam.

Aul. 574.

quid illum ferre vis qui, *tibi quoi* divitiae domi maximae sunt,
amicis numum nullum habes.

Epid. 329.

The familiar example in Greek of this *inverse attraction* is βῆναι κείθεν ὄθενπερ ἦκει.—*Soph. O. C.* 1226: but see Jebb’s note. [I confess to thinking that *ex illo* arose from *ex quo*, and that it should be altered to *in illo*. For an immense collection of examples wherein corruption has been caused by the influence of adjoining words or syllables, see C. F. W. Müller’s edition of the *Epp. ad Fam.*, p. xvi of the Introduction, note on p. 32, l. 26.—L. C. P.]

From the few instances given above, there would seem to be

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sufficient reason for regarding the usage of the comic stage as having an important bearing on the criticism of the letters. We have adopted this view as a principle in our recension of the text. In the criticism of Tacitus a parallelism from Virgil is almost as decisive in favour of a disputed reading as a parallel passage from the works of Tacitus himself; for it is certain that the prose of Tacitus is often influenced by imitation of the verse of Virgil. In the criticism of Cicero's letters we may go further, and say that to quote an analogous usage in Plautus or Terence is far more relevant than to quote an analogous usage from the Oratory or Philosophy of Cicero himself.*

B.

This coincidence between the letters and the stage might, as has been said, have been expected *a priori*, and we might also expect to find an extremely *delicate use of language*. When a writer has to treat of very delicate subjects at a time when there exists no secure postal transmission, he must express himself with caution; and this Cicero does with consummate skill. The difficulty of the letters is often thus greatly increased. The merest hint of the writer's thought must be confided to paper. Cicero often couches his meaning in riddles, which he fears that even Atticus may be unable to decipher. It is amazing that the cases are so few in which the ingenuity of scholars has not arrived at a solution at least plausible.

(1). Perhaps in no part of Latin literature is there such a delicate usage of the subjunctive as may be found in these letters. We have not neglected in our notes to call the attention of readers to such cases. Here we shall only quote one passage in which the joke depends altogether on the use of the subjunctive, and would vanish were the indicative substituted. He is telling in Att. vi. 1, 25 (252), how among the goods of Vedius (which were accidentally included among the assets of Pompeius Vindullus deceased) were found images or

* We have seen that the dialogues, as might be expected, have far greater affinities with the letters, as regards the diction, than have the speeches and rhetorical essays of Cicero.

portrait models of certain Roman ladies. This compromised the characters of these ladies, for Vedius was a notorious profligate. Among these models was one of Junia, sister of Brutus, and wife of Lepidus. Neither Brutus nor Lepidus took any notice of the matter, and Brutus still kept up his intimacy with Vedius. This is Cicero's way of telling it—in *his* (*sc. rebus Vedii*) *inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum, in quibus una sororis amici tui hominis Bruti qui hoc utatur, et illius Lepidi qui haec tam neglegenter ferat*, 'among which was a model of the sister of your friend Brutus (a brute part,* indeed, to keep up the fellow's acquaintance), and wife of Lepidus (funny, indeed, to take the matter so coolly).' Here, but for the subjunctive, there would be no play on the words *Brutus* and *Lepidus*.

(2). The phrase *ita . . . ut* is very delicately employed in the letters, and it is often hard to find an exact equivalent in English for this Latin idiom. For instance, 10, 1 *ita negant vulgo ut mihi se debere dicant*, 'their refusal generally takes the form of a statement that they are pledged to me'; 25, 8 *ita tamen his novis amicitiiis implicati sumus ut vaefer ille Siculus insusurret cantilenam illam suam*, 'involved as I am in many new acquaintanceships, yet I do not let them prevent me from having constantly in my ears the refrain of the astute Sicilian'; 30, 10 *quem scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut . . . etiam de nostra laboret*, 'in whom I know a keen regard for his own reputation is yet compatible with as keen a regard for ours'; 31, 7 *magni aestimo . . . fructum palaestrae Palatinae, sed ita tamen ut nihil minus velim quam Pomponiam versari in timore ruinae*, 'I greatly value the enjoyment of my *palaestra* on the Palatine, not, however, so much as to prevent my feeling that anything is better than to keep Pomponia in constant fear of the falling of the wall.' There are other good instances in 48, 1; 73, 2; and in the letter of Quintus, Ep. 12, § 13.

(3). Caution often compels Cicero to use covert language when dealing with dangerous topics. Hence the enigmatic Greek in which he refers to the dishonesty of Philotimus in some letters

* Cp. Hamlet, iii. 2, 109: '*Polonius*. I did enact Julius Caesar. I was killed in the Capitol. Brutus killed me. *Ham*. It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there.'

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of the 6th book to Atticus. This caution has left its impression on the *diction* of the letters in the use of the *plural* when only one person is meant, e.g. *veteres hostis, novos amicos* in referring to Caesar, 13, 1; and in 23, 3 *meos* probably means Quintus, *tuos*, Pomponia; *invidorum* refers to Hortensius in 63, 2. So Pompey is often referred to by a plural attribute. Somewhat like this is the *pluralis modestiae* (as Draeger calls it, *Hist. Synt.* i. 25), whereby a man speaking of himself in a somewhat boastful tone softens the arrogance by the use of the plural: see on 89, 2: again, in that same letter *tuorum* refers to Clodius alone, but is made plural *invidiae minuendae causa*.

(4). The use of epistolary tenses is familiar to readers of the letters, and is commented on in the notes. For the emphatic *ego vero*, pointing to the fact that the sentence in which it occurs is an answer to a question, see 62, § 1.

C.

(1). A very interesting feature in these letters is Cicero's use of *Greek words and phrases*. They were the *argot* of literary Rome. We have so treated them in translating passages in which they occur. We have done so even when forced to introduce a metaphor not even hinted at in the Greek word. For instance, in 10, 2, where Cicero says *ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον, Curium obducere*, the Greek word may be rendered 'that it seems to me *on the cards* to carry Curius against them'; or perhaps, as the word seems to belong to the schools of philosophy—*cp. Fam. ix. 4 (466)*,—we might render 'outside the category of possibility.' If Cicero uses a Greek word where he could quite as easily have used a Latin, we must take this circumstance into account in translating. Greek words are also frequently used as part of the terminology of rhetoric and politics; but the most interesting point connected with this feature in the style of the letters is the fact that very often Greek words are called in to supply a deficiency in the Latin language, and that in those very cases in a number of instances our own language fails, and we are obliged to borrow from the French; so that a French word is not merely the best, but the only, word to express the meaning of the Greek term in the letter. This fact is always taken notice of in

the notes; but the following list may be given here of Greek words *naturalised* by Cicero to supply a want in Latin, and translatable by us only in naturalised French words:—ἀκηδία, *ennui*; ἀδιαφορία, *nonchalance*; δυσωπία, *mauvaise honte*; ὀδοῦ πάρεργον, *en passant*; μετέωρος, *distract*; μείλιγμα, *douceur*; νεωτερισμός, *bouleversement*; ροιζόθεμις (?), *fracas*; σκυλμός, *tracasserie*; μαλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς, *en grand seigneur*; καχέκτης, *mauvais sujet*; ἀπρακτότατος, *maladroît, fainéant*; ἀφελής, *ingénu, naïf*; ὑποσόλοικον, *a bêtise*; σφάλμα, *a faux pas*; ἀπροσδιόνυσον, *ἄκυρον, mal à propos*; ὑπόμνημα, *mémoire*; περίστασις, *entourage*; πρόσενσις, *penchant*; δύσχρηστα, *désagréments*; σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας, *coup d'état*; λέσχη, *causerie*; ἀνεμοφόρητα, *canards*; ἀποφθέγματα, *bons mots*; πρόπλασμα, *prochade*; λάπισμα, *gasconade*; ἀμφιλαφία, *embarras de richesse*; while ἀπότευγμα corresponds very nearly to the Italian *fiasco*. In all or very nearly all of these the Latin language actually wants a word, and has borrowed it from the Greek, while we, to supply a like *lacuna* in our own tongue, have recourse to the French.

(2). Sometimes, as has been observed above, the Greek word answers rather to our slang or cant phrases: of this we have examples in ἀτισία, 'impecciosity'; ἄμορφον, 'bad form'; πλαττευμα, 'platform'; τρισαρειοπαγίτης, 'a bigwig'; ἔξοχή, 'a lead'; ἄνω κάτω, 'topsy-turvey'; ἐκτένεια, 'gush'; ἔξακανθίζειν, 'to pick holes'; ἐπίτηκτα, 'veneering'; ὀξύπειρος, 'sharpset'; θοροβοποιοῖ, 'he is an alarmist.* And often we find that, by a curious coinci-

* Modern physicians still write their prescriptions in Latin, and affect the use of Latin terms in hygienic or sanitary matters. The letters affect Greek terms in these cases. 'An attack' (of ague) is *λῆψις*; 'paralysis' is *παράλυσις*; 'depletion' is *ἀφαίρεσις*; 'sweating' is *διαφόρησις*; 'a defluxion of humours' is *ἐπιφορά*. In *Fam. xvi. 18, 1* (692), Cicero gives Tiro a little prescription—*ea* (valetudo tua) *quid postulet non ignoras*; *πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τέρψιν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλίας*. So *ἄκινδυνα*, 'symptoms not serious,' in *Att. xiii. 19, 1* (631); *Fam. xiv. 7, 1* (405) *χολὴν ἄκρατον noctu eieci*: *Att. xiv. 5, 1* (707) *ἤσκησας*, 'you have knocked off food'; and *Att. x. 18, 1* (404) *ἡντόκησεν*, 'mother and child are doing well.' Again, *λιτότης* is 'a low diet'; *προσανατρέφειν* is 'to feed up' after blood-letting; and *ἐμετικὴν ἀγερε* is 'to be under a régime of daily emetics,' cp. *Att. iv. 3, 3* (92) *ego diaeta curare incipio, chirurgiae taedet*.

We find Greek words connected with financial and business matters, e.g. *anatocismus*, 'compound interest,' *Att. v. 21, 11* (250); *ἀρχέτυπον*, 'a ledger,' *xii. 5, 4* (467); *κολλυβύς*, 'agio' 'exchange,' *xii. 6, 1* (499); *διάγραμμα*, 'schedule,' *ix. 9, 4* (364);

dence, Cicero borrows an expression from the Greek where we have recourse, not to French or to any vernacular *argot*, but to Latin. Where we should say *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, or more briefly *de mortuis*, Cicero has οὐχ ὅση φθιμένοισιν,* and the proverb *ne sutor supra crepidam* (often wrongly quoted *ultra*)† appears in Cicero in its Greek dress as ἔρδοι τις.‡ Again, μηδὲ δίκην§ is *audi alteram partem*; a *lapsus memoriae* is a μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα; *viva voce* is ζῶσα φωνή; *seriatim* is κατὰ μίτον or κατὰ λεπτόν; *corpus* (in the sense in which we use the word in the phrase *Corpus Poetarum*) is σῶμα; and *muta persona* is κωφὸν πρόσωπον. But Cicero often uses Greek words just for variety: cp. Q. Fr. iii. 4, 6 (152) Ἄρη πνέων, yet he says *Martem spirare* in Att. xv. 11, 1 (744); Att. xvi. 11, 1 (799) Εἷς ἐμοὶ μύριοι, yet in Att. ii. 5, 1 (32) *Cato mihi unus est pro centum millibus*; Att. xiii. 21, 4 (632) *ne et ἀδύρθωτα habeat Balbus et ἔωλα Brutus*, yet in xiii. 22, 3 (635) *tantum nolebam aut obsoletum Bruto aut Balbo incohatum dari*. In 17, 1 Cicero might very well have used *tergiversationes et dilationes* for σκήψεις atque ἀναβολαί, as Meyer has pointed out.

D.

The following are the most characteristic uses of words:—

(1). Strange words coined to suit a momentary need, such as *Pseudo-Cato* ('Cato's ape'); *Pseudo-damasippus*; the curious verbal *facteon* formed on the analogy of φιλοσοφητέον which immediately

δυσχρηστία, 'tightness of money,' xvi. 7, 6 (783); *emporium* 'bazaar,' 'arcade,' v. 2, 2 (185); *syngrapha*, 'bond,' v. 21, 10 (250); *tocullio*, 'a bit of a usurer,' ii. 1, 2 (27). Also we find Greek words used in reference to navigation: e.g., *aphracta*, 'unscreened boats,' Att. v. 11, 4 (200); *dicrotum*, 'two-banked galley,' xvi. 4, 4 (771); *etesiae*, 'the midsummer north winds,' vi. 7, 2 (270); *phaselus epicopus*, 'a row-boat,' xiv. 16, 1 (721); *prodromi*, 'north-winds,' xvi. 6, 1 (775).

* The verse is οὐχ ὅση καταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. But Cicero writes φθιμένοισιν: see Att. iv. 7, 2 (111). He makes a similar μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα in writing *Agamemno* for *Ulixes*, in de Div. ii. 63.

† The proverb is derived from the story of Apelles, who accepted the cobbler's criticism when it referred to the loop (*ansa*) of a sandal (*crepida*); but when, elated by his success, the cobbler began to criticise the leg of the statue (*cavillante circa crus*), Apelles warned him *ne super crepidam iudicaret*, 'you must not criticise higher up than the sandal,' Plin. H. N. xxxv. 85. *Supra* is the word used by Valerius Maximus also in telling the same story; *ultra* has no authority, and, indeed, no meaning.

‡ ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδὲν τέχνην.—Ar. Vesp. 1431.

§ μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης.—Phocylides.

precedes it; *Fulviaster* or *Fulviniaster* (which is often regarded as corrupt, but is defended by *Antoniaster*, *Fragm. Or.*, p. 232, ed. C. F. W. Müller); desideratives like *petituri*, 'he is keen about standing'; *Sullaturi*, 'he is bent on a *coup d'état*'; *proscripturi*, 'he is eager for a proscription': we have also *baro*, 'a duffer'; *salaco*, 'a swaggerer'; *tucullio*, 'a bit of a usurer'; and, strangest of all, the singular substantives *Appietas* and *Lentulitas*, meaning, 'your mere possession of the name Appius or Lentulus,' in a very manly and dignified letter, *Fam. iii. 7, 5* (244).

Like these are strange words arising directly from the context, such as *agripeta*,* *conspensor*, *convector*, *inhibitio* (*remigum*), *propagator* (*provinciae*), *traductor* (*ad plebem*), *breviloquens*, *levidensis*, *tagax*; and from the fact that things are spoken of in the letters which are not likely to be mentioned elsewhere, such as *glutinator* (applied to a certain class of bookbinders), *apparitio* (the office of an *apparitor*), *praediator*; to which may be added strangely-formed words, such as *inconsiderantia*, *obviamitio*, which is the Latin for *ἀπάντησις*, *cp. Att. xi. 16, 1* (431).

