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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

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vol. I Nr. 1-89

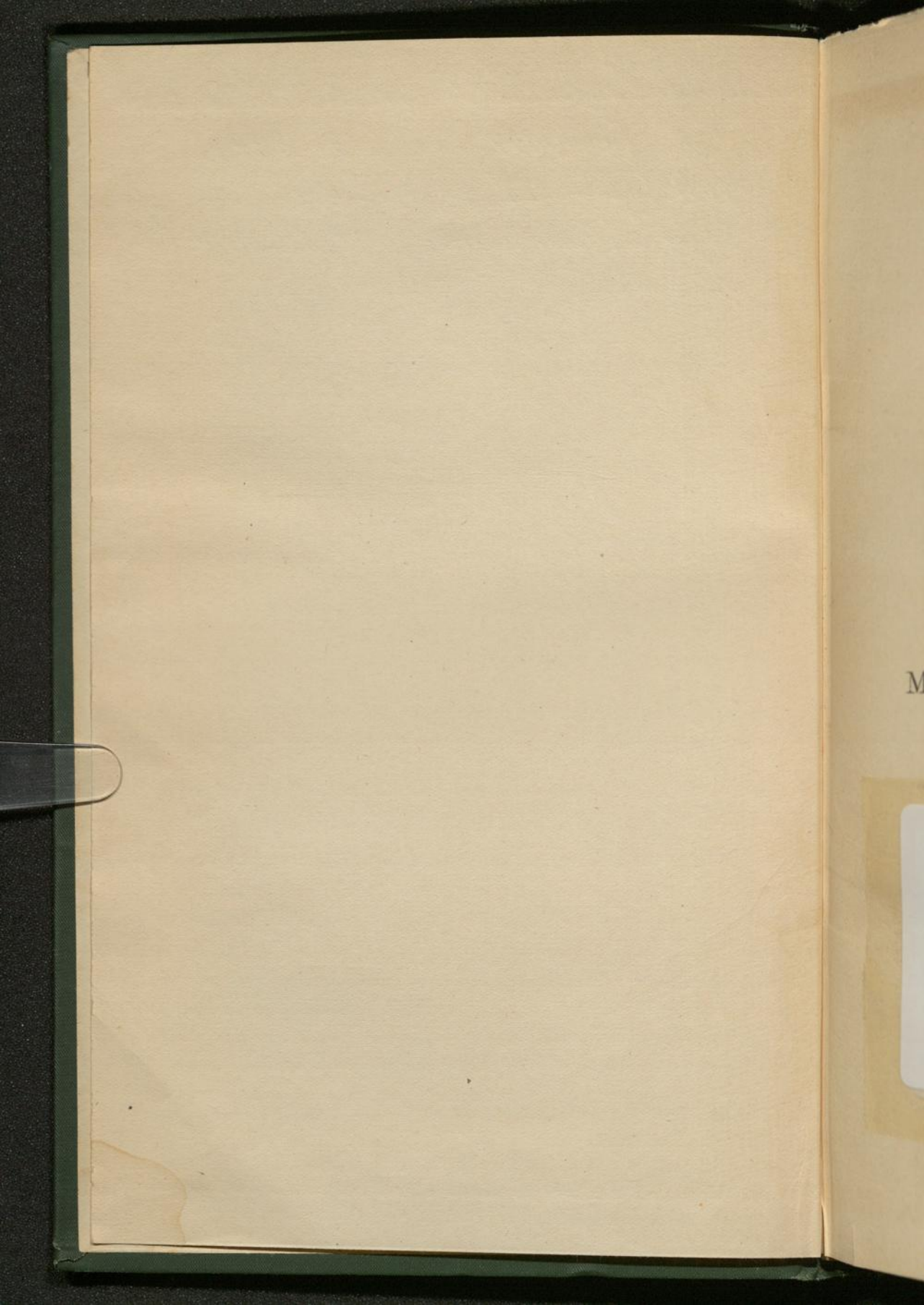
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<u>III</u>	183-300	a. 57-52
<u>IV</u>	301-544	a. 49-init. 45
<u>V</u>	545-786	
<u>VI</u>	787-931	init. ab Sept. 44

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Jérôme Cartopino, Les secrets de la cour.
de Cior. Paris 1947. 2 vol. 446. 494 p.

ref. W. Enßlin DLZ '49, 396-403

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vol. V p. 285



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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

UB Wuppertal



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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

BY

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University of Dublin.*

VOL. I.

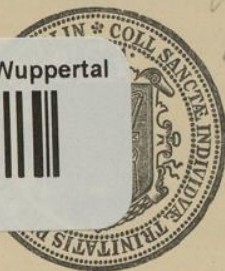
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THIRD EDITION.

DUBLIN: HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., LTD., GRAFTON STREET.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

1904.

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GVIIH 1060(3)-1

PRINTED AT THE



By PONSONBY & GIBBS.



Standort: W 10
Signatur: GVIIH 1060(3)-1
Akz.-Nr.: 84/7256
Id.-Nr.: W4693220

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PREFACE.