(2). A great prevalence of diminutives, such as the following, of which those printed in italics are not found amongst classical writers save in Cicero: *actuariola*, *aedificatiuncula*, *ambulatiuncula*, *animula*, *assentatiuncula*, *atriolum*, *auricula*, *captiuncula*, *cerula*, *chartula*, *classicula*, *commotiuncula*, *contiuncula*, *deliciolae*, *deversoriolum*, *dextella*, *diecula*, *febricula*, *filiolus*, *furcilla*, *gloriola*, *laureola*, *imagunculae*, *lectiunculae*, *lintricus*, *litterulae*, *membranula*, *memoriola*, *nauseola*, *negotiolum*, *nervuli*, *nummuli*, *ocelli*, *olusculum*, *oppidulum*, *oratiuncula*, *pagella*, *paginula*, *plangunculae* (probably a corruption of *imagunculae*), *plebecula*, *porticula*, *possessiuncula*, *pratulum*, *raudusculum*, *ripula*, *rumusculi*, *rutula*, *sedecula*, *servula*, *simiolus*, *sportella*, *tectoriolum*, *tocullio*, *villula*, *vindemiola*, *vocula*, *vulticulus*; to which add the proper names *Atticula*, *Tulliola*, and (possibly in 27, 8) *Romula*.†

* *Cp. N. D. i. 72*, and Prof. Mayor's note; also such forms as *turpilucricupidos*, *Plaut. Trin. 100*; *lucripetas damnucupidos*, *Pseud. 1114*; and *honoripeta* in *Apuleius (Dogm. Plat. ii. 15)*; and *heredipeta* in *Petronius 124*. Cicero uses *agrarii* in the *Orationes*, as Meyer has pointed out.

† This list and the following are chiefly taken from A. Stinner *De eo quo Cicero in Epistolis usus est sermone*, *Oppeln, 1879*. The classification is our own.

To these must be added the following adjectival diminutives:—*argutulus*, *barbatulus*, *bellus*, *hilarulus*, *integellus*, *lentulus*, *ligneolus*, *limatulus*, *longulus*, *maiusculus*, *minusculus*, *miniatulus*, *misellus*, *pulchellus*, *putidiusculus*, *rabiosulus*, *refractariolus*, *subturpiculus*, *tenuiculus*, and the adverbial diminutive *meliuscule*.

(3). There are many ἄπαξ εἰρημένα in the letters which we may hold to be due to chance, that is, we feel that, had we larger remains from antiquity, we should probably have other instances of their employment. It would be un instructive to supply any list of such words (not elsewhere found in classical Latin) as *peregrinator*, *adiunctor*,* *corruptrix*, *aberratio*, *remigatio*, *consolabilis*, *petsatus*, *candidatorius*, *consolatorius*, *legatorius*, *objurgatorius*, *sumptuarius* (with a word other than *lex*), *sanguinarius* (if this is right); but the following adverbs, though to many of them what has just been said is applicable, may be set down:—*assentatorie*, *desperanter*, *furenter*, *immortaliter* (*gaudeo*), *impedio*, *inhumaniter*, *pervesperi*, *turbulenter*, *vulgariter*, and *utique*, which occurs about twenty times in the letters, and only thrice in all the other works of Cicero.

(4). Moreover, a great number of adjectives and adverbs in the language are intensified by the prefix *per-*,† and mitigated by the prefix *sub-*. This is to be expected, owing to the need arising in letters for conveying delicate shades of meaning. This need demands also that minute graduation of the force of a word which the use of the comparative and superlative can so well supply in Latin. Hence the extraordinary richness of the letters in comparative and superlative forms both in adjectives and adverbs, for which see Stinner, pp. 12–15. These prefixes are rarer in the case of verbs, but we have the following: *pergaudere*, *perplacere*, *pertaedet*, *pervincere*, *perfrui*, *perpurgare*, *pervelle*, *subaccusare*, *subauscultare*, *subdiffidere*, *subdocere*, *subdubitare*, *subinvidere*, *subinvitare*, *subnegare*, *suboffendere*, *subringi* (= διαμυλλαίνειν), *subvereri*, *suppaenitet*, *suppudet*. Of other verbs, the most strange are *cenitare*, *dilaudare*, *demitigare*, *flaccere*, *fruticari* (deponent), *itare*, *muginari*,

* Cicero in his letter affects words in *-tor*. We have beside those already quoted the following rare examples:—*approbator*, *convector*, *ioculator* (?), *expilator*, *propagator*.

† *Tmesis* of *per* with adjectives and verbs is found only in the comic poets and the letters and dialogues of Cicero.

pigrari, suppetiari, tricari, tinnire, edolare, repungere, restillare, oblanguescere. Cicero in his letters also affects rare compositions with *e, ex*, as: *eblandiri, effligere, elugere, emonere, exhilarare.*

(5). The following very rare words cannot be brought under any of the above classes. They are simply due to the caprice of the moment: *combibo*, 'a boon companion' (though we have *compotor* in Phil. ii. 42); *obiratio*; *involutus* (of a bird); *itus* (for *abitus*); *reflatus* ('a contrary wind'); *sponsus* (gen. -us for *sponsum*); *noctu-abundus* (if this is right); *involgare* (?); *incommoditas*; *suspiratus*; *invitatus*. In all these cases there were other terms quite as suitable to express the exact shade of meaning; it was merely a whim to use these very rare words.

(6). There is nothing more characteristic of the style of the letters than the extremely bold use of *ellipsis*. Some commentators strain this figure in the most violent manner, and understand words which it would require not an Atticus or Caelius, but an Oedipus or Teiresias to supply. The following, however, are undoubtedly instances of *ellipsis*, and are in some cases very bold indeed* :—

De illo domestico scrupulum quem non ignoras (sc. tolle), Att. v. 13, 3 (203). *Illa fefellerunt, facilem quod putaramus* (sc. fore), Att. ix. 18, 1 (376). *At ille adiurans nusquam se unquam libentius* (sc. fuisse), Fam. ix. 19, 1 (478). *De Caesaris adventu, scripsit ad me Balbus non ante Kalendas Sextilis* (sc. futurum), Att. xiii. 21, 6 (632, 3). *Quintus enim altero die se aiebat* (sc. profecturum Romam esse), Att. xvi. 4, 1 (771). *Quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia* (sc. abiturum esse), Att. x. 8, 10 (392). *Atticam doleo tamdiu* (sc. aegrotare), Att. xii. 6, 4 (499). *Natio me hominis impulit, ut ei recte putarem* (sc. me commendare), Fam. xv. 20, 1 (702). *Miror te nihildum cum Tigellio* (sc. locutum esse), Att. xiii. 50, 3 (667). *Illud accuso, non te, sed illam, ne salutem quidem* (sc. adscripsisse), Att. xiii. 22, 5 (635). *Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem* (sc. futurum), Att. xvi. 1, 6 (769). *Nec mirabamur nihil a te litterarum* (sc. ad nos missum esse), Fam. xvi. 7, 1 (291). *Video te bona perdidisse; spero idem istuc familiaris tuos* (sc. passos esse), Fam. ix. 18, 4 (473).

* See also Index Volume to *The Correspondence of Cicero*, s. v. Ellipse; and Heidemann (A.), *De Ciceronis in Epistulis verborum Ellipsis usu*, Berlin, 1893.

(7). *Esse* with adverbs is justly pointed to by Paul Meyer as a characteristic feature in the style of the letters. The following are examples:—*sic esse et sumus*, Fam. xvi. 12, 4 (312); *Lucreti poemata ita sunt*, Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4 (132).

So we find *esse* with *recte*, Att. vii. 17, 1 (315); *commodissime*, Fam. xiv. 7, 2 (405); *tuto*, Att. xiv. 20, 3 (727); *honeste*, Fam. xiv. 14, 1 (309); *flagitiose et turpiter*, Att. vi. 3, 9 (264); *hilare et libenter*, Fam. xvi. 10, 2 (926); *libenter et sat diu*, Att. xv. 3, 2 (733).

A stranger use of *esse* with adverbs is where the adverb is predicative, and takes the place, as it were, of an adj.: e.g., *haec tam esse quam audio non puto*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 9 (53); *utinam tam (sc. integra mens), in periculo fuisset*, Att. iii. 13, 2 (71). See also Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 4 (141) *quemadmodum me censes oportere esse . . . ita et esse et fore, auricula infima scito molliorem*.

E.

In treating of the style of the letters of Cicero, in nearly every case the examples are taken from the letters of Cicero himself; but the same views are broadly applicable to the ninety letters of his correspondents. It has been already pointed out how inferior they are, as a rule, in style to the great master with whom it was their privilege to correspond.* But even in the syntax and in the use of words—in dealing with the raw material of literature—they show themselves not to be by any means so careful or exact as Cicero himself. Subjoined are examples of words and phrases

* The language of the principal correspondents of Cicero has been very fully discussed in many monographs by German scholars, of whose learning we have availed ourselves in the notes. Among these monographs may be mentioned the following:—

- Becher, Ferd. *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Cälius*, Ilfeld, 1888. (See vol. iii. ci-cix.)
 „ *Ueber die Sprache der Briefe ad Brutum*. Rhein. Mus., xxxvii. (1882), 576-597.
 „ *Die sprachliche Eigenart der Briefe ad Brutum*. Philologus xlv. (1885), 471-501.
 Schmalz, J. H. *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch der nicht-Ciceronischen Briefe (viz. Servius*

not to be found in Cicero, but occurring in the letters of his correspondents* :—

(1). In the careful manifesto of Brutus and Cassius, Fam. xi. 2, we find xi. 2, 2 (740) *aliud libertate*, ‘different from (other than) liberty.’ This abl. of comparison is found only in Varro, R. R. iii. 16, 23 *aliud melle*; Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 208 *alias veris*; id. Ep. i. 16, 20 *alium sapiente*; and in Phaedrus and Apuleius.

Ibid. *facultatem decipiendi nos*; cf. *spatium confirmandi sese*, Asinius Pollio, Fam. x. 33, 5 (890).

(2). Balbus, Att. viii. (15a), 1 (346), writes *dignissimam tuae virtutis*; for *dignus* with gen. (which is un-Ciceronian) compare Plaut. Trin. 1153.

(3). Bithynicus, Fam. vi. 16 (701), uses *intermorigiturum*; no part of *intermorigi*, except *intermorigitus* is found in Cicero.

(4). Caelius, in Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226), has the remarkable Graecism *nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit*.

(5). Galba, Fam. x. 30, 3, 4 (841), has *dexterius* and *sinisterius*.

(6). Plancus, Fam. x. 8, 4 (833), has *diffiteri*; Fam. x. 15, 4 (860), *praecognoscere*, both un-Ciceronian words; Fam. x. 18, 3 (870), *sollicitiorem*, for which Cicero would have said *magis sollicitum*; and in Fam. x. 11, 1 (848), *ut . . . me civem dignum . . . praestem*; whereas Cicero uses *se praestare* with a predicative accusative only in the case of a pronoun or adjective.

(7). Quintus Cicero, Fam. xvi. 27, 2 (815), has *dissuaviabor*.

Sulpicius, M. Marcellus, P. Dolabella, M. Curius) in Zeitschrift f. das Gymnasialwesen, 1881, pp. 87–141.

Schmalz, J. H. *Ueber die Latinität des P. Vatinius*, Mannheim, 1881.

„ *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio* (Ed. 2), Munich, 1890.

Rhodus, A. *De L. Munati Planci sermone*, Bautzen, 1896.

Hellmuth, H. *Ueber die Sprache der Epistolographen S. Sulpicius Galba und L. Cornelius Balbus*, Würzburg, 1888.

Gebhard, E. *De D. Junii Bruti genere dicendi*, Jena, 1891.

Köhler, A. *Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther*, Nürnberg, 1890.

Meyer, Paul. *Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cicero ad Brutum*, Stuttgart, 1881.

Schirmer, K. *Ueber die Sprache des M. Brutus*, Metz, 1884.

Ruete, E. *Die Correspondenz Ciceros in den Jahren 44 und 43*, Marburg, 1883, pp. 115–120.

* We do not take into account the letter of Quintus, *de petitione consulatus*, as being really rather a rhetorical treatise than a letter.

(8). Servius Sulpicius, Fam. iv. 5, 2 (555), has *existimare* with genitive of price.

The examples here adduced may seem hardly to warrant the assertion that the letters of Cicero's correspondents display a laxity as compared with those of Cicero. Yet when we remember what a large body of literature Cicero's extant works afford,* it is strange that Brutus, for instance, in one of the most carefully written of the extant letters, should twice hit on an un-Ciceronian usage, and that in one of these violations there should be associated with him another of Cicero's correspondents, Asinius Pollio. Again, Cicero, we may suppose, must have had some reason for not using *dignus* with the genitive, or *existimare* with the genitive of price; this reason must have been unknown to Balbus and Sulpicius, or else deliberately rejected by them. Finally, we may be surprised not to find in the seven hundred and fifty letters of Cicero more words ὑπαξ εἰρημένα in classical Latin, when in the two letters of Quintus Cicero we find one, and in the twelve letters of Plancus three.

The conclusion seems to be that the correspondents of Cicero are even less careful than he is to avoid the vulgarisms and laxities which beset the speech of daily life. A confirmation of this is to be found in their respective usage (pointed out by Lieberkühn) with regard to a phrase which occurs repeatedly in the letters. Cicero always—except in two places, Att. v. 10, 1 (198); viii. 14, 1 (349)—writes *mihī crede*. On the other hand, *crede mihī* is the phrase of Decimus Brutus, Fam. xi. 26 (892); Cassius, Fam. xii. 12, 4 (856); Caelius, Fam. viii. 17, 1 (408). According to Böckel (*Epistulae selectae*, 10th ed., p. 385), *crede mihī* is a vulgarism, or, at least, belongs especially to familiar speech. Such distinctions, however, are perhaps too fine-drawn to carry general conviction. Among such may be classed the acute observation of Wölfflin (Philologus, xxxiv., p. 134) that, while in his earliest speeches and letters Cicero prefers *abs te*, he gradually seems to show a growing preference for the form *a te*, which is the only form found after the year 700 (54).

* Not far from two-thirds of our Latin Dictionaries are extracts from Cicero.

III. CRITICAL.

As regards criticism, the letters of Cicero are divided into two great groups: 1°, that of the *Epp. ad Familiares*; 2°, that of the *Epp. ad Brutum Quintum fratrem, Atticum*. These two groups must be discussed separately.

§ 1. EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES.

M.

Our oldest and best ms of this group is the *Medicean* 49, 9 (M), now in the Laurentian Library, at Florence. It contains the whole sixteen books, though the fact that Book ix. is called Book i. in this codex (as in Harl. 2682) is proof that the letters previously consisted of two volumes of eight books each (see above, p. 71). This codex *Mediceus* 49, 9 is a ms of the ninth or tenth century. It was believed to have been discovered by Petrarch, and the copy of it, now *Med.* 49, 7 (P), to have been actually made by Petrarch himself. But this view was completely refuted in 1879 by Dr. Anton Viertel (*Die Wiederauffindung von Ciceros Briefen durch Petrarca*, Königsberg, 1879).*

* Cp. also G. Voigt, *Ueber die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung von Ciceros Briefen* in the "Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," 1879. Dr. Viertel maintains that not only did Petrarch not discover the ms containing the letters *ad Fam.*, but that he did not even know of the existence of these letters. The grounds on which he rests his argument are these:—

(a) Petrarch never refers to the *Epp. ad Fam.*, though he constantly quotes from *Epp. ad Att.*, *Quint.*, *Brut.*

(b) He never mentions a second discovery in his extant letters.

(c) In the preface to his own letters, 1359, he contrasts the number of his own correspondents with the fewness of the correspondents of ancient letter-writers, referring to Brutus, Atticus, Quintus, and Cicero's son as the correspondents of Cicero.

(d) In 1372 he speaks of the letters of Cicero as comprising *tria volumina*, plainly those to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus.

The strongest positive argument against the theory of Viertel is the statement of Blondus that Petrarch *epistolas Ciceronis Lentulo inscriptas* [i.e. the *Epp. ad Fam.*] *Vercellis reperisse se gloriatus est*. But it is not hard to believe that Blondus was in error, and ascribed the finding of the two collections to the finder of one. The words *reperisse se gloriatus est* probably refer to the first words of the celebrated letter of Petrarch to Cicero (cp. Viertel, p. 7). Blondus probably had not this letter before him, and confused the two finds.

Petrarch had something to do with the discovery of the group which contained the *Epp. ad Atticum*, as he found a ms (now lost) of that group at Verona in 1345; but he had no part whatever in the discovery of the *Epp. ad Familiares*. The circumstances of their discovery were these:—Having learned that there were volumes of Cicero's Epistles in North Italy, which he probably expected to be those already discovered by Petrarch, Coluccio Salutato, the Florentine chancellor, wrote in 1389 to Pasquino de Capellis, the chancellor at Milan, requesting him to have a copy made and despatched to him. The request was granted; a copy was made of a manuscript of Cicero's Epistles originally at Vercelli, which had been transferred by Gian Galeazzo Visconti to Milan, and despatched to Florence. To his great delight Coluccio discovered that the letters contained in the copy he had received were an entirely different collection from the one he had expected. He had expected the group containing the *Epp. ad Att.* which Petrarch had discovered in 1345, but he had received from his Milan colleague the *Epp. ad Fam.** Both the copy received by Coluccio and the original from which it was made still remain. The copy is Med. 49, 7 (P), and the original is the celebrated Med. 49, 9 (M). Some time before the death of Coluccio, in 1406, M was transferred to Florence, and Coluccio used it in correcting P. During the next century it was religiously guarded in the private library of the Medici. It appears to have been seen by Politian, but did not emerge into publicity until, in 1536, Victorius made it the basis of his edition. The numerous manuscripts of the *Epp. ad Fam.* which were propagated in Italy during the fifteenth century, are ultimately to be traced to P and not to M.† The corrections in M are numerous. They have been carefully examined by Mendelssohn,‡ p. xv; and he notices corrections made by the original copyist (M'), those made by several hands from the tenth to the twelfth century (M^c),

* Coluccio's letter of thanks is given in full by Viertel, pp. 39–41.

† Mendelssohn, p. xvi, note.

‡ The stately critical edition of *Epp. ad Fam.* by L. Mendelssohn (*M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistularum libri sedecim* edidit Ludovicus Mendelssohn, Lipsiae, Teubner, 1893), with its most learned and careful Praefatio, must form the basis of any discussion on the criticism of these Epistles. We here gladly acknowledge our large obligations to this important work.

and, lastly, recent corrections made after 1389, when the copy (P) had been taken (M^r). The first class are naturally of great importance; the second should be carefully considered in each case; but the corrections made after 1389 are no more than conjectures.

The remaining manuscripts, which are of first-rate importance, contain only one or other of the divisions (a) Books i.-viii., (b) Books ix.-xvi.

G.

The *Codex Harleianus* 2773 (G), in the British Museum.* It is a parchment folio, and in double columns. It belongs to the twelfth century. There are many corrections, both of that date and later. It contains a Latin-Greek lexicon of Servius, Diomedes' *Ars Grammatica*, Cicero's Epistles, and some mediæval Latin poems. The portion of Cicero's Epistles which it comprises runs from the beginning of Fam. i. 1 to the words *puto etiam si ullam spem*, viii. 9, 3. It is certainly independent of M. It wants from Fam. i. 9, 20 (*non solum praesenti*) to ii. 1, 2 (*consecutus*). There is no distinction made between the first and second books. Accordingly, Book iii. is in G called Book ii., Book iv. is Book iii., and so on. There are no indices to the several books.†

R.

The *Codex Parisinus* 17812 (R), in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is a parchment ms written in two columns by several hands. It belongs to the twelfth century, and has many corrections. It contains the *Academica priora* ii., the *De Nat. Deorum*, *De Fato*, *Ad Fam. i.-viii.* 8, 6 (*moram*), *Dares De Historia Troiae*. G R have been elaborately discussed by O. Streicher, *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*, vol. iii., pp. 106-120.

* It was called G because it belonged to Graevius, who valued it highly and styled it his 'primus.' Graevius says he bought it with his own money in a shop in Cologne, probably, as Mendelssohn (p. xviii, note) says, the 'vilissima taberna' near the Pfaffenport, where, as Graevius states in a letter to Heinsius, manuscripts were sold by the pound weight.

† We made some remarks on this manuscript in *Hermathena*, vol. v. (1885), pp. 277-304.

That GR are closely connected may be seen from a glance at the Adn. Critica. That they are independent of M may be shown from the fact that they supply some lacunæ found in the latter, e.g. iv. 12, 2 (613), *ei mitterem itaque medicos*; v. 7, 2 (13), *scio*.

T.

The *Codex Turonensis* (T) 688, in the Library of Tours. It is a parchment quarto of apparently the twelfth or thirteenth century. It contains some of Cicero's philosophical works, and the Epp. ad Fam. i. to vii. 32, 1 (*ne conferri*), omitting ii. 16, 4 (*hac orbis terrarum*) to iv. 3, 4 (*appareat cum me eo*). It has been proved by Mendelssohn (*Mélanges Graux*, 169-173) to have been derived, either directly or through a copy, from the Parisinus (R), and to have no independent value. There is no lacuna in P that can be filled up from T; all the errors of T can be explained from P; and P could not have been copied from T, as it continues much further, and has not the large hiatus which T exhibits from ii. 16, 4 to iv. 3, 4.

Turning to the other division *b*, Books ix.-xvi., we find three principal manuscripts:—

H.

The *Codex Harleianus* 2682 (H), in the British Museum. It is a parchment folio, written by several hands, and belongs to the eleventh century. It contains Fam. ix.-xvi., ad Octavianum, De Petitione Consulatus,* Laelius, Cato maior, many speeches of Cicero's, notably the Pro Milone, and the Caesarian speeches (which latter occur twice),† the De Imperio Cn. Pompei, some excerpts from the Verrines iii. and iv., De Officiis i., ii. (to § 34), and two other treatises. Each book of the *ad Fam.* has a separate index. The Epistles, and some of the speeches, are corrected by two hands throughout. The ms was formerly in the Cathedral

* Bährens has used this ms in his discussion on this treatise in his *Miscellanea Critica*, pp. 23-32.

† The high value of this ms for the Caesarian speeches, and especially for the Pro Milone, has been shown by Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Class. Ser. vii., and in his editions of the Pro Milone and of the Caesarian speeches.

Library at Cologne. Here, by aid of Melchior Hittorp, Gulielmius collated it, and gave his collation to Graevius, whence it appears in Graevius' notes as the 'Hittorpianus.*'

F.

The *Codex Erfurtensis*,† now *Berolinensis* 252 (F), a parchment manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century, in double columns. It probably came originally from the Rhine district.‡ It contains *De Officiis* i. (to § 118), rhetorical works attributed to Cicero, a large number of his Orations, *Fam.* xii. 29, 2 (from *deinde*); 21; xiii. 78, 79; xiv.-xvi. (but the order in xv. is 1-6, 9, 7, 8, 10-21), *Laelius*, and *Cato maior*. It bears the closest relation to H, but is somewhat inferior, as there are some omissions in F which are not found in H.§ Gurlitt (*op. cit.* 536-541) thinks that probably H and F were made from a copy of the Lorsch ms No. 2.||

* We felt some doubt as to the identity of H and Hittorpianus in a paper on H published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ii. 2 (1885), pp. 366-408 (reprinted in our second volume (ed. 1), lxxi-xc), owing to the many divergences which exist between what was stated to be in the Hittorpianus and the readings of H (see the list, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 378 = lxxx, lxxxi). But it is universally held now that these divergences are due to carelessness on the part of Gulielmius.

† A collation and learned disquisition on this manuscript, by E. Wunder, is to be found in his volume, *Variae lectiones librorum aliquot M. T. Ciceronis ex codice Erfurtensi* enotatae ab Eduardo Wundero, Lipsiae, 1827.

‡ See the very able treatise by L. Gurlitt, *Zur Ueberlieferungs-Geschichte von Ciceros Epistularum libri xvi.* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1896), Sonderabdruck aus dem 22 Supplementband der *Jahrb. für Klass. Philologie*, 1896, p. 541.

§ See Vol. II. (ed. 1), p. lxxxiv.

|| In a catalogue of the tenth century, of the Monastery of St. Nazarius, at Lorsch, the following manuscripts are noticed (Lehmann, *De Epp. ad Att. recensendis*, p. 131; Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 512):—

	Epistolarum ciceronis lib. xvi in uno codice.
	Epistolae ciceronis in quaternionibus.
Below this	Epistolae ciceronis diversae.
	item epistolae ciceronis diversae. Item marci tullii
	ciceronis epistolarum lib. IIII in uno cod.

If we call these 1, 2, 3, 4—No. 1 is the *Epp. ad Atticum*; No. 4 is *ad Brutum* and the three books *ad Quintum*. Probably No. 3 is *Fam.* i.-viii., and No. 2 *Fam.* ix.-xvi.

D.

The *Codex Palatinus* (D) 598, originally at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican Library. It is a parchment ms of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, which, among many miscellaneous works, contains the *Epp. ad Fam.* ix.-xvi., but in an arrangement which is very disordered. The arrangement is as follows:—xi. 1-27; xii. 1-16; ix. 1-26; x. 1-17; x. 20, 3-25, 3; x. 29; xii. 17-30; xi. 28; xiii.-xvi. Thus there are wanting x. 18, 19, 20 §§ 1-3; xi. 29. It is much corrected, but is a ms of the highest value. While at Heidelberg it was used by Gruter, and was his *Palatinus Sextus* ('laudatissimus codex Palatinus Sextus,' as it is called by Gebhard in Graevius' ed., p. 71). Gurlitt (*op. cit.* 516-521) has given very probable reasons for holding that D was a direct copy of the Lorsch ms No. 2 (see above, p. 98); and the fact that this latter ms was 'in quaternionibus' (i.e. unbound) will account for the disorder of the letters in D. Whether the several quaternions corresponded with the several *libelli* as they issued from Tiro's hands (see above, pp. 66-70) is possible, but uncertain.

If we consider these three codices HFD together, we find a relation between them so close that they point to a descent from a lost ms which Mendelssohn (p. xxv) calls Y, and which was independent of M. This can be proved at once by simply noting some of the clauses omitted in M, which are found in Y, e.g. :—

ix. 15, 1 (481),	curam . . . quam tibi.
16, 7 (472),	apud me . . . illos.
x. 18, 2 (870),	exercitu . . . sentiente.
23, 5 (895),	numeroque hostis habueram.
xi. 13, 1 (859),	Aquilam perisse nesciebam.
xii. 14, 3 (883),	quam re vera . . . scripsi.
xiii. 28a, 3 (523),	tibi confirmo.
xv. 2, 5 (219),	et tamen adulescentem essem.

And, conversely, by taking the clauses omitted in Y, which are found in M, e.g. :—

x. 32, 4 (896),	si uno loco habuissem.
xii. 4, 1 (818),	reliquiarum nihil fuisset.
26, 2 (829),	Quod . . . rogo.
xiii. 7, 1 (674),	mihique coniunctissimi.
xv. 4, 14 (238),	aut non habendis.
xvi. 15, 2 (925),	et te visus est.

Thus we seem to have two classes of manuscript authorities for Fam. ix.-xvi.; and it is difficult to say which is to be preferred to which. But, on the whole, where the reading of either M or Y will meet all the requirements of the case, it will be wise to adhere to the sober judgment of Mendelssohn, that M, which has hitherto held the foremost position, should continue to be preferred; and that accordingly that great manuscript should remain the basis of our criticism.*

To these principal authorities may be added a '*vetustus*' *codex* of Cratander (now lost), which he used in the latter half of his edition of Epp. ad Fam., both in the text and margin. But as all the good readings of this ms are found in HF or D, it need not be considered in the Adn. Critica. While having the additional clauses found in Y at ix. 15, 1; 23, 5; xii. 14, 3; xv. 2, 5 (see above), either it apparently had not, or Cratander failed to note, the additions at ix. 16, 7; x. 18, 2; xi. 13, 1; xiii. 28a, 3. What the exact ms was which Cratander used is doubtful; whether it was one of the '*contaminati*' (see below), as Mendelssohn is inclined to think (p. xxiv); or the Lorsch ms No 2, as Gurlitt (*op. cit.* pp. 522-536) with most interesting learning maintains, must for the present be considered undecided.†

There is yet one more class of manuscripts of ix.-xvi. to which a passing allusion must be made; a series of fifteenth-century manuscripts—the so-called *contaminati*—which contain the diverse excellences of M and Y, and which appear to have arisen from a blending (*contaminatio*) of P (or a copy of P) and some ms of the Y class. All these manuscripts seem to have arisen from a single source, as is proved by a disorder (common to all, as it appears) in

* See Mendelssohn, pp. xxv, xxvi. 'Iam cum restent loci haud pauci qui et diverse utrobique conformati sint et ita comparati ut per se spectata et M scriptura possit admitti et Y, equidem rebus omnibus quae momentum faciant saepe ponderatis eo adductus sum ut dubia ubi res esset et incerta, M, veterem ducem, sequi mallet quam Y. Sic factum ut altera quoque pars, quamvis saepe emendata ex Y, summa in re conformata sit ex Medicei libri auctoritate. Nec dubito quin idem sensuri sint alii qui non soleant arripere nova propter novitatem quique accuratam habeant sermonis epistularis notitiam.'

† It is interesting to note that Cratander has not any note on x. 18, 19, 20, §§ 1-3, the epistles omitted in D, and so presumably omitted also in the Lorsch ms No. 2: cp. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 522, 3.

the arrangement of the letters of the thirteenth book (Mendelssohn, xxvii, note; cp. Gurlitt, p. 544, note), which was due probably to an inversion of leaves. What ms of the Y class was used to effect this 'contaminatio' cannot be ascertained with certainty. Gurlitt (p. 545) thinks it may have been a copy of the Lorsch ms No. 2, made for Poggio or one of his contemporaries. The chief mss of this class are, according to Mendelssohn, *Dresdensis* 112 (= the '*Dresdensis tertius*' of Benedictus), *Guelferbytani* 226 and 228, *Parisini* 14761 and 7783, *Oxonieneses Canoniciani* 210, 244 (in the Bodleian), *cod. Corp. Christi* 283.