THE Second Edition of this volume was published just twenty years ago, and since that time many important works bearing on Cicero's Epistles have been issued. Chief among these have been the stately critical edition of the *Epistulae ad Familiares* by L. Mendelssohn (1893); Lehmann's *De Ciceronis Epistulis ad Atticum recensendis et emendandis* (1892); the critical edition of the whole Correspondence by C. F. W. Müller, a work of great learning (1896-1898); Lehmann's edition (1892) of Hofmann's *Ausgewählte Briefe*, lately revised by Sternkopf (1898), which contains full critical notes (as far as the selected letters are concerned) of the various manuscripts of the Σ class (see Introduction, pp. 107-112)*; and O. E. Schmidt's *Der Briefwechsel Ciceros von seinem Prokonsulat in Cilicien bis zu Caesars Ermordung* (1893). We trust that we may soon have from this distinguished scholar another volume of the same kind, dealing with the earlier period

* Whatever statements we have made as to the readings of these manuscripts are based on what has been told us by Lehmann in the two above-named works of that scholar.

of Cicero's Correspondence. The number of Dissertations, Monographs, Articles, and Notes touching on questions of criticism, elucidation, history, and antiquities, suggested by the Epistles is very great; and the stream shows little sign of losing its fulness. Besides the scholars we have named, the services done to Cicero's Correspondence by Gurlitt and Sternkopf are in the highest degree valuable; and, during the last few years, Professor J. S. Reid, of Cambridge, has written in *Hermathena* a series of most interesting and learned articles on the Epistles. To all these scholars we are deeply indebted, and here gladly acknowledge our obligations in a general way: in each passage where they have afforded especial assistance we have endeavoured to make special acknowledgment.

The order of the letters has, for the most part, been maintained as it stood in the Second Edition—not that scholars have not proved that order in some cases to be wrong*—but to make changes would have rendered references all through the succeeding volumes of our edition untrustworthy; and a table of the dates of the several letters, which is given at the end of this volume, will (it is hoped) preclude any serious misguidance.

* Thus Mr. Clement Smith, in the *Harvard Studies* (vol. vii., pp. 71–84), has proved that the order of the early letters in Att. iii. is 1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6; not 3, 2, 4, 1, 5, 6, as we have given them. See Addenda to the Commentary, Note VI. In this connexion we wish to note our regret that, owing to ignorance of Sternkopf's valuable papers referred to in that Note, we adopted an erroneous reading in Att. iii. 4 (58). The passage should run as is indicated on p. 433, not as it is printed on p. 359. Attention must further be drawn to Mommsen's excellent suggestions indicated on p. *131, note, *memini* for *emi* (Comm. 33), and *montium* for *omnium* (ib. 30). We also wish to correct *sororis*, in *Commentariolum Petitionis*, § 9, into *sorum*, Mr. Hendrickson, of Chicago, having satisfactorily shown that this is the right reading; see p. 132*.

PREFACE.

vii

The difficult question as to Metrical Prose in Cicero's Epistles, which has been raised by Prof. Henri Bornecque's work, *La Prose métrique dans la Correspondance de Cicéron* (Paris, 1898), we hope to discuss in a new edition of Volume II., which, we trust, will be published before the end of next year.

DUBLIN,

September, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—HISTORICAL.

§ 1. ON THE CHARACTER OF CICERO AS A PUBLIC MAN.

IN putting forth an edition of the Letters of Cicero in their order as written, one may dispense with the labour of telling over again the oft-told tale of Cicero's life. The salient facts are set down in a short summary prefixed to each year of Cicero's correspondence. But it will be convenient to take a broad view of Cicero's position in public and private life before we enter on the study of a series of letters which present to us the picture of the downfall of the Roman Republic. No picture could be sadder than this. The most tragic of spectacles is the baffled strength of a blind giant, the helplessness of a Hercules Furens or a Samson Agonistes. And it is with feelings not different that we regard that Republic which had developed such great vital forces, such a disciplined subordination of imagination to logic, and of the individual to the State, slipping into a despotism through the unworthiness of an oligarchy who were either unconscious of her decadence, or even indifferent to it.

The present instalment of the correspondence of Cicero includes only eighty-nine letters. But these are of the highest interest, as they follow the fortunes of Cicero from his entrance into public life through his exile to his restoration. We have prefixed to future volumes of this work some estimate of the character of Cicero as it appears in the letters of those volumes. Our observations at present will mainly have reference to the earlier part of Cicero's career.

The gusts which had menaced the Republic from without had died away before the storm began to brew within. The year after Cicero's birth witnessed the conclusion of the Jugurthine War by Marius and his quæstor Sulla—ominous conjunction; and Cicero was only six years of age when Marius and the pro-consul Catulus,* by their victory over the Cimbri, made Rome safe from their Northern foes. Henceforth 'foreign levy' is but a tool in the hands of 'malice domestic.' In the year of the city 666 (88), the tribune P. Sulpicius, in transferring to Marius the command and province of Sulla, first exercised a power which was afterwards fatal to the Republic—a power which was crushed by Sulla, which was restored by Pompey, which made Pompey despot by the Gabinian and Manilian Laws, and which finally ruined him. In 669 (85) we have a definite foretaste of the Empire in the spectacle of two rival Roman generals—Flaccus and Fimbria—opposing, each in his own interest, Mithridates, the common foreign foe.