§ 2. *EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, QUINTUM, ET ATTICUM.*

It is established and held by all scholars that Petrarch discovered a manuscript of these epistles at Verona in 1345; that this ms contained the epistles to Brutus, to Octavianus, to Quintus, and to Atticus; that Petrarch made a copy of this Verona ms; and that both copy and original have disappeared. The celebrated *Mediceus* 49, 18 (M) is neither the one nor the other, but is a copy of some manuscript made by Pasquino de Capellis, for Coluccio Salutato, about 1391. Coluccio had previously (see above, p. 95) asked Pasquino for a copy of Cicero's letters, expecting, doubtless, those to which Petrarch had made reference in his writings, viz. the Epistles to Brutus, Quintus, and Atticus; but he received instead the *Epp. ad Fam.* In a letter of warm thanks to Pasquino,* he says that he understands that there is another volume of Cicero's letters at Verona, as the quotations from Petrarch are not to be found in the volume which he had received, and begs for a copy of that volume. In reply, Pasquino sent him a copy (apparently from the *Veronensis*)† of the Epistles to Brutus, Quintus, Octavian, and Atticus; and this copy is the *Mediceus* 49, 18 (M).

M.

Till comparatively recent times, it has been generally held that M was the sole basis on which to rest the criticism of the

* See Viertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

† Compare what Coluccio says in a letter to Pasquino in 1392 (Viertel, p. 43), "Nunc autem quanto perceperim gaudio Deus testis, te Ciceronis epistolas de Verona meo nomine exemplari iussisse."

Correspondence; and to-day this opinion has a most able and learned defender.

Dr. O. E. Schmidt, in his paper, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros an Att., Q. Cic., M. Brutus in Italien*, read before the Königliche Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in 1887, considers that M is the source from which nearly all our mss are derived;* and in a further discussion on the question in "Philologus," 1896, pp. 695-726, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros an Atticus*, while acknowledging that there is an Italian tradition independent of M, maintains that M, as an un-interpolated manuscript, must remain the basis of our criticism; while Karl Lehmann, in his book *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis* (1892), urges the claims of several other mss to a position at least as important as M in respect of the establishment of the text. We will briefly mention a few of the arguments of these eminent scholars, urging all readers to supplement what is here given by a study of the works above cited.

* Except the Dresdensis (D) and the Guelferbytanus (G), which are derived from the Veronensis, but not through M. Schmidt's statement of his position in the latter treatise should be given in his own words (pp. 724, 725, notes):—"M. Rothstein erklärt allerdings in einer Besprechung meines Buches (Wochenschrift f. klass. Phil. 1894, S. 297), dass ,Lehmann in der Hauptsache zweifellos im Rechte ist,' denn damit, dass ich zugebe, dass die Lesarten von Σ [see below, p. 107], wenigstens zum Theil auf den Archetypus des Mediceus zurückgehen, sei die Frage der selbständigen Bedeutung dieser Hdn. neben dem Mediceus entschieden. Eine selbständige ital. Textesüberlieferung neben M habe ich in der That niemals geleugnet. Aber die ,Hauptsache' bleibt doch die praktische Textesgestaltung. Und für diese ist ein himmelweiter Unterschied, ob ihr interpolierte, wie es Lehmann thut, oder unverfälschte Hdn. wie M zu Grunde gelegt werden. Also: in manchen Einzelheiten hat Lehmann Recht, aber gerade in der Hauptsache nicht. . . . Um nicht missverstanden zu werden, erkläre ich ausdrücklich, dass ich natürlich W [the Würzburg fragments; see below, p. 112] und neben M jedes C und auch die von Lehmann ermittelten c [new readings of Cratander in his text], ferner ZL und ZB [the Tornesianus as testified by Lambinus and Bosius; see below, p. 115] sowie die wichtigeren Lesarten einer Hd. aus Σ [see below, pp. 107, 108], etwa von O, in den kritischen Apparat aufgenommen wissen will. Nur müssen C, c, ZL, ZB, O vorsichtig gebraucht werden. Auch hier müssen wir wieder das richtige Urtheil des Victorius bewundern, der im Hinblick auf die Ausgabe Cratanders — die Ausgabe Lambins war noch nicht erschienen — folgendes sagt: *Miscuerunt enim illi <sc. Germani> multa, quae a recentioribus acceperunt interpretibus et castigatibus, cum eis, quae ex antiquo et probo exemplari (W) eruerunt nulla distinctione facta, ut periculum sit, ne quorundam commenta et coniecturas saepe pro sinceris et veris emendationibus capias.*"

Schmidt has elaborately studied M. By a careful examination of the handwritings of the different possessors of that ms,* and a comparison with the various corrections made, he has satisfied himself which corrections should be attributed to each of the different possessors, the first of whom was Coluccio Salutato. To this ms Coluccio added certain notes (M²). They are of three kinds :—

1. Those marked *al*, which were probably derived from a selection of sixty letters which he had received some time before 1383, from Broaspirini, a friend of his at Verona. The text of this was apparently based on the Veronensis.†

2. Those marked ^s*c*, which Schmidt considers to be an abbreviation of *Coluccius*, though this is doubtful.‡ These he considers to be conjectures of Coluccio, e.g. Att. xiv. 17 a, 8 (722) *liberas*.

Tu igitur M¹; above the line ^s*c* *Liberasti igitur*—a correct alteration; Att. ix. 2 a, 1 (356) *ut honorem quidem a se accipere vellem*

M¹. Over *vellem* appears ^s*c* *nollem*; afterwards this was erased, and *ne* added after *ut*. This shows that Coluccio recalled his conjecture when he found a satisfactory reading in another manuscript, perhaps the Veronensis.

3. Unmarked corrections in Coluccio's handwriting (cp. Schmidt, pp. 35-7). These are the most numerous and important of all, inasmuch as, in addition to many other kinds of correc-

* Examples of documents undoubtedly in the handwriting of Coluccio, Niccoli, and Bruni are found in the archives of Florence. Schmidt gives specimens, and a facsimile of a portion of M, with corrections by all three scholars.

† By his careful study of the different handwritings, Schmidt is able to show that the corrections marked *al* do not all come from Coluccio. Some fifteen are in the handwriting of the original scribe. These extend only to Att. viii., which tends to show that they come from a ms which contained Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct., and half of Att. Perhaps they are the remains of critical annotations by a Middle-Age scholar, like Lupus of Ferrières (Schmidt, p. 31; Mendelssohn, pp. v, vi), e.g. Att. vi. 6, 2 (276), *defleu sine* M¹, *al* (m. 1) *de eleusine*.

Coluccio's *al* appears somewhat more than seventy times, and in about fifty letters. In Q. Fr. ii. 14 (142) we find it four times. This tends to justify the derivation of these corrections from Broaspirini's excerpts. For an example cp. Brut. i. 6, 3 (867), *legato g. tribuno* M¹; *al* (of Coluccio) *C. Trebonii*.

‡ Lehmann (p. 158) found the same symbol in N: cp. p. 107, below.

tions, several large gaps in M¹ are thus filled up, e.g. Q. Fr. ii. 11, 3 (135) *omnia colligo ut novi scribam aliquid ad te: sed ut vides res me ipsa deficit*; Att. i. 20, 2 (26) *et a spe down to existimasset*. It is quite certain that Coluccio compared M throughout with another manuscript, possibly (though this is uncertain) with the archetype itself, the Veronensis. Schmidt, however, warns us (pp. 40-41) that Coluccio's unmarked alterations are in some cases conjectures, as the reading of M¹ is confirmed by the Dresdensis (D), Guelferbytanus (G), and the Würzburg fragments (W).

Coluccio died in 1406, and M was bought by his friend, Niccolo Niccoli. Niccoli also added corrections to the ms (M³), many on minute points of orthography. These are marked sometimes † (= *vel*), sometimes -. None of Niccoli's alterations are conjectures. Several give no sense, e.g. Att. i. 1, 4 (10) *amicis* for *animus*; others reproduce M¹, e.g. Q. Fr. i. 3, 2 (66) *dolor* M¹³, *dolorum* M². Others are confirmed by other mss, e.g. Att. v. 15, 3 (207) *redditu ire* M³, *redditu iri* ZI (= the Tornesianus, as testified by Lambinus). The mss he used were, in all probability, for Att. ix.-xvi., No. 622 of the Library of the Visconti at Pavia (see below); and for Att. i.-viii., a ms belonging to Bartolomeo Capra, Bishop of Cremona.

In the Catalogue of the Library of the Visconti at Pavia, made in 1426, three mss of Att. are found:—

No. 610. *Tullii Epistole ad Atticum coperte corio rubeo albicato Incipiunt Quam contemplationem et finiuntur atque etiam rogo*

—i.e. Brut. ii. 5 fin. to the end of Att. This shows that Cratander was speaking the truth when he said that he found Brut. ii. in an old codex.* Here we have the last few words of that book, and

* Cratander's words are "Hanc et sequentes quinque epistolas ad Brutum, quod a Ciceroniana dictione abhorre non videbantur, et in vetusto codice primum locum obtinerent, nos haudquaquam praetermittendas existimavimus." This manuscript is, according to Gurlitt (*Handschriftliches und Textkritisches zu Ciceros Epistulae ad M. Brutum* in 'Philologus,' 1896, pp. 318-340; cp. p. 331), one of the Lorsch mss, No. 4 (cp. Gurlitt's *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Ciceros Epistularum libri xvi.* p. 513; see above, p. 98). It is a testimony to the excellence of this ms that Cratander does not give any marginal notes on Brut. ii., but has apparently simply transcribed the ms, and that, with the exception of the transposition of leaves, the text of Brut. ii. is in a very good condition.

evidence that the book was lost.* Schmidt thinks that this ms, No. 610, may have been Petrarch's copy of the Veronensis, and that the Veronensis had lost the conclusion of Att. before M was copied from it.

No. 622. *Bruti Epistole ad Ciceronem voluminis parvi coperti assidibus sine corio, cum certis Alexandri gestis. Incipit Cesar opio Cornelio salutem et finitur oblitus est dei.*

This begins with Att. ix. 7 c (347). It doubtless contained to the end of Att. But that it was a portion of a larger collection, which contained Brut., Q. Fr., Oct., Att., is proved by the fact that the letters are styled *Bruti epistole*, the collection being called after the correspondent to whom the first letter is addressed, just as the *Epp. ad Fam.* are sometimes called the Epistles to Lentulus.

No. 857. *Liber unus epistolarum ad Ciceronem brutum in carta et littera notarina, qui incipit in textu Clodius tribus plebis designatus, et finitur tertio nonas martias*

—i.e. Brut. i. 1 to end of Att. viii. Schmidt thinks that perhaps it was a copy of part of the Veronensis.

When Louis XII. got possession of the Duchy of Milan, in 1500, he carried away the contents of the Library of Pavia to Blois. Possibly some of these mss may yet be found in the middle and south of France.

Capra's codex contained Brut., Q. Fr., and Att. i.—vii.: cp. the letter of Lionardo Bruni quoted by Schmidt, p. 60. Lehmann (p. 145) thinks that possibly this codex was the parent of the mss which he calls N and H (see below, pp. 107, 108).

When Niccoli died in 1437, Lionardo Bruni obtained M. He also added corrections (M¹); but they are mainly conjectures, though often correct ones. Even certain additions † Schmidt

* Brut. ii. and i. perhaps formed Book ix. of the collection of Cic. ad Brutum, as Gurlitt has pointed out.

† We confess to some doubt as to whether these additions do not rest on mss authority. However, interpolations are so frequent in Italian mss that Bruni might have taken these additions from a ms, and yet they might be interpolations. In one interesting case, as Schmidt (p. 75) points out, Bruni's correction, though adopted by

thinks due to conjecture, e.g. Att. iii. 15, 4 (73), *aut occubuissem honeste*. Sometimes alterations which Schmidt holds to be conjectures of Poggio's, are inserted in Bruni's handwriting, e.g. the addition of *summum medicum* in Att. xv. 1, 1 (730).

On Bruni's death, in 1444, Donato Acciaiuoli obtained M, and added a few insignificant notes. The Greek in the text of M is the usual mechanically-copied uncial Greek of a scribe who was ignorant of the language; but in the margin the Greek words are generally written over again in minuscules, with a Latin translation superscribed. This was done by Manuel Chrysoloras.

A very interesting ms is that which was copied by Poggio in 1408. It is now at Berlin, but previously belonged to the Hamilton Library (H-B). According to Schmidt, it is a copy of M, and represents that codex in the condition in which it was left by Coluccio. None of the corrections of Niccoli or Bruni appears, except in the margin and by another hand. It has the large lacuna in Att. i. 18-19; but the conclusion of Att. xvi. is found. Possibly Poggio obtained this conclusion from Nos. 610, 622, of the Pavia Library, or from copies of these mss. The passage omitted in Att. i., which first appears in a Paris ms of 1415, was probably derived from Capra's ms (cp. p. 104).*

The Dresdensis (D) was, Schmidt thinks (pp. 97-105), probably derived from Petrarch's copy of the Veronensis, and the Guelferbytanus (G) from the Veronensis itself.

On the whole, Schmidt (p. 105) sums up his results as follows:—The whole collection which appears in M originally fell into three groups—

1. Brut. ix. (= ii. + i.) + Q. Fr. + Oct.
2. Att. i.-viii.
3. Att. ix.-xvi.

all editors, is probably wrong, Att. i. 14, 5 (20) *Hic tibi Cato rostra advolat: convicium* (M¹ *commulticium* M¹) *Pisoni consuli mirificum facit, si id est convicium* (M²; *commultium* M¹) *vox plena gravitatis*, &c. Schmidt thinks that perhaps *commulcium* (from *commulco*) was a colloquial word for a 'thrashing,' and should be read here.

* Yet the lacuna does not appear in Lehmann's E (see below, p. 107), which is probably older than M or H-B.

3 appears in Pavia ms No. 622; 1 + 2 in Capra's; 1 + 2 + 3 in Petrarch's copy from the Veronensis, which probably consisted of three separate mss. 1 seems to appear in the Lorsch ms No. 4, referred to above, p. 98. Coluccio used the Veronensis in his corrections. From M in this state H-B was copied. Niccoli used Capra's and the Pavia mss. The propagation of Italian mss began after Coluccio's death. They fall into two classes—

1°. Those in which the text of Poggio's copy (H-B) is further developed by conjecture, e.g. Med. 49, 19; Balliolensis; Helmstadtensis; and the ed. Romana.*

2°. Those whose text has been influenced by the mss used by Niccoli, as well as by conjecture, e.g. the Ravenna ms, Jenson's ed., Malaspina's Ant. and F.†

Σ.

We thus see that M has been most thoroughly examined. But what if there are other mss extant demonstrably independent of M? This is what Lehmann had already maintained; and in the *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1887 and 1890, he gave some indications of the grounds he had for this view. But the full and wide-reaching importance of his discoveries was not properly appreciated until he published, in 1892, his arguments in full in a most important work, *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis*.

He claimed to have discovered seven mss independent of M, viz. :—

E = Cod. Ambrosianus (or rather it should be styled Excerpta Ambrosiana) E 14, of the fourteenth century, containing, among other works of Cicero, about two-fifths of the Epp. ad Q. Fr. and Att., arranged in ten books, with Brut. i. as an eleventh.

N = Cod. ex abbazia Florentina, now in the Laurentian Library, n. 49. It belongs to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, and contains Brut. i., Q. Fr., Att. i.—vii. 21, 1 (*conquisitores*). It is carelessly written, but free from serious conjectures.

* Add, perhaps, Harl. 2491: cp. *Hermathena*, viii. (1891), p. 359.

† These mss belong, according to Lehmann, to the Σ class (see below, p. 110). So also the Ravenna ms, of which there is a collation in Boot's second edition.

H = Codex Landianus in the Landi-Passerini Library at Piacenza, n. 8, of same date as N, contains Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct., Att. i.-viii. 22, 2, Caesar's Ep. to Cicero, Att. x. 8b (385). There are many omissions of considerable length, e.g. Att. ii. 3, 2 (29) *Fenestrarum* . . . § 3 *in libro tertio*. [Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, in *The Classical Review* (1896), pp. 321-3, has drawn attention to a Paris ms (Nouv. Fonds. 16. 248) which he has proved to be closely connected with H, and to be a better specimen of the tradition represented by that ms. He thinks that a close relationship exists between this ms, N, H, and E, and that a careful study of it will go far to establish the family history and alliances of the Σ family.]

Lehmann (p. 145) thinks that N and H are derived from the Pistoia ms, which Capra discovered, or else from a very similar ms.

O = Codex Taurinensis i. v. 34, in the University Library at Turin, belongs to the fifteenth century, and contains Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct., Att. i.-xvi. It is corrected and corrupted by many hands. We trust that the recent fire has not consumed it.

P = Cod. Parisinus, in the Bibliothèque Nationale 8536, belongs to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and contains Q. Fr., Att. i.-xvi., Brut. i., Oct., in this order.

R = Codex Parisinus 8538, written in 1419, contains Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct., Att. i.-xvi. It is a brother of P. It is carelessly written.

P and R are closely related to one another, and are full of interpolations which were probably written on the margin of their parent (Φ).

s = Cod. Urbinas 322, in the Vatican Library, belongs to the fifteenth century, and contains Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct., Att. i.-xvi.

None of these mss has the great lacuna which M has in Att. i.; and such as have Att. xvi. contain the concluding passage (16, 8 to end), which M omits.

The following list of readings found in these mss, but omitted in M, will show that they are independent of M; for the view that the archetype of these mss was a copy from M, and that

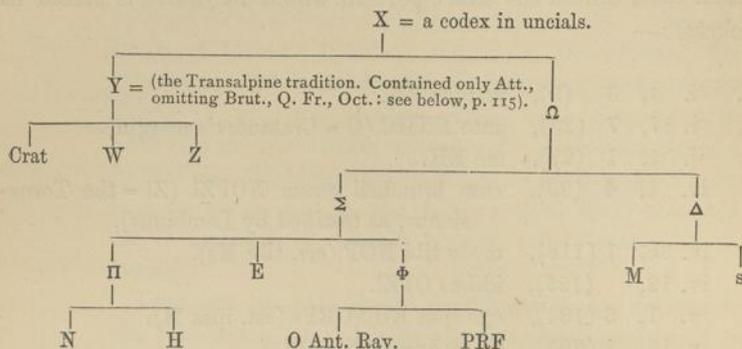
III. §
these
accepte
list it
in each
bracket

Att. i.
" ii.
" iv.
" iv.
" iv.
" v.
" v.
" v.
" vi.
" vi.
" vi.
" vii.
" vii.
" vii.
" viii.
" viii.
" xi.
" xii.
" xii.
" xiii.
" xiii.
" xiii.
" xiv.
" xv.
" xvi.
" xvi.

these readings are conjectures and interpolations, cannot be accepted without very clear and definite proof. (In the subjoined list it is to be understood that M omits the whole reading given in each case, unless the exact portion which M omits is stated in brackets) :—

- Att. i. 4, 3 (9), insigne EN.
 „ i. 17, 7 (23), ante ENHC (C = Cratander's margin).
 „ ii. 1, 1 (27), me EH.
 „ iv. 1, 4 (90), cum brundisii essem NOPZI (ZI = the Tornesianus, as testified by Lambinus).
 „ iv. 8b, 1 (118), modo tibi NOP (*om.* tibi Ms).
 „ iv. 12, (125), idibus OPZI.
 „ v. 1, 3 (184), ego ipsa EHNORPs (*om.* ipsa M).
 „ v. 13, 1 (203), in modum HNORPs.
 „ v. 20, 3 (228), interim ENOP.
 „ vi. 1, 14 (252), in magna EHCNOP (*om.* in M).
 „ vi. 1, 22 (252), dies NOHW (W = Würzburg fragments).
 „ vi. 2, 7 (256), triduum NCO.
 „ vii. 1, 4 (284), illa ultum EP, illa ultima C.
 „ vii. 13, 7 (308), quae tua coniectura EHNORPs (*om.* tua M).
 „ vii. 18, 3 (316), scio NOPCZI.
 „ viii. 5, 1 (336), dyonisio RZb (Zb = Tornesianus as testified by Bosius).
 „ viii. 7, 1 (338), Domitius EHORPs.
 „ xi. 15, 4 (430), malle OC.
 „ xii. 12, 1 (556), Sed vereor ne minorem $\tau\mu\eta\nu$ ORPC Ant F.
 „ xii. 13, 1 (545), idem OC.
 „ xiii. 3, 1 (611), nihil gererem OPZIZb.
 „ xiii. 9, 1 (623), Dolabella quibus verbis secum egissem exposuit :
 commodum enim egeram diligentissimequae
 ORP.
 „ xiii. 10, 3 (624), egerit ORZI.
 „ xiii. 14, 2 (627), si quid erit EORCZb.
 „ xiii. 20, 4 (634), ad Ligarianam ORPCZb.
 „ xiv. 12, 2 (715), peramice ECOR (*om.* per- M).
 „ xv. 3, 1 (733), accepi nati ORZlb accepi, nacti P (*om.* nati M).
 „ xvi. 5, 3 (770), antequam ORPC (*om.* quam Ms).
 „ xvi. 6, 3 (775), reliqua RCZb.

It would lead us too far to follow Lehmann into the cautious, elaborate, and convincing reasoning by which he fixes his 'stemma codicum.' He finds that it stands as follows:—



The mss represented by X, Y, and by the Greek letters $\Omega\Sigma\Pi\Phi\Delta$ are not extant, but are postulated by the nature of the extant codices.

That one of the mss used by Cratander in the establishment of his text was a German ms of the Lorsch library Lehmann (pp. 127 ff.) considers almost certain, for—1°. Cratander says he obtained mss from Joh. Sichardt. 2°. Beatus Rhenanus was in correspondence with Sichardt, and obtained through him other mss from the Lorsch library, and one of Cic. ad Att. 3°. In an extant catalogue of that library there is an entry which must refer to a collection of the Epp. ad Att. (without Brut. i., Q. Fr., Oct.) See above, p. 98, note. 4°. Another entry in that catalogue is *Ciceronis epistolarum libr. iii. in uno codice*, which Gurlitt accurately considers to be a volume containing Brut. ii. i., Q. Fr., Oct., and which possibly formed the source from which Cratander obtained Brut. ii. (ep. No. 610 of the Pavia library referred to above, p. 104).

Lehmann thinks that Δ has not any exceptional value, and is not to be rated above Σ . He is of opinion that the discrimination of the different handwritings of M is too delicate a work to admit of the attainment of perfectly solid results; and he thinks that it is quite uncertain what weight should be attached to the readings in M which come from any other hand except the first. For we cannot

be sure whether those readings came from mss, and even if they did, whether the value of those mss was not impaired by the presence in them of conjectures. He proves, by a treatment at once careful and exhaustive (pp. 163-173), that Petrarch's copy of the Veronensis belongs to the Σ class; and, with praiseworthy caution, he refuses to speculate on the nature of the Veronensis. Further, Lehmann specially enters a caveat (p. 160) against the supposition that H-B (cp. p. 106, above) is the parent of all the mss which depend on M. It is very unlikely, he contends, that Poggio should have made such alterations as vi. 1, 25 (252), *haec ego* H-B, *hoc ego* M; x. 10, 4 (382), *mihi tuae* H-B, *tuae mihi* M; xv. 27, 1 (764), *persequitur* H-B, *prosequitur* M; and these happen to be found in Σ , a class which also exhibits such readings as—

- vi. 2, 5 (256), *inambulabam* (inambulando M).
- vii. 13b, 3 (308), *tua coniectura* (*om. tua* M).
- viii. 7, 1 (338), *Domitius* (*om. M*).
- xiii. 29, 2 (605), *noli* (*nil* M).
- xvi. 2, 6 (772), *domo mittito* (*dum omittito* M).

which are also found in H-B. Schmidt (Briefwechsel, p. 445), indeed, supposes that these are conjectures of Poggio's; and that Σ was a ms 'contaminated' of Petrarch's copy of the Veronensis and of H-B. This is a contention which, if proved, would save in a measure Schmidt's views as to M; but he must adduce proof of a cogent and detailed nature before assent can be given to it; and, above all, a definite agreement must be arrived at as to the age of E. Lehmann (p. 135), who has carefully studied it, is of opinion that it is the oldest of the descendants of Ω which we possess, and, accordingly, older than M.

On the whole, as matters stand at present, the views of Lehmann on the essential point, that a large class of mss exists which is independent of M, and that M is not to be taken as the principal basis of the criticism of the Epistles to Atticus, appear to us well founded. We had hoped that that eminent scholar would have been able to give us a complete critical edition of the

Epistles to Atticus;* but that hope has been frustrated by his untimely death, which has carried away his genius and all the records of his vast labours.

There are three other manuscripts mentioned in Lehmann's stemma (given above, p. 110) which are now unfortunately lost, but to which careful attention must be paid, viz. :—(1) the *Würzburg* fragments (W); (2) the manuscript which *Cratander* used in making his edition (1528); (3) the *Tornesianus* (Z).

W.

(1) The *Würzburg* fragments are four in number, consisting of two leaves each, viz. :—

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (a) | Att. vi. 1, 17 (ipsa) | to | vi. 2, 2 (venisset); |
| | and vi. 3, 4 (doleo) | to | vi. 4, 1 (ex). |
| (b) | x. 11, 1 ([scri]bis) | to | x. 15, 4 (his in). |
| (c) | xi. 4, 1 (Hic tua) | to | xi. 6, 2 (adimi). |
| (d) | xi. 7, 4 (tamen) | to | xi. 12, 1 (dixerat).† |

There are also a few short passages of five lines each from xv., viz. from 2. 4: 4. 1: 16: 18. 1, 2. The manuscript of which these fragments survive belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century, and is thus the oldest manuscript of which we know. As it further seems to be free from interpolations, it must be regarded as of the highest importance. It was broken up about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was used to bind account-books belonging to a monastery near *Würzburg*.

* We are unable to assent to Schmidt's view (*Briefwechsel*, pp. 438-441) that, as the Σ class has been discovered, no further account need be taken of the *Tornesianus*, as it is, in Schmidt's opinion, just on a par with Σ . This arbitrary and unsatisfactory theory has been rightly rejected by Gurlitt in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, lxxxiv., p. 108.

In *Hermathena* viii. (1893), pp. 358 ff., we have written a few notes on the mss of the *Epp. ad Att.* which are in the British Museum. They have been further discussed by Mr. Samuel Ball Platner in the *American Journal of Philology*, xx. (N. 3), pp. 292-315.

† (a) and (d) have been discussed by Spengel in *Gelehrte Anzeige der K. bayerischer Academie*, 1846, pp. 926 ff. 916 ff.; (b) by Schepss in *Blätter für das bayerische Gymnasialschulwesen*, xx., p. 7; (c) by Halm in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1863, p. 406.

C. CRAT.

(2) Cratander prepared his edition (1528) with considerable care. He says in his Preface:—

Imprimis usus sum codicibus haud mediocriter vetustis: quorum alii haud non parvis impendiis neque vulgari peregrinatione conquisiti: alii vero amicorum beneficio tam in me quam in omnes eloquentiae studiosos perquam officioso exhibiti sunt: inter quos non paucos neque poenitendos nobis communicavit Io. Sichardus, veterum monumentorum conservator diligentissimus. Unde factum est ut coeptum negotium, principio difficillimum, paulo minori negotio confecerim: quod libenter et ingenue et fatemur et cognoscimus, amicisque acceptum ferimus: multas enim inde mendas sustulimus quae priores aeditiones occuparant: atque id ante omnia in epistolis ad Atticum. Attamen sicubi forte propter mendarum diversitatem eliciendae sententiae difficultas suboriebatur, reliquimus tum ibi eos locos, praefixis literarum formis, signi vice, lectori acutoris iudicii excutiendos et coniectura colligendos.

Now it is well ascertained that Cratander used as the basis of his recension the second edition of Ascensius (A²), which itself rests on the first edition (A¹), and it again on the Roman edition (Rom.) and Jenson's edition* (I), both of 1470. But Cratander introduced many new readings into his text (Crat), and many others into the margin (C). It depends on what view one takes as to the carefulness or carelessness which Cratander displayed in making his edition as to the value to be assigned to these readings. We incline to the belief that he displayed great care, and that his new readings in the text (Crat) and marginal notes (C) are for the most part derived from manuscripts—an opinion which is confirmed when we find both Crat and C agreeing with W or with Z (the Tornesianus). That Crat and C are closely connected with these two mss, and differ from the Italian codices (ΣΔ), may be proved from examples of cases in which these Italian codices have lost words which are found in C or Crat or W or Z; and it is very

* Jenson's edition was based on a codex independent of M, as was long ago seen by Wesenberg: cp. Lehmann *De epp. ad Att. recensendis*, p. 49.

difficult to believe that these words are to be regarded generally as interpolations.*

The following is a list of the principal examples :—

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----------|--|
| ii. | 25, | 1 (52), | non quo faceret Cz. |
| v. | 20, | 10 (228), | honestum Crat Zb. |
| ix. | 15, | 5 (373), | curasti Crat Zb. |
| x. | 11, | 3 (396), | tempora sunt ut W Crat Zb. |
| | | 11, | 5 (396), iocatus Crat, codices Bosii : locatus W. |
| xi. | 5, | 1 (416), | subita re quasi CW : subi M. |
| | | 7, | 5 (420), esse W Crat. |
| | | 8, | 1 (422), est W Crat. |
| | | 12, | 1 (427), me W Crat. |
| xii. | 21, | 2 (557), | aliquid Crat Zb. |
| | | 22, | 3 (558), et cur velim Crat Zb. |
| | | 35, | 2 (577), a te Crat Zb. |
| xiii. | 6, | 4 (617), | coniunctissimos Crat, codices Bosii. |
| | | 45, | 3 (662), nec mehercule nostri studiosiorem, Crat Zb. |
| | | 46, | 3 (663), Cluvi (o Vestorium negligentem) liberam
cretionem Crat Zb. |
| | | 47 | (664), auris nuntius extemplo instituta CZ. |
| | | 52, | 1 (679), vultum Crat Z. |
| xiv. | 20, | 5 (727), | Antoni Crat Zb. |
| xvi. | 1, | 1 (769), | Postridie CZ. |
| | | 3, | 6 (773), absentem Crat Zb. |
| | | 8, | 1 (797), a Capua Crat Zb. |

Gurlitt (*Handschriftliches und Textkritisches zu Ciceros Epistulae ad M. Brutum* in 'Philologus,' 1896, pp. 318-340) has admirably shown, in the case of the Epistles to Brutus, that Cratander carefully corrected A² by the help of the Lorsch ms, No. 4 (see above, p. 98, note), and that Crat truly represents that manuscript. He thinks that Cratander used no other mss than

* This seems to be the view of Dr. O. E. Schmidt (*Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros an Atticus*) in 'Philologus,' 1896, pp. 695-726; but he acknowledges that here and there Cratander may have obtained true readings from W, e.g. xiii. 46, 3 (663). (We are convinced now that the arguments which we adduced on that passage in favour of the words being genuine ought to have kept us from bracketing them: see, too, Roby, *Roman Private Law* i. 397 ff.) Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 127) thinks it doubtful whether Cratander used W.