In 674 (80), at the age of 26 (just ten years before his famous prosecution of Verres, which may be looked on as launching him in public life), Cicero pleaded his first public or criminal cause. As the last words of the Master-Orator were a denunciation of the tyranny of Antony, so the maiden speech of the rising advocate was levelled against the oppression of Sulla.† It is evident that the charge of parricide brought against Sex. Roscius of Ameria was a political charge; yet in this speech, as well as in his defence of a woman of Arretium the following year, Cicero dared to lift up his voice against injustice, even though not only fear, but strong public partisanship, might have sealed the lips of one who describes the régime of Sulla in the words *recuperata respublica* (Brut. 311).

* His word was regarded as synonymous with truth, as the common saying, *hoc verum est, dixit enim Q. Lutatius* (De Orat. ii. 173), testified.

† He thus describes its nature in the *De Officiis* (ii. 51): *maxime autem et gloria paritur et gratia defensionibus, eoque maior si quando accidit ut ei subveniatur, qui potentis alicuius opibus circumveniri urgerique videatur: ut nos et sæpe alias et adulescentes contra L. Sullae dominantis opes pro S. Roscio Amerino fecimus: quæ, ut scis, exstat oratio.* The speech *pro Quinctio* was probably delivered in 673 (81): but it was a civil, not a criminal, case. The remarks in that speech about the proscriptions (§ 70) would seem to prove that the speech was delivered in the latter half of the year, as the proscriptions came to an end in June.

This bold step on the part of Cicero has been reflected on in two different ways. Plutarch (Cic. 3) ascribes to the fear of Sulla's vengeance the departure of Cicero for Greece in the following year, though his nominal plea was bad health. This theory shows clearly how dangerous must have appeared to Plutarch the bold front shown to the powerful dictator, but can hardly be accepted as accounting for the journey to Greece, inasmuch as the tyrant threw down the dagger the very year of Cicero's absence. But again, Cicero has been accused of showing in this proceeding a readiness to coquet with democracy. Now this is an entirely misleading point of view, and rests on a misconception of the Roman Bar in the days of Cicero.

The young Roman of promise seeking to work his way into political eminence was forced to adopt the profession of an advocate. And how does the advocate distinguish himself? By winning his case; and we have seen by the passage from the *De Officiis* just quoted, that the more difficult and dangerous was the case to handle, the more fitted it was to supply to the daring advocate a step on the ladder of promotion. The young Roman aspirant to political distinction looked about for some one to impeach or some one to defend as his only means of gaining public notice. There was hardly a man of eminence at Rome who had not appeared both as prosecutor and as defendant. Plutarch tells us that Cato the Censor was prosecuted nearly fifty times, and he was constantly engaged in the prosecution of others.

In the year 689 (65) Cicero, in a far more democratic speech, defended the tribune Cornelius, against whom the Optimates had trumped up a charge of treason. Cicero spoke in defence of the tribune for four successive days. This speech, embellished as it was with an elaborate eulogy of Pompey, is quoted by Quintilian (iv. 3, 13) as an illustrious instance of the power with which a great orator can wield his digressions.* In another passage (viii. 3, 3), Quintilian again refers to the same speech in these words:—

‘Nec fortibus modo sed etiam fulgentibus armis proeliatur in causa Cicero Corneli; qui non† consecutus esset docendo iudicem tantum et

* Cicero seems to call these rhetorical artifices *καμπαι* in one of his letters, Att. i. 14, 4 (20).

† So the ordinary reading. Halm, after Spalding, reads *nec fortibus modo sed etiam*

utiliter demum ac Latine perspicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam non acclamatione tantum sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto et magnificentia et nitor et auctoritas expressit illum fragorem. Nec tam insolita laus esset prosecuta dicentem, si usitata et ceteris similis fuisset oratio. Atque ego illos credo qui aderant nec sensisse quid facerent nec sponte iudicioque plausisse; sed velut mente captos et quo essent in loco ignaros erupisse in hunc voluptatis affectum.'

Such was the feeling which Cicero desired to evoke. He spoke for Cornelius as he spoke against Verres, as Whiteside spoke for O'Connell, in the pursuit of professional distinction, and to establish his growing fame as an unrivalled speaker and pleader. Quintus, in his *Commentariolum Petitionis*, emphatically urges the vast importance of a reputation as a speaker.* Yet modern historians see in these speeches evidence that Cicero at first attached himself to the democratic party, which he was bribed to abandon by the promised support of the Optimates in his canvass for the consulship. This charge would certainly have been met and rebutted by Cicero in some of his works if it had ever been made against him in his own time. He would doubtless have been astonished if he could have foreseen that this would be one of the 'verdicts of history for which,' as he says,† 'I feel much more reverence than for the chit-chat of the present age.' We may well exclaim, as did the orator himself in this same speech, *O callidos homines, O rem excogitatam, O ingenia metuenda!*

We should not have thought it necessary to refer to the calumnies which beset Cicero on the very threshold of public life, but that it is so very important to show how futile is the appeal to his

fulgentibus armis proeliatur (sc. is qui dicit): <an> in causa Cornelii Cicero consecutus esset . . . confiteretur?

* Friedrich Cauer (*Ciceros politisches Denken*, 1893, p. 71) points out that this view hardly does full justice to Cicero. In both the speech for Roscius and for Cornelius, Cicero felt he was supporting justice and right. The Sullan proscriptions were always censured by Cicero (Off. ii. 27; De Orat. iii. 12); and we may add that the courageous opposition to senatorial jobbery by the public-spirited Cornelius must have appealed to Cicero's enthusiasm. Indeed, a branch of that kind of jobbery, for attacking which Cornelius was himself attacked by the senatorial party, was restricted by Cicero's own consular law against *liberae legationes*.

† *Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicarint? Quas quidem ego multo magis vereor quam eorum hominum qui hodie vivunt rumusculos*, Att. ii. 5, 1 (32).

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forensic speeches as evidence for Cicero's political opinions. For these we must go first to his private letters, and secondly to his philosophical and rhetorical works. That we are not to look in these speeches for his personal opinions, we have his own evidence in a most important passage in his speech for Cluentius (139):—

‘Errat vehementer si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in iudiiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitrat. Omnes enim illae orationes causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum aut patronorum. Nam, si causae ipsae pro se loqui possent, nemo adhiberet oratorem. Nunc adhibemur, ut ea dicamus, non quae nostra auctoritate constituentur, sed quae ex re ipsa causaque ducantur.’

Moreover, we have the same circumstances viewed from opposite, or at least very different, points of view in different speeches, as no one can fail to observe who reads the *pro Sulla* with the speeches in *Catilinam*, or who, after admiring the denunciations hurled on Verres for his oppression of Sicily, takes up the defence of M. Fonteius, charged with malversation in Gaul—a speech delivered the year after the Verrines were written.* And such contrasts, no doubt, would far more frequently appear if Cicero had oftener been a prosecutor. Hence Cicero's personal opinions should never be sought in his forensic speeches. Even in his political speeches one must not expect a too accurate record of his real convictions. Who, for instance, could for a moment believe that in the speech against the wise and moderate Agrarian Law of Rullus† Cicero was speaking otherwise than as an advocate?

* Compare also with the language of the Catilinarian speeches the very temperate portrait of Catiline in the *pro Caelio* (§ 12).

† This Law, in at least one of its aims, was conceived in a spirit of wise and moderate statesmanship. But the principle of drafting off the idle population of Rome as colonists of the public domain was the pet scheme of the Gracchi, and was identified with the democratic programme. Cicero, therefore, as an optimate, was bound to oppose it, the more so as the extensive powers assigned to the Commissioners seemed distinctly menacing to the State; and he has shown amazing adroitness in turning the passions of the people against a scheme with which he must to a great extent have sympathised. Surely the etiquette of party government must have rendered every Englishman familiar with such acts. Afterwards, in 694 (60), when it was not a party question, he spoke strongly in favour of a similar Agrarian Law proposed by Flavius.—Att. i. 19, 4 (25). This passage is well worth reading. It expresses Cicero's real opinions on the Agrarian Question: cp. Addenda to Commentary, Note III., and Friedrich Caer (Ciceros politisches Denken, 1893, pp. 94-105).

And hence we may estimate the priceless value of the private letters and the works on philosophy and rhetoric. As an instance of an unprejudiced expression of his real opinion in his rhetorical treatises, one recalls his high praise* of Sulpicius, whose defection from the ranks of the Optimates must have made him politically very distasteful to one whose ideal statesmen were Metellus Numidicus,† and Q. Lutatius Catulus.‡ That the public letters are by no means so trustworthy might be expected *a priori*; and we have among them letters in which one can hardly believe that the expressed sentiment is sincere—for instance, the letter to Antonius (Att. xiv. 13 b, Ep. 717), in which he uses such very temperate expressions to describe his feelings towards his old enemy Clodius.

In his private letters, however, we expect to find his real opinions. But his private letters, though a fountain of light to those who read them with intelligence and without a theory, may be made the source of a formal *acte d'accusation* against the whole character and life of Cicero in the hands of a theorist who insists on reading letters which (never intended to be published) reflect every passing light or shade which falls across the disc of the writer's mind, as so many chapters of a history which registers and stereotypes at each page the political convictions of a statesman. M. Gaston Boissier, in his admirable study of Roman society in the last days of the Republic, called *Cicéron et ses amis*, points out how the man of the world is really more fitted to read the letters of Cicero aright than the German professor. We think we shall not do ill in giving this passage in M. Boissier's own words:—

‘Ces faiblesses d'un moment, ces soupçons ridicules qui naissent d'une blessure d'amour-propre, ces courtes violences qui se calment dès qu'on réfléchit, ces injustices qu'arrache le dépit, ces bouffées d'ambition que la raison s'empresse de désavouer, une fois qu'on les a confiées à un ami, ne périssent plus. Un jour, un commentateur curieux étudiera ces confidences trop sincères, et il s'en servira pour tracer de l'imprudent qui les a faites un portrait à effrayer la postérité. Il prouvera, par des citations

* De Orat. i. 131–2, iii. 31. Brut. 183, 203.

† Pro Sest. 101. Pro Planc. 89.