III. § 2. *EPP. AD QUINTUM, BRUTUM, & ATTICUM.* 115

the Lorsch mss, which he got from Sichert,* in preparing the text of Fam. xi.-xvi. as well as the Epistles to Atticus, to Quintus, and to Brutus: ep. pp. 328, 329.

Z.

(3) The Tornesianus (Z)—so called from Io. Tornesius or De Tourne, a Lyons printer who died in 1564—is known from the notes of Turnebus, Lambinus, and Bosius. The ms contained only the Epistles to Atticus, but these Epistles complete, without the gap in Att. i. or the lacuna at the end of xvi. What we learn of this ms from specific references of Turnebus and Lambinus may be thoroughly trusted. (See Mr. A. C. Clark, *Anecdota Parisiensia ad libros epistularum ad Atticum Tornaesianum et Crusellinum*, in 'Philologus,' 1901, pp. 195-216: and *The Fictitious Manuscripts of Bosius*, in *The Classical Review*, 1895, pp. 241-247.) Less certain are the references of Lambinus to a *v. c.* (vetus codex) though it is probable that the *v. c.* is in many cases the Tornesianus. Though Bosius pretended to have discovered two codices which he styled Crusellinus and Decurtatus (codices which never existed), and is justly stigmatised as 'mendacissimus' (Lehmann, p. 104), yet Mr. Clark (*op. cit.*, p. 198) and Lehmann (p. 112) have shown, especially Mr. Clark, that in what Bosius stated as having come from the Tornesianus his word may be fully trusted; and further that he and Lambinus have between them brought forward nearly all the important readings of Z. In some places it agrees with W as against the Italian codices ($\Sigma\Delta$),† and in many places it and Crat and C have a fuller reading than those codices. See the examples given above, p. 114.‡

Accordingly these three manuscripts, W, Crat C, Z, all belong to a Germanic or Gallic family which is independent of the Italian tradition. See Lehmann's stemma given above, p. 110.

* See also Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ff., for some account of the mss which Sichert obtained from the Lorsch library.

† For example, vi. 3, 6 (264) praefecti WZ profecto $\Sigma\Delta$ Crat: xi. 10, 2 (425) Italia CWZ alia $\Sigma\Delta$. See also x. 11, 3, 5 (396), above.

‡ Dr. O. E. Schmidt (*op. cit.*, pp. 710-719) considers that Z was a manuscript which contained many conjectures and interpolations of the Italian family, and that it is accordingly of little value; but we are unable to feel convinced by his arguments.

APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION.

THE COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS.

THE *brochure* on the duties of a candidate for the consulship, usually styled the *De petitione Consulatus Liber*, is not so called by any writer before the date of the mss in which it is preserved. The author of the Essay himself seems to have wished it to be known by the title *Commentariolum Petitionis* (by which name we shall therefore designate it), and to have hoped that his work, though primarily intended for the guidance of one particular candidate, would be regarded as a compact and convenient handbook of electioneering tactics by future aspirants to office in Rome. It takes the form of a letter. In no ms has it an inscription inconsistent with the character of a letter; the epigraph of perhaps the best ms, the *Codex Erfurtensis* (F)—see above, p. 98—is *Q. M. Fratri S.D.*; that of the Harleian ms (H) is *Quintus M. fr. sal. dic.* The Italian mss collated by Lagomarsini, and the *Parisini* of Voss, are (with perhaps unnecessary warmth) designated as a *sterquilinium* by Bücheler. One of these unsavoury mss (L 38 of Lagomarsini) strangely ascribes the authorship to the great Marcus, and makes the treatise a letter to his brother Quintus: other Lagomarsinian mss take the ordinary view, and ascribe the letter to Quintus; while one (L 117) has this inscription:—*De petitione Consulatus ad Q. aut M. Ciceronem Fratrem. Quod opusculum pars M. Ciceronis, pars Quinti esse volunt. Phrasis autem et ratio Quinto adiudicant, nam solus Marcus consulatum gessit. At cuiuscunque est poenitendum certe non est, et quia orationis saltem paraeneticæ formam habet, caeteris apposuimus.* Another of these Lagomarsinian mss (No. 50), which was used by Lambinus, appears to be of exceptional excellence, and deserves careful attention.

That the *Commentariolum* was a letter written by Quintus to his brother Marcus during his candidature for the consulship is the verdict of every editor from Valerius Palermus to Bücheler. But Eussner not only refuses it the name of a letter, but holds that it is a *cento* from certain works of Cicero, compiled by some learned man, much given to

logical division, but quite destitute of grace or force of style, who, on account of his accurate familiarity with the details of the period of Cicero's candidature, and by reason of his considerable acquaintance with the style of the Ciceronian age, must be held to have flourished about the end of that period.*

One cannot but agree, to some extent, with Eussner's view as to the lack of literary merit in the *brochure*. It derives its interest neither from grace of style nor from its matter and contents. It owes its interest chiefly, if not altogether, to one circumstance—the very circumstance on which Eussner grounds his view. It is this. The *Commentariolum* has two or three vigorous attacks on the competitors of Cicero, clothed (notably in one instance) in powerful and original phrase. These reappear almost word for word in the fragments of Marcus Cicero's *Oratio in Toga Candida* preserved in the Commentary of Asconius. To account for this phenomenon only two theories are possible (for the coincidence cannot be accidental): either (1) M. Cicero borrowed from the author of the *Commentariolum*, or (2) the author of the *Commentariolum* borrowed from M. Cicero. The latter is the opinion of Eussner, who fancies that he can detect in the *Commentariolum* plagiarisms not only from the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, but from the *pro Plancio*, the *pro Murena*, and the first letter of Marcus to his brother Quintus on the Duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1, Ep. 30). As the speech *pro Plancio* was written A. U. C. 700 (b. c. 54), the *Commentariolum* must, on this hypothesis, be posterior to the consulship of Cicero by about ten years. The theory is, of course, at the very outset, confronted by the difficulty (which Eussner does not attempt to meet) that it represents the author of the *Commentariolum* as keeping up an elaborate parade of ignorance, and carefully concealing his knowledge of the issue of the contest and other such matters, of which knowledge not a vestige appears in the *Commentariolum*. For instance, the author speaks of Catiline, not Antonius, as Cicero's most formidable opponent. Now, surely, the compiler postulated by Eussner would not thus have neglected the chances of the ultimately successful candidate, and in so doing depreciated his counsel by betraying his want of political foresight; the more especially as he might have estimated never so highly the chances of Antonius' success without at all betraying his knowledge of the issue. When the author of the *Commentariolum* speaks of Catiline as Cicero's most formidable opponent, surely the natural inference is that the tract was written in the beginning of the year 690 (b. c. 64), when

* "Qui, cum et earum rerum, quae Cicerone petente consulatum agebantur, admodum gnarus sit, et ab eo, qui illa aetate vigeat, sermone non alienus esse videatur, tempore ab ipsa Ciceronis aetate proximo floruisse putandus est."—*Eussner*, p. 22.

Catiline's prospects actually did look bright, or at least before the month of June, when his excesses had begun to swell the ranks of Antonius' supporters; unless Eussner is prepared to maintain that his compiler of set purpose introduced statements falsified by the issue, so as to conceal the posterior origin of the *brochure* and to impart to it the appearance of having been the work of Quintus, under whose name he wished to recommend to posterity his own Essay. But it will not be necessary to apply such tests to demonstrate the unsoundness of Eussner's theory, if it can be shown that he has altogether failed to establish any such coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and any work of Cicero (save the *Oratio in Toga Candida*), except merely fortuitous coincidences in words, such as might exist between any two works of the same period.

Before, therefore, any examination is made of these supposed plagiarisms from the *pro Plancio*, *pro Murena*, and the first letter to Quintus, a brief notice may be taken of the *positive* arguments for the authorship of Quintus, and of Eussner's objections against the same.

The *Commentariolum* cannot have been written before 690 (64), as Bücheler has shown, because, of the six candidates mentioned by Asconius as competing with Cicero, only two are deemed worthy of consideration. Now, we know from Att. i. 1 (10), that in July, 689 (65), it was not certain even who would come to the poll; so that we must allow some time for the waxing and waning of the candidature of four other competitors. Moreover, the verdict in the trial of Catiline, which took place probably about November of 689 (65), is spoken of as not a very recent event. The date of the Essay, therefore, cannot have been earlier than the beginning of 690 (64). But it must have been written before June, 690 (64), for Catiline's chances are preferred to those of Antonius; but we know that about June the supporters of Catiline began signally to fall away. Therefore the date of the Essay may be placed in the beginning of 690 (64). The positive arguments, then, for the authorship of Quintus are these:

(1). At this period Quintus would have had abundant leisure for the composition of his Essay, for he had just laid down his aedileship. And now, too, the treatise would have been particularly well timed, if looked on in the proper light, namely, as an attempt to point out the tactics of a really able canvass, which, however, should in nowise conflict with the law; for the five years immediately preceding the candidature of Cicero were singularly fertile in laws regulating the procedure at elections, and in prosecutions for infringement of the same. Now, the *Commentariolum* preaches a rigorous purism in keeping within the letter of the law: for instance, *nomenclatores* are not recommended, as they were forbidden by a

recent, but universally neglected, enactment.* Quintus, therefore, might have conferred on his brother a really solid benefit in mastering the recent legislation on the subject of *ambitio*, and pointing out how far he could avail himself of the arts of electioneering without coming into collision with the law. This task would have demanded the leisure which Quintus had and Marcus lacked.

(2). This Essay is a *libellus isagogicus* on the model of the treatise in which Varro had recently, 684 (70), given instructions to Pompey how to hold a senate as Consul. We are told by Gellius (xiv. 7) that this treatise was afterwards lost, and that Varro subsequently treated the same subject in a letter to Oppianus. May not the *Commentarium isagogicum* of Varro have suggested to Quintus his *Commentariolum petitionis*? and may not the form chosen by Quintus have suggested to Varro, in the second edition, the idea of throwing his tractate into the shape of a letter?

(3). From Q. Fr. iii. 1, 23 (148) we may infer that Quintus was familiar with the precepts of Epicharmus. Now, in Comm. 39 we have the words *quamobrem* Ἐπιχάρμειον *illud teneto* 'nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere'—a maxim afterwards quoted by Marcus (Att. i. 19, 8, Ep. 25) in its Greek and metrical form,

νάφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

(4). In Att. ii. 3, 3 (29) Cicero says to Atticus, 'Θεοφρόστον περὶ φιλοτιμίας *affer mihi de libris Quinti fratris*': Quintus, therefore, had in his library a work which may have suggested to him the treatise, or at least aided him materially in its execution.

(5). The whole letter of Marcus to Quintus on the subject of the Duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1, Ep. 30) reads as a companion essay to the *Commentariolum*; it is a practical expression of the degree to which Marcus appreciated the sympathy of his brother at a critical time; and probably would never have been written but for the *Commentariolum*, with which it about coincides in length. Moreover, it contains many expressions which seem directly to refer to the Essay of Quintus: for instance, *Quod si ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 43); and again, *idcirco et tua longissima quaque epistula maxime delector, et ipse in scribendo sum saepe*

* Lange, *Röm. Alt.* ii.³ 666. It was possibly a clause in the law of Aurelius Cotta, 684 (b. c. 70). Καὶ νόμου γραφέντος ὑπὸς τοῖς παραγγέλλουσι εἰς ἀρχὴν ὀνοματολόγοι μὴ παρῶσι, χιλιαρχίαν (*tribunatum militum*) μετῶν μόνος ἐπέλεθε τῷ νόμῳ.—Plut. Cat. Min. ch. 8.

longior (*ibid.* 45). To this be it added, that we learn from the letters of Marcus to Quintus *passim*, that Marcus habitually in all important affairs sought from his younger brother and gratefully acknowledged such practical counsels as form the staple of the *Commentariolum*. Other arguments which might be adduced as positive evidence for the authorship of Quintus will more fitly fall under the answers to Eussner's objections against the same, which we now proceed to consider.

(1). The first objection of Eussner to the belief in Quintus's authorship is, that the author of the *Commentariolum* begins not with the very beginning of Cicero's *petitio*, in the middle of July, 689 (65), when Cicero *prensandi initium facere cogitarat in campo comitiis tribuniciis* (Att. i. 1, 1, Ep. 10), but at a considerably later period, when his only formidable rivals were Antonius and Catiline. Now, this circumstance seems to point unmistakably to an inference directly contrary to that which Eussner draws. Surely the compiler postulated by Eussner would have begun from the very beginning, and thus given artistic completeness to his Essay; Quintus, on the other hand, writing in the beginning of 690 (64), omits the past, for which counsel is now unavailing, and addresses himself to the task of advising his brother under the circumstances which actually surround him.