‡ De Orat. iii. 9.

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exactes et irréfutables, qu'il était mauvais citoyen et méchant ami, qu'il n'aimait ni son pays ni sa famille, qu'il était jaloux des honnêtes gens, et qu'il a trahi tous les partis. Il n'en est rien cependant, et un esprit sage ne se laisse pas abuser par l'artifice de ces citations perfides. Il sait bien qu'on ne doit pas prendre à la lettre ces gens emportés, ni croire trop à ce qu'ils disent. Il faut les défendre contre eux-mêmes, refuser de les écouter quand la passion les égare, et distinguer surtout leurs sentiments véritables et persistants de toutes ces exagérations qui ne durent pas. Voilà pourquoi tout le monde n'est pas propre à bien comprendre les lettres; tout le monde ne sait pas les lire comme il faut. Je me défie de ces savants qui, sans aucune habitude des hommes, sans aucune expérience de la vie, prétendent juger Cicéron d'après sa correspondance. Le plus souvent ils le jugent mal. Ils cherchent l'expression de sa pensée dans ces politesses banales que la société exige et qui n'engagent pas plus ceux qui les font qu'elles ne trompent ceux qui les reçoivent. Ils traitent de lâches compromis ces concessions qu'il faut bien se faire quand on veut vivre ensemble. Ils voient des contradictions manifestes dans ces couleurs différentes qu'on donne à son opinion suivant les personnes auxquelles on parle. Ils triomphent de l'imprudence de certains aveux ou de la fatuité de certains éloges, parce qu'ils ne saisissent pas la fine ironie qui les tempère. Pour bien apprécier toutes ces nuances, pour rendre aux choses leur importance véritable, pour être bon juge de la portée de ces phrases qui se disent avec un demi-sourire et ne signifient pas toujours tout ce qu'elles semblent dire, il faut avoir plus d'habitude de la vie qu'on n'en prend d'ordinaire dans une université d'Allemagne. S'il faut dire ce que je pense, dans cette appréciation délicate, je me ferais peut-être encore plus à un homme du monde qu'à un savant.*

* pp. 19-21. We may fitly add here, as connected with this point of view, the same brilliant writer's estimate of the German detractors of Cicero, such as Drumann and Mommsen—'Drumann surtout ne lui passe rien. Il a fouillé ses œuvres et sa vie avec la minutie et la sagacité d'un homme d'affaires qui cherche les éléments d'un procès. C'est dans cet esprit de malveillance consciencieuse qu'il a dépouillé toute sa correspondance. Il a courageusement résisté au charme de ces confidences intimes qui nous font admirer l'écrivain et aimer l'homme malgré ses faiblesses, et, en opposant l'un à l'autre des fragments détachés de ses lettres et de ces discours, il est parvenu à dresser un acte d'accusation en règle où rien n'est omis, et qui tient presque un volume. M. Mommsen n'est guère plus doux, seulement il est moins long. Comme il voit les choses de haut, il ne se perd pas dans le détail. En deux de ces pages serrées et pleines de faits, comme il sait les écrire, il a trouvé moyen d'accumuler plus d'outrages pour Cicéron que n'en contient tout le volume de Drumann. On y voit notamment que ce prétendu homme d'Etat n'était qu'un égoïste et un myope, et que ce grand écrivain ne se compose que d'un feuilletoniste et d'un avocat. Voilà bien la même plume qui vient d'appeler Caton un don Quichotte et Pompée un caporal. Comme il

It is misleading—nay, absolutely false—to say that Cicero made overtures to democracy. He exercised on every cause entrusted to him his unrivalled abilities as a pleader; but he who says that the author of the speech *pro Cornelio* was coquetting with democracy might as well say that the author of the speech *pro Sulla* was intriguing with anarchists. His projected defence of Catiline is put forward as an advance towards the popular party. But on what evidence? Catiline was not, at the time of his trial for his malversation in Africa, in any sense the accredited successor of Gracchus or Saturninus, of Sulpicius or Cinna. It was not till the year 691 (63) that Catiline came forward as a popular champion. The chief charge which Cicero brought against him as his opponent for the consulship was the charge of his murder of M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relation of C. Marius, in the Sullan proscriptions. Cicero, in a passage of the *pro Caelio*, says that Catiline at one time nearly imposed on himself, and that he quite suddenly discovered the desperado's designs, having previously hardly harboured a suspicion of him.* Of course these words are to some extent the pleas of the advocate of Caelius, but they could not have been used to the jury if Catiline had always stood in a menacing attitude.

Cicero never coquetted with democracy, though he accepted the brief of Roscius and Cornelius, and entertained the idea of defending Catiline. He could win his way to distinction in public life only by his position at the Bar; and a high position at the Bar was not to be made by the picking and choosing of briefs. Had he defended Catiline, he would have spoken for him as he did for Fonteius, charged with a similar offence, and his act would not have been looked on as an overture to the democratic party, even if Catiline had been the acknowledged leader of that party—

est toujours préoccupé du présent dans ses études du passé, on dirait qu'il poursuit dans l'aristocratie romaine les hobereaux de la Prusse, et qu'il salue d'avance dans César ce despote populaire dont la main ferme peut seule donner à l'Allemagne son unité.'—pp. 26, 27.

* Or. *pro Cael.* 14 *Me ipsum, me, inquam, quondam paene ille decepit, cum et civis mihi bonus et optimi cuiusque cupidus et firmus amicus ac fidelis videretur: cuius ego facinora oculis prius quam opinione, manibus ante quam suspicione deprehendi: cuius in magnis ceteris amicorum si fuit etiam Caelius, magis est ut ipse moleste ferat errasse se sicuti non nunquam in eodem homine me quoque erroris mei paenitet, quam ut istius amicitiae crimen reformidet.*

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a position which, we submit, Catiline did not hold, or even claim, at the time of his trial. Cicero might of course have served the interests of his canvass by defending Catiline, who could hardly have acted very strenuously against his own advocate, and who would probably have made common cause with Cicero against Antonius. It is probable, too, that as a matter of fact Cicero did not actually defend Catiline. The *Oratio in toga candida* offers important evidence on that point.

In that speech Cicero reproachfully recalls to the memory of Antonius some slight services done to him when Antonius was candidate for the praetorship, and he upbraids Q. Mucius, a tribune, with his unfriendly conduct, reminding him how he, Cicero, had defended him on a charge of peculation. Is it, then, possible that if Cicero had really defended Catiline, he would have failed to remind him of the fact? Again, if Cicero had really defended Catiline, could he possibly have used the words which are found in the very same oration, *miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum*? But if Cicero had defended Catiline, his act would have been neither immoral nor unprofessional. Catiline was at this time neither worse nor better than other Roman governors, who, when they were invested with power, as a rule misused it. But the detractors of Cicero speak as if he had thought of defending Catiline, the declared enemy of the State, the character blackened by the denunciations of the Catilinarian invectives—as one might speak of Burke if, after impeaching Warren Hastings, he had undertaken the defence of Sir Elijah Impey. If Cicero, to improve the prospects of his own candidature, had defended Catiline on a charge of extortion, he would not have given greater offence to Roman sentiment than would now be given to English sentiment if a respectable and rising politician, who was also a barrister, defended some young nobleman who had squandered large sums of money on the turf. England, happily for her subjects, does not look on proconsular malversation with the lenient eyes of ancient Rome.*

* The arguments drawn from the *oratio in toga candida* have been urged by Asconius against Fenestella, who maintains that Cicero did defend Catiline. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus., 1879, p. 352) puts forward the theory that Asconius, writing about 60 A.D., cannot

Dio Cassius, a historian who lacks sympathy with great men, and who regards Cicero in particular with distinct disfavour, criticises him thus on the first occasion in which he mentions him:—ἐπημποτέριζέ τε γάρ (*he was a trimmer*), καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἢν' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζεταιται ἔπραττε.* This foolish taunt has been echoed by the greatest of modern historians of Rome. Theodor Mommsen so far forgot the high functions of the historian in the self-imposed task of finding in Caesar the perfect man, that in introducing for the first time to his readers one who (however we may regard his character) must ever be among the most prominent figures in the picture of the dying Republic—one who in literature at least must ever be a marvel to the world—he can find no more respectable terms to use than 'the notorious political trimmer, M. Tullius Cicero.'†

have known the passage, Att. i. 2, 1 (11) *hoc tempore Catilinam competitorem nostrum defendere cogitamus*. Hence he argues that the collection of the letters to Atticus which we have could not have been published till after the period of Asconius.

* xxxvi. 43. Dio Cassius seems not to have read the letters at all. See note on Att. ii. 24, 2 (51), where Dio's extraordinary theory about the real nature of the obscure plot of Vettius is given and commented on. In the Clodian episode alone he exhibits a kindly feeling towards Cicero: but he does so, as Professor Gudeman (*The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero*, Philadelphia, 1902, p. 41) has shown, not because he disliked Cicero less, but because he disliked Clodius more. He more than once states that Cicero was censured for his tergiversation and called a 'deserter' (ἀνδρόμολος: cp. xxxvi. 27; xxxix. 63). And there is no doubt that Cicero incurred ill-report in that respect, as may be shown from the story told by Seneca (Rhet. Controv. vii. 3, 9) of the answer which Laberius made to him. The story runs, *Laberium divus Iulius ludis suis mimum produxit, deinde equestri illum ordini reddidit: iussit ire sessum in equestria: omnes ita se coartaverunt ut venientem non reciperent. Cicero male audiebat tamquam nec Pompeio certus amicus nec Caesari, sed utriusque adulator. Multos tunc in senatum legerat Caesar et ut repletet exhaustum bello civili ordinem et ut eis qui bene de partibus meruerunt gratiam referret. Cicero in utramque rem iocatus est, misit enim ad Laberium transeuntem, 'recepissem te nisi anguste sederem.' Laberius ad Ciceronem remisit, 'atqui soles duabus sellis sedere.' Uterque elegantissime, sed neuter in hoc genere servat modum*. But in an age of violent factions a man of moderation and conscientiousness will always incur the charge of tergiversation.