(2). Again, Eussner argues that Quintus, who had held no office but aedileship, must have been quite unqualified to instruct his brother, who had already distinguished himself as praetor, quaestor, and curule aedile. The coincidences between the *Oratio in Toga Candida* and the *Commentariolum*—coincidences which we fully admit—would, in the mind of Eussner, show Marcus in the light of a base plagiarist, if Quintus were the author; 'fac' (says Eussner) 'tam humilis atque abiecti animi fuisse Marcum hominem eloquentissimum, ut quod ipsi emendandum esset commendatum fratris opusculum expilaret.' But this is an utterly false point of view on the part of Eussner. The letter was written by Quintus in order to bring together under the view of his brother, and in an organized shape, maxims of procedure which were, no doubt, familiar to him, but which it might be convenient to have by him reduced to a system, *non ut aliquid ex iis novi addisceres, sed ut ea quae in re dispersa atque infinita viderentur esse, ratione et distributione sub uno aspectu ponerentur* (Comm. 1). This Quintus had abundant leisure to do, having just laid down his aedileship; *haec sunt quae putavi non melius scire me quam te, sed facilius his tuis occupationibus colligere unum in locum posse et ad te perscripta mittere* (Comm. 58). Marcus was at liberty to use (as he did in his *Oratio in Toga Candida*) some vigorous expressions taken from his brother's letter in denunciation of his rivals, as much as he was at

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liberty to act on the practical precepts therein enjoined; nor is he open to the charge of undue appropriation in the one case more than in the other. Nay, more; suppose it to be granted for a moment that it would have been a dishonest act to have made use in his speech of these expressions found in his brother's letter, not even so would the character of Marcus suffer, for we learn from *Comm.* 58* that Quintus submitted his work to the criticism of Marcus, requesting him to curtail, enlarge, and modify it as he thought fit, and hinting that if it met with his brother's approval, he might publish it as a guide to future candidates, though an incomplete one (he owns), as having primary reference only to Marcus and his election. These expressions, then, in which the *Oratio in Toga Candida* and the *Commentariolum* coincide, may have been inserted by Marcus, in accordance with his brother's request.†

As to the unfitness of Quintus to offer counsel to Marcus, we need only observe that such unfitness was not felt by Marcus. He says afterwards of Quintus, *ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adiuvisisti* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 43, Ep. 30); and in the same letter, *quid enim ei praecipiam quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intellegam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem?* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 18). Moreover, all the letters of Marcus to Quintus afford everywhere proofs that Marcus sought and found a valuable counsellor in Quintus in all the most important of his affairs, and fully appreciated his worth as an adviser. Nor did Marcus despise his brother's literary gifts; afterwards, in speaking of a poem, probably the *Annales* referred to above, which Quintus submitted to him, just as he submitted the *Commentariolum*, for correction and revision, the prince of stylists did not think it humiliating to say, *sine ulla mehercule ironia loquor; tibi istius generis in scribendo*

* *Quae tametsi ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnes qui honores petant, sed ad te proprie et ad hanc petitionem tuam valeant, tamen tu, si quid mutandum esse videbitur aut omnino tollendum aut si quid erit praeteritum velim hoc mihi dicas.* From these words Tydeman argues that Quintus cannot have been at Rome when he wrote the *Commentariolum*, as in that case he would in a personal interview have asked his brother to criticise his Essay, instead of embodying the request in the Essay itself. Bücheler draws the opposite inference because Quintus writes *velim hoc mihi dicas* instead of *velim hoc mihi scribas*. Tydeman is probably right; *dicere* is used constantly for a communication made by letter. Eussner sees in the absence of date and address an argument for the fictitious character of the letter. So Sergeant Buzfuz maintained that it was a circumstance 'in itself suspicious' that the second communication of Mr. Pickwick to Mrs. Bardell bore no date. There is not any date to Q. Fr. i. 1 (30).

† So afterwards Quintus requests his brother to correct and edit his *Annales*, *Q. frater me rogat ut Annalis suos emendem et edam* (Att. ii. 16, 4, Ep. 43). Marcus readily complied with his brother's request.

priores partis tribuo quam mihi (Q. Fr. iii. 4, 4, Ep. 152). In truth, that it would be undignified in the great and distinguished Marcus to ask or accept literary aid from the humble Quintus, is a point of view far more likely to occur to a modern *savant* than to an ancient Roman, especially such a Roman as the gentle, refined, and high-minded M. Cicero.*

(3). The *Commentariolum* is, according to Eussner, below the style of Quintus, as described by his brother, and unlike the four letters from Quintus found in the correspondence of Cicero, Fam. xvi. 8, 16, 26, 27 (314, 927, 814, 815). But Eussner does not allow for the kindness so strongly characteristic of Cicero, which led him to overstate his brother's merits. We have seen above that Marcus pronounces his brother superior to himself in poetry. Now, it seems to us that Cicero's *Aratea*, and other poetical fragments, not excepting the much-decried *O fortunatum*, &c., will well bear comparison with the twenty hexameters of Quintus, *De XII signis*, which may be taken as typical of the poetry of Quintus, if the four surviving letters may be looked on as sufficient basis for a judgment on his prose style. To us it seems that the *Commentariolum* is worthy of the letters; nor does it differ from them in tone and style more than a practical treatise cast in an epistolary mould would naturally differ from a familiar letter—than the letter of Marcus on the duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1, Ep. 30) differs from those jocular letters of gossip and chit-chat which we meet so often in his private correspondence.

Eussner and Bücheler greatly exaggerate the imperfection of the style of the *Commentariolum*, though, of course, both it and the letters of Quintus are incomparably below the standard of Marcus. Many of these supposed defects would pass quite unnoticed if the work had been attributed to Marcus; indeed, many of them can actually be paralleled in the writings of the great orator. For instance, the frequent use of *quoniam* in the *Commentariolum* is severely animadverted on by Bücheler and Eussner; this conjunction is used seven times in Q. Fr. i. 1, Ep. 30, and but eight times in the *Commentariolum*. That *anaphora* that is so offensive to Bücheler and Eussner in the *Commentariolum* passes unnoticed, or is a pleasing figure in the hands of Marcus, when he writes *nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 8); and at least half a dozen other instances of *anaphora* may be found in that letter. The

* For other expressions of Marcus, eulogistic of the literary merit of his brother, see, for example, Q. Fr. iii. 1. 19 (148); De Orat. ii. 10.

writer of the *Comm.* is guilty of vile taste in allowing the *v* sound to recur so often in a sentence (*Comm.* 54), *in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensionem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias*; but Marcus goes unreprieved when he writes *vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 41). Again, the frequent use of the phrases *cura ut, cogita ut, fac ut*, is condemned in the *Comm.*, but passes unnoticed in Q. Fr. i. 1. In both letters these phrases occur with unusual frequency; but this is because both letters are didactic expositions addressed to a single individual. But everywhere what would be called happy boldness in Marcus is tasteless affectation in Quintus.

“ That in the *Consul*’s but a choleric word,
Which in the *Aedile* is flat blasphemy.”

Eussner even ascribes a post-Ciceronian origin to the *Commentariolum*, because we find in *suffragatorius*, § 26, a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. Not to mention ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Marcus, we have only to turn to one of the four admittedly genuine letters of Quintus to find *dissaviabor* (Fam. xvi. 27, 2, Ep. 815). If in four short letters we find a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, we need not be startled at finding another in an Essay about ten times as long as the four letters together.

(4). The *Commentariolum* does not reflect the character of Quintus, as described by Marcus. We find no traces of the *iracundia* which was his besetting sin. This, in our mind, strongly *disproves* the authorship of Eussner’s supposed compiler, who would most certainly have attempted to make his work seem an authentic letter by introducing some traits or expressions in keeping with the character of Quintus, as described by his brother in many places, and especially in that very letter which was supposed to be one of the sources of the compiler’s *cento*, namely, the letter (Q. Fr. i. 1) on the Duties of a Provincial Governor. Here it may be observed that Eussner was unfortunate in selecting the works of Marcus from which was patched up the forged letter. Among them, it will be remembered, was the *Oratio pro Murena*, which (as we shall see), in Eussner’s opinion, the compiler must have studied very closely. Now, in this speech (Mur. 30), Cicero expressly says, *duae sunt artes quae possint locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis, una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni*. Is it not strange that, though in this speech, so closely studied by the compiler, it is laid down that there are two roads to the highest office, military distinction and forensic preëminence, yet he should have dwelt on the latter alone in the *Commentariolum*, and completely passed over the former?

These are the main supports of Eussner’s argument, which chiefly rests on the supposed plagiarisms in the *Commentariolum*, not only from

the *Orat. in Tog. Cand.*, but from the *Orat. pro Plancio* and *pro Murena*, and from Q. Fr. i. 1 (30)—plagiarisms which, in his opinion, show the treatise to be a mere piece of patchwork from the writings of M. Cicero.

We shall now point out the remarkable coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, and then examine the grounds on which the author of the *Commentariolum* is deemed by Eussner to have availed himself, not only of the *Oratio in Toga Candida* in framing his literary forgery, but also of the letter of Marcus to Quintus on the Duties of a Provincial Governor, the *Oratio pro Murena*, and the *Oratio pro Plancio*. The coincidences between the *Comment.* and the *Or. in Toga Candida** are found only in the part of the *Comment.* which deals with the denunciation of Cicero's rivals. These are as follow:—

Writing of *Antonius*, Quintus says:—

(a). Vocem denique audivimus iurantis se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse. (*Comm.* 8.)

Of the same, Marcus says:—

(a). In sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse. (*Orat. in Tog. Cand.*, § 2, ed. Müller.)

In describing the murder of Marius Gratidianus by Catiline, Quintus says:—

(b). Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano . . . ceciderit . . . collum . . . secuerit. (*Comm.* 10.)

Marcus says of the same deed:—

(b). Populum vero, cum inspectante populo collum secuerit hominis maxime popularis, quanti fecerit ostendit. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*, § 9.)

Again, Quintus:—

(c). Vivo spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit . . . caput sua manu tulerit. (*Comm.* 10.)

Marcus:—

(c). Quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus . . . manibus ipse suis detulit. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*, § 19.)

In touching on the incest of Catiline with Fabia, a Vestal virgin, Quintus says:—

(d). Qui nullum in locum tam sanctum et tam religiosum accessit, in quo non, etiam si alia culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinqueret. (*Comm.* 10.)

* It may be useful here to observe that Asconius never mentions the *Commentariolum*, and seems not to have been aware of its existence.

Marcus :—

(d). Cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*, § 22.)

Quintus, in speaking of the chances of the election of Antonius and Catiline, says :—

(e). Quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rempublicam sicas destringere. (*Comm.* 12.)

Marcus :—

(e). Qui posteaquam illo quo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non poterant, duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam sicas destringere. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*, § 27.)

In addition to these remarkable coincidences of expression, we find a marked coincidence of treatment; we learn from Asconius that, in denouncing Catiline, Marcus dwelt on his having put to death certain Roman knights, especially Q. Caecilius; adverted to his profligacies, his malversation of Africa, the depositions at the trial, and the verdict; and we learn that he upbraided Antonius with the public sale of his goods: now all these topics find place, and in the same order, in the *Commentariolum*. But, of course, coincidences of treatment might be accidental: not so the remarkable coincidences of expression just adduced. We may observe, too, how Marcus, in adopting the topic or the expression of his brother, adds some additional force or point to the words adopted. This is especially observable in (b) and (e), while in (d) the same subject is treated by each writer exactly as befits the case of each. The allusion in the passage is to the case of Fabia, a Vestal, who was accused of an intrigue with Catiline, tried for unchastity, and acquitted. This Fabia was the sister of Terentia, the wife of Marcus, and Terentia took refuge with her afterwards in the Temple of Vesta when Cicero fled from Rome (*Fam.* xiv. 2, 2, Ep. 79). It is this connexion with his own family that makes Marcus careful to add *etiam cum culpa nulla subesset*; Quintus, in the words *etiam si alia culpa non esset*, does not quite so emphatically acquit Fabia.

In the face of these remarkable coincidences, it is strange that Eussner should persuade himself that he has made out his case that the pseudo-Quintus had availed himself of the *Orat. pro Murena* and *Pro Plancio*.

It would occupy too much space were a full list of the supposed plagiarisms from the *Orat. pro Mur.* and from Q. Fr. i. 1 (30) given. There are fifteen imputed coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and the *pro Mur.*, and seventeen between the *Comment.* and Q. Fr. i. 1. If

anyone desires to see the whole list set out in full, he may consult *Hermathena*, No. v., pp. 53-57, where there is a Paper of which the above remarks are an abstract. The fact is that between the *Comm.* and the *pro Mur.* there is not a single real coincidence but one; and in this case it is probable, though not at all certain, that Marcus in his speech availed himself of a reminiscence of his brother's Essay, which he, perhaps, may have been recently editing. It is this:—*pro Mur.* 43 *nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit (neque in uno aut altero animadversum est, sed iam in pluribus), simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur*; *Comm.* 56 *atque haec ita volo te illis proponere non ut videare accusationem iam meditari*. Even here we have not a very striking coincidence. It was possibly as much a general and acknowledged feature of electioneering good taste and wisdom at Rome not to meditate an accusation against your opponents, as it would be with us not to criticise an opponent's personal and private affairs: and thus to both writers in treating of similar circumstances the same consideration occurred independently. But what is to be said of this:—*pro Mur.* 48 *cum populum Romanum in eum metum adduxisti*; *Comm.* 23 *adducenda amicitia in spem?* Surely it is an insult to the understanding of his readers, when Eussner quotes a sentence as a plagiarism because it has a word or a construction in common with another sentence. And here are some of the plagiarisms which prove that the *Comment.* was patched up out of bits of *Q. Fr. i. 1, Ep. 30*:—*Ep. 7 cuius natura talis est ut . . . videatur moderata esse potuisse*; *Comm.* 9 *quum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum*. *Ep. 10 quid ego de Gratidio dicam*; *Comm.* 10 *quid ego nunc dicam?* *Ep. 37 praetermittendum esse non puto*; *Comm.* 10 *mihi non praetermittendum videtur*. *Ep. 38 nihil . . . te fieri posse iucundius*. *Comm.* 16 *carum et iucundum esse maxime prodest*.

The *Orat. pro Plancio* Eussner omits to examine in detail, 'cum non ita multi loci cum *Commentariolo* consentiant.' It would be easy to construct a large list of coincidences as close as those cited from *Q. Fr. i. 1*, and the *Orat. pro Murena*.

So much for Eussner's attempt to disprove the authorship of Quintus. If coincidences such as those which he adduces were really sufficient basis for such a theory, one would have very little hesitation in undertaking to prove that Macaulay's History was the work (let us say) of Mr. Gladstone. But what would be sufficient ground on which to base the disproof of the authorship of Quintus? It would be sufficient to point to some event mentioned in the Essay which occurred after the death of Quintus, or to show that ignorance is betrayed of some fact of which Quintus must have been cognizant. No attempt has been made to allege

the existence of any allusion in the letter to any event subsequent to the time of Quintus. On one point, however, Eussner has attempted to fix an inaccuracy on the author of the *Commentariolum*. It is this—*Nam hoc biennio* (says Quintus), *quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundani, Q. Galli, C. Corneli, C. Orchivi* (*Comm.* 19). On the words of Cicero, *alter induxit eum quem potuit ut repente gladiatores populo non debitos polliceretur* (*Orat. in Tog. Cand.*, § 12), Asconius has this note: *Q. Gallium, quem postea reum ambitus defendit, significare videtur. Hic enim, cum esset praeturae candidatus, quod in aedilitate quam ante annum gesserat bestias non habuerat, dedit gladiatores sub titulo patri se id dare.* Asconius, therefore, places the trial of Q. Gallius subsequent (*postea*) to the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, therefore in 690 (64) at the earliest: on the other hand, the author of the *Commentariolum* (as understood by Bücheler and Eussner) places the trial two years back, that is in 688 (66). Now be it remarked, in the first place, that it is by no means necessary that we should understand *hoc biennio* to mean *two years ago*: the words might as well mean that all those trials by which Marcus had won so much influence had occurred *in the course of the last two years*.* But even granting that *hoc biennio* should be understood to mean *two years ago*, there is not the least ground for charging Quintus with inaccuracy. Quintus is probably right, and Asconius wrong. Such is the view of Bücheler, who shows that, in the matter of the gladiators at least, Asconius has blundered, in ascribing to Gallius what was the act of Catiline, as we know from the distinct testimony of Cicero himself. If, then, Asconius erred about the gladiators, may he not have erred about the date of the trial of Gallius? Bücheler says *yes*; Eussner says *no*; however, Eussner offers no reason for his belief, but will not give up the only inaccuracy which he has been able to allege against his fancied compiler, who, writing at least ten years after the time of Cicero's candidature, has not (if this allegation be abandoned) incurred even the suspicion of a mistake.