† In the same spirit Mommsen dismisses Cato with a remark on the irony of fate which had decreed that the epilogue of a great political tragedy should be spoken by the fool. But his choicest flouts and jibes are kept for Pompey, because, when he returned at the head of his army after the Mithridatic War, he did not make himself master of Rome. The theory of the historian seems to be that any general who is strong enough to play successfully the rebel and traitor must be a fool if he refuses the part. To the German historian his refusal is inexplicable, except on the hypothesis that he did not see his chance.

This criticism is not only flippant and altogether inapplicable to a person of the proportions of Cicero, but it rests (as we have endeavoured to show) on a misrepresentation of the position of a Roman advocate.

It is idle to seek to suppress or evade the fact that Cicero was looked on as a great power* by those who had intelligence enough to see that the tongue is as great an instrument of government as the hand. And he who had the strongest hand in those days and the largest brain, the great Julius Caesar, saw best what a power was Cicero. Indeed, one of the most picturesque traits in a very picturesque character is the pertinacity with which Caesar refuses to be repulsed by Cicero. After he had failed to gain the great orator to his own interests, he showed true magnanimity by offering him one of his own lieutenancies to protect him from Clodius, and afterwards by offering him a place among the twenty commissioners. The seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the letters to Atticus record frequently the desire of Caesar, couched in the most manly and respectful terms, to gain over the great Marcus Tullius, or at least to secure his neutrality.† Plutarch (Cic. 39) gives a striking description of the trial of the arch-traitor Q. Ligarius, which, though very highly coloured, tends to show the influence of Cicero over the victor of Pharsalia, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοίντου Λιγαρίου δίκην φεύγοντος, ὅτι τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμίων εἰς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἰπεῖν τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “Τί κωλύει διὰ χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκούσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλαί κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολέμιος;” ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει, καὶ προὔβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἰέναι χρόας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καίσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατὰδηλον εἶναι· τέλος δὲ τῶν κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀφαμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων, ἐκπαθῇ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἔνια τῶν γραμματείων. Τὸν γοῦν

* A strong tribute to the personal reputation of Cicero is preserved in a letter from Cato (a man not likely to misrepresent the state of feeling at Rome), congratulating Cicero on the *supplicatio* which he himself had felt bound to oppose; see Fam. xv. 5, 1 (266).

† The magnanimity of Caesar a few years later sometimes wrings from Cicero an almost involuntary expression of admiration; see Fam. vi. 6, 10 (488); iv. 4, 4 (495).

ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος. Such is the effect produced on Caesar—surely not a man to be caught by varnished superficiality—by the man whom Mommsen flouts as ‘a journalist in the worst sense of the term,’ a ‘thorough dabbler,’ who was ‘nothing but an advocate, and not a good one.’*

In estimating the character of Cicero, and his relations with the men of his time—especially the man of his time, Caesar—the detractor of Cicero has a great advantage. Whatever tells against Cicero tells against him with damning force, for the witness against Cicero is Cicero himself, his letters being the main authority for much of the history of this period. But when the letters place Cicero in a favourable light—when, for instance, they show us Caesar suing for his adhesion, and regarding his literary works with admiration—then, say the detractors, we have Cicero posing, the literary man conceiving a picturesque position and placing himself therein, elevating himself to a pedestal to be worshipped by the great man of the age. Now, to such a view we can only make this reply. For much that is most admirable and amiable in the character of Cicero, as well

* A letter of Cicero to Paetus shows how much Caesar valued even the lighter efforts of the great consular.—*Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracere iudicium, et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret, ‘Hic versus Plauti non est, hic est,’ quod tritas auris haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine legendi, sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod adferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, reicere solere: quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt necum fere cotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse illis cum dixi nec illitterata nec insula esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur: ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet.*—Fam. ix. 16, 4 (472).

It is astonishing how the pursuit of a theory may blind a historian to the proper appreciation of things. Here is the comment of Duruy on the relations between Cicero and Caesar described in the words just quoted—‘Content de la royauté qu’il avait toujours, celle de l’esprit, il ne laissait percer les regrets qu’en de malignes plaisanteries. Ce rôle de frondeur spirituel plaisait à César; il se délassait d’adulation. Chaque matin on lui apportait les bons mots de Cicéron, et il en faisait un recueil. L’ancien consulaire, le père de la patrie, devenu le bouffon de la tyrannie!’ *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 532.

Mommsen has well observed that in the soul of Caesar there was room for much besides the statesman. It is a pity that in his view of the relations between Caesar and Cicero he has so completely forgotten this just and profound remark. If he had remembered it, he might have added some touches, not the least graceful, to the portrait of his ideal man.