In our opinion, therefore, the *Commentariolum petitionis* was written about the beginning of 690 (64); the author was Q. Cicero; it was intended primarily to be of practical service to M. Cicero in his candidature, but the author hoped that after it had undergone the revision of his eminent brother, it might be deemed to have a substantive value as a manual of electioneering tactics. Whether Marcus ever actually did undertake the work of revising his brother's Essay we cannot be certain. We know that in the case of the *Annales* Marcus promptly complied with a like request; *ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus*

* For other examples, see Roby, § 1182.

rebus vis adiuvabo, et tibi versus quos rogas, 'Athenas noctuam,' mittam (Q. Fr. ii. 15 (16), 4, Ep. 147). On the other hand, we see that the Essay still labours under that incompleteness which its author owns, *ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnis qui honores petant, sed ad te proprie et ad petitionem hanc valeant* (Comm. 58). Marcus, however, would hardly have employed his editorial authority in divesting the letter of its primary and special application to his glorious consulship. The letter did not, probably, find its way into the earliest collections of the correspondence of Cicero made immediately after his death, for Asconius seems to have been ignorant of the existence of the *Commentariolum*.

We have left the above criticism of Eussner remain in virtually the same state as it appeared in our second edition: for Eussner was until comparatively recently the only scholar of repute who attacked the authenticity of the *Commentariolum*. It is held to be genuine by Teuffel (*Roman Literature*, § 190), by Leo (*Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1895, pp. 447-450),* and by Schanz (*Geschichte der röm. Litteratur*, § 179, in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, vol. viii.). However, recently Mommsen (*St. R.* iii. 484, 3 and 497, 3) has explicitly indicated that he considers that the work was not by Quintus.† Gurlitt also, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* (1898, No. 2, p. 4), and Gudeman (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxv., p. 154, 2) seem to regard the work as one composed by a rhetorician of the first century A.D., who modelled this Essay on Q. Fr. i. 1 (Ep. 30), and worked into it passages from Marcus Cicero's speeches in *Toga Candida* and *pro Murena*, and possibly some others. In this they have followed Mr. George Lincoln Hendrickson, who, in the *American Journal of Philology* (xiii. (1892), pp. 200-212), had in a most scholarly manner attacked the authenticity of the treatise. Recently Mr. Hendrickson has written a more elaborate monograph on the subject, entitled *The Commentariolum Petitionis attributed to Quintus Cicero* (in the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1902), reiterating his views, and supporting them with additional learned arguments.

We cordially acknowledge the ability and erudition in these two treatises, and the excellence of some of the alterations in the text

* Leo considers that the work is a real letter rather than a *commentariolum*, not intended for publication in the form in which it now stands (see Comm. *ad fin.*). It was, he thinks, not published until after the time of Asconius. Thus Asconius (p. 84) adduces the names of men murdered at Catiline's instigation: if he had known Comm. § 9, he might have added at least one more name, Titinius.

† Yet at p. 114, 5 he seems tacitly to allow that Quintus was the author.

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proposed therein; but as to the main thesis we confess that we are not convinced. The burden of proof of course rests on those who deny the authenticity, as the external authority of the mss virtually agrees in assigning it to Quintus. Now, it is not any argument against the authorship of Quintus to point out that the *Commentariolum* is written according to scholastic rules,* nor to show how very laboured and wooden the divisions and subdivisions of the treatise are.† Indeed, Prof. Leo, as Mr. Hendrickson (p. 18) points out, considers that the elaborate *partitio* is an archaic feature and characteristic of the Stoical philosophy, to which Quintus inclined,‡ and is thus a mark of genuineness. We may be sure that there were plenty of laboured essays produced in the schools in Cicero's time; even the *De Inventione* of Cicero himself is somewhat wire-drawn in its divisions; though it was Cicero's merit in his later rhetorical treatises to have abandoned what Teuffel (§ 181) calls the "barren schematism of the scholastic rhetoric" for a more attractive style. Nor is it surprising that the heads of the discourse are somewhat similar to those recommended by Quintilian, and in a measure actually exemplified in two *suasoriae* attributed to Sallust, and addressed *ad Caesarem senem de republica*. In any case where advice or information is given,§ it is almost essential that, in case a methodical plan is adopted, the consideration must turn on the subject-matter of the advice or information, and on the powers and circumstances of the person addressed: and if the pseudo-Sallustian treatises, as well as the *Commentariolum*, explicitly state that the person addressed cannot be ignorant of the points which are urged, but that possibly he may be too busy to see at once all the sides of the question, such a statement is no more than an ordinary expression of politeness, and would naturally occur to independent writers, especially when the person addressed in each case was an active man of affairs.

* This will cover the arguments, from rhythmical considerations, adduced by Mr. Hendrickson, pp. 18-21.

† Leo (p. 448) refers to Brut. 302, which shows the great ability Hortensius possessed as regards elaborate divisions of his speeches into heads; and he compares Pro Quinctio 35 *totam causae meae dictionem certas in partis dividam. Tu (sc. Hortensius) id semper facis quia semper potes.*

‡ In De Div. i. Quintus is introduced defending the Stoical view of divination.

§ It has been noticed above (p. 119) that the work which Varro addressed to Pompey was of a similar nature to the *Commentariolum*: cp. Gellius xiv. 7, 1 (*Consulatum*) *Pompeius cum initurus foret, quoniam per militiae tempora senatus habendi consulendique, rerum expertus urbanarum fuit, M. Varronem, familiarem suum, rogavit uti commentarium faceret εἰσαγωγικόν—sic enim Varro ipse appellat—ex quo disceret quid facere dicereque deberet cum senatum consuleret. Eum librum commentarium, quem super ea re Pompeio fecerat, perisse Varro ait in litteris quas ad Oppianum dedit.*

The special cases in which there is a correspondence between the *Or. in Toga Candida* and the *Commentariolum* do not admit of deciding the priority between the two treatises. Thus in (*e*), quoted above, p. *125, even supposing that the treatment of the idea by Marcus is superior to that of Quintus—a point urged by Mr. Hendrickson*—it does not necessarily prove more than that Marcus was a greater artist than Quintus: he may have improved the setting of an idea supplied by his brother. It is *a priori* probable that a point would be improved and not spoiled by repetition, especially in the hands of a competent stylist. That *video esse* in Comm., § 54, introduces a quotation or appeal to authority, and thus probably refers to Horace Sat. i. 3, 58, is unlikely.† Most interesting is the correspondence noted by Mr. Hendrickson between Comm. 45 *illud difficilius . . . quod facere non possis ut id aut . . . iucunde neges. . . . Nam cum id petitur quod honeste aut sine detrimento nostro promittere non possumus, quo modo si qui roget ut contra amicum aliquem causam recipiamus belle negandum est*, and Publilius Syrus in Gellius xvii. 14 fin. *Pars benefici est quod petitur si belle neges*, owing to the somewhat unusual expression *belle negare*, and the fact that Publilius Syrus appears to have been admired by the young men of the rhetor Seneca's time;‡ and thus it may be argued that the author of the Comm. probably adopted these very words from Publilius. But the expression is one that would naturally occur to both writers, when they came upon the topic of courteous refusals: and it is not probable that the author would have drawn upon Publilius Syrus for just one expression, and not availed himself of many other of the wise sayings of that interesting author.

Mr. Hendrickson, with excellent judgment, lays no great stress on the discrepancy between Asconius 88 and Comm. 19 as regards the time at which Cicero defended Gallius. It is probable that Asconius is in error (cp. Leo, p. 450, note 1). Mommsen (St. R. iii. 484, 3) notices that in Comm. 33, "in der in früher Zeit dem Q. Cicero untergeschoben

* P. 5. "But it will hardly be questioned, I imagine, that, looked at *per se*, the place where the metaphor is most natural and in most organic relation to the context is most likely to be the original place of its occurrence."

† The passages quoted by Mr. Hendrickson in support of this view—De Leg. ii. 8 *hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam*: Orat. 67 *video visum esse nonnullis*—are not quite parallel: because the essential words which make those passages appeals to authority are *sapientissimorum* and *nonnullis*; and no such words are found in Comm. 54. The appeal is merely to experience, as in Comm. 56 *Video nulla esse comitia tam inquinata largitione quibus non gratis aliquae centuriae renuntient suos magno opere necessarios*.

‡ Cp. Controv. vii. 3 (18), 8, p. 325, ed. Kiessling *Memini Oscum cum loqueretur de hoc genere sententiarum quo infecta iam erant adolescentulorum omnium ingenia, queri de Publilio, quasi ille iam hanc insaniam introduxisset*.

Bewerbungsschrift,"* Marcus Cicero would not have spoken of the *adulescentuli*, who were the *ordo equester* proper, as a mere section of that *ordo*. But that does not preclude the supposition that a less accurate writer like Quintus may have done so; and from the close of the fifth century of the city the *ordo equester* had a much wider signification than the *equites equo publico*. Quintus may have differentiated the *equites* proper and the *ordo equester*, as Livy would seem to have done.†

These points, however, even supposing that they were to be regarded as mistakes, are rather slight ones. Far more striking, on the other hand, is the vivid and accurate view that the treatise gives of Cicero's position towards the different parties and factions in the active world of politics at Rome about the time of his consulship. This point is well insisted on by Cauer (*Ciceros politisches Denken*, p. 77, note), whose remarks are well worth quoting:—

Die politische Lage der Jahre 64 und 63 und Ciceros Stellung dazu tritt uns in der Schrift seines Bruders Quintus de petitione consulatus sprechend entgegen: Darin liegt ein Beweis für die Echtheit dieses Werkchens, neben dem alle Bedenken nicht ins Gewicht fallen. Es würde einem späteren Rhetor unmöglich gewesen sein, ein Augensblicksbild aus einer schnelllebigen Zeit so scharf zu erfassen und Ciceros politische Haltung so bis in alle Feinheiten zu verstehen. Auf den ersten Blick sehen wir freilich nur einen Politiker, der, unbekümmert um alle sachlichen Fragen, aus berechnendem Ehrgeiz sich mit allen gut zu stellen sucht. Bei genauerer Betrachtung aber

* He makes a similar remark at p. 497, 3. In this latter note Mommsen suggests two good emendations in Comm. 33 *et inde habes tecum* for *deinde habes tecum*: and in the next sentence he reads *tum autem me m i n i* (*tum autem emi* mss.) *quod equester ordo tuus est: sequuntur autem* (the Erf. ms. gives this *autem*, but the Harleian omits it) *illi auctoritatem, &c.* Unfortunately we did not know of this emendation before the text was printed off, otherwise we should have accepted it. Nor did we know of Mommsen's almost certain correction (St. R. iii. 114–5) of Comm. 30 *habeto rationem urbis totius, collegiorum, montium* (for *collegiorum omnium*), *pagorum, vicinitatum*, with which he compares Cic. De Domo 74 *nullum est in hac urbe collegium, nulli pagani aut montani (quoniam plebes quoque urbanae maiores nostri conventicula et quasi concilia quaedam esse voluerunt) qui non amplissime non modo de salute mea sed etiam de dignitate decreverunt.* The contrast of *montani* and *pagani* is not infrequently found, cp. Varro L.L. vi. 24 *Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus in quis sita Urbs est: feriae non populi, sed montanorum modo; ut Paganatia qui sunt aliquotius pagi*; and Festus 340, 15 *montani paganive sifis ('pipes') aquam dividunt.*

† Livy xxi. 59, 9, *ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit: sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfeti*; cp. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 224: "The word *equites* primarily and properly applied only to the citizen cavalry of 1800 men, serving on horses supplied by the State. These formed the *centuriae equitum equo publico*; and this class was the *ordo equester* in the

zeigt sich doch, wie verschieden Cicero zu den verschiedenen Parteien und Gruppen steht. Mit den Rittern ist er eng verbunden, dem Senat hat er durch sein bisheriges Tun eine Bürgschaft für seine konservative Gesinnung gegeben, das Volk soll er mit demokratischen Redensarten und Huldigungen gegen Pompeius abspesen. Vgl. besonders 53: *Atque etiam in hac petitione maxime videndum est, ut spes rei publicae bona de te sit et honesta opinio; nec tamen in petendo res publica capessenda est neque in senatu neque in concione, sed haec tibi sunt retinenda, ut senatus te existimet ex eo, quod ita vixeris, defensorem auctoritatis suae fore, equites et viri boni ac locupletes ex vita acta te studiosum otii et rerum tranquil-larum, multitudo ex eo, quod dumtaxat oratione in concionibus et iudicio popularis fuisti, te a suis commodis non alienum futurum.*

Mr. Hendrickson concludes his paper with some good suggestions. Thus, he is undoubtedly right in reading *sorum* for *soris* in § 9. F has *sorum* (according to Mr. Hendrickson, who has himself consulted the ms), and H *sorore*, with correction to *sorum* by the original hand. He also, in § 41, advocates the reading of Lag. 50 *speciem* instead of *spem*, as *spem in republica* ought to mean Cicero's own hope or confidence in the State, not the expectation entertained by the State of the line he would take in politics, which would have to be the meaning if § 53 referred to *spes in republica* here. Mr. Hendrickson holds that we should read *speciem in publico* (comparing Tacitus Dial. 6 *quae in publico species!*), and that the treatment of this head is contained in § 52, a section introduced in *Postremo*. This is an excellent suggestion, and probably right.

In conclusion, we wish again to draw attention to Mommsen's (St. R. iii. 114, 5) brilliant correction of *collegiorum omnium, pagorum* to *collegiorum, montium, pagorum*, mentioned above, p. *131, note.

strict sense. It is true that *equites* had come to have a wider meaning than this. About the close of the fifth century, individuals possessing a certain census, and not included in the equestrian centuries, were permitted to serve as cavalry with their own horses. They were no definite body, but were selected for a particular service by the commander, if the censors had admitted their pecuniary qualification. The consequence was that the terms *eques* and even *ordo equester* were transferred to these potential knights, and came to specify all who possessed a certain census, which, in the Principate and probably in the later Republic, was 400,000 sesterces."