as for all that may be made the object of reprehension or contempt, our main authority is his correspondence. This correspondence (of course we refer to the private letters, which form so much the larger part of the collection, not the letters to public characters, which are in every way such as his speeches) to us seems the absolute reflection of the man's mind. He says to Atticus (viii. 14, 2, Ep. 349) *ego tecum tanquam mecum loquor*; and he seems to pour out his inmost thoughts almost as in a soliloquy. We can, however, suppose a reader of the letters honestly to entertain the view that Cicero had anticipated the long lease of life that his letters would have, and deliberately placed his character and position in a favourable though unreal light. We say we can suppose this view to be held honestly, though we cannot conceive it to be held intelligently; for there is reason to believe that Cicero never thought of the chance that his letters might be preserved until the correspondence had nearly reached its close. But the theory which we cannot reconcile with either honesty or intelligence is the theory which supposes Cicero to have written with candour and sincerity when he acknowledges his shortsightedness and deploras his mistakes, but looks on him as a mere romancer when he describes the unexampled position which he held as a wielder of written and spoken words. And akin to this theory is that which speaks of all the greatest of his *Optimate* speeches as a price exacted from him by the nobles for their support in his candidature for the consulship, as if the *optima causa* was not the policy which seemed to him best for the State, and as if any man of Cicero's ability would or could restrain himself from giving all his intellectual resources to the aid of a party of which he was the mainstay, and in a sense the organiser. But, say the detractors, he defended Roscius and Cornelius, and, at any rate, thought of defending Catiline; *ergo* he sought the support of the democrats. Now he gained his object without this support. *Ergo*, say they, nearly all his consular speeches are evidence of the dirty work which he was called on by a vile party to do, that he might earn the wages which he had received in advance.

The fact is that Cicero had set up for himself an idol in the restoration of the *Optimate* party,* of whom he gives us a full-

* It cannot be denied that his fidelity to the *Optimate* party wavered in the period

length picture in Sest., §§ 96-102: his political watchwords are 'senatus auctoritas,' and 'ordinum concordia'; his political triumph was the crushing of the Catilinarian conspiracy without an appeal to the sword, by inducing the wealthy middle class to make common cause with the aristocracy; and his political predecessor is Catulus.* It is by fostering the union between the Senate and knights that he hopes to bring about his cherished scheme; and to do this he was ready to erect the knights, in the words of Pliny, into a *tertium corpus* or 'third estate.' In Pompey† he saw (and

immediately succeeding his restoration. The celebrated letter to Lentulus, Fam. i. 9 (153), is rather an apology than a defence. But he always bitterly reproaches himself for any temporary defections from the *causa optima*; and his letters are never so gloomy as during his *rapprochement* towards Caesar. During the portion of Cicero's life coincident with Parts I.-III. of his correspondence there prevailed a perfect *entente cordiale* between the Senate and the Optimates. This, together with the installation of Pompey as the champion of the *causa optima*, was Cicero's political aspiration. This view of the situation (in which, be it observed, the Optimates were by no means at one, some gravely distrusting Pompey) became obviously Utopian after the year 698 (56). Yet the Optimates finally coalesced with Pompey against Caesar; and here, again, Cicero was in a minority, for he represents his policy before the civil war as having been one of conciliation; see Phil. ii. 24 *Atque idem ego . . . pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti*. Cicero feared that if Pompey were victorious his sword would drink deep of the blood of Rome. Lucan (i. 330) finely says of Pompey, that he had licked the sword of Sulla, and had never forgotten the taste of blood. (*Sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum Durat, Magne, sitis.*) An estimate of Cicero's political position after his return from exile belongs to Part IV. The political position of Cicero at that time is best described in his own words—*Sed ego dicta curare incipio; chirurgiae taedet*.—Att. iv. 3, 3 (92).

* Att. i. 20, 3 (26). Cicero always emphasizes his attachment to the equites: see Rabir. Post. 15 *Nunc vos, equites Romani, videte. Scitis me ortum e vobis omnia semper sensisse pro vobis. Nihil horum sine magna cura et summa caritate vestri ordinis loquor. Alius alios homines et ordines, ego vos semper complexus sum*. Compare also Cauer (*op. cit.* 82), 'Ciceros Politik ist die der römischen guten Gesellschaft. Sobald die beiden herrschenden Stände, Senat und Ritter, einig sind, ist Cicero ihr gegebener Vorkämpfer. Wo ihre Interessen auseinandergehen, versucht er Vermittelung und zwar vornehmlich zu Gunsten der Ritter.'

† It cannot fail to be observed, that as long as Pompey keeps up friendly relations with the popular leaders, Cicero is never tired of sneering at his vanity and pomposity; Sampsiceramus, Arabarches, Hierosolymarius, &c., are all jibes at the conquering hero who thinks he may be the successor of Sulla. It is only when he has thoroughly broken with the revolutionary party that Cicero speaks of him with sincere respect. We have a strong expression of the belief of Cicero that in Pompey lay the only hope of the State in Att. ix. 1, 4 (353): *Dabimus hoc Pompeio quod debemus. Nam me quidem alius nemo movet: non sermo bonorum qui nulli sunt; non causa quae acta timide est, agetur improbe. Uni, uni hoc damus ne id quidem roganti, nec suam causam (ut ait)*

long refused *not* to see) the instrument of this policy, which in fact was realised for the brief period of Cicero's consulate, and the three succeeding years.*

Mommsen's theory of an ironical, contemptuous deference on the part of Caesar towards Cicero, which even showed itself ready to flatter the weaknesses of an intellect which it despised, is as untrue to history as it is injurious to the character of Caesar himself. It is simply fiction, and inartistic fiction. Caesar saw, as he saw everything, that Cicero was a great power. His speeches not only swayed the assembly, but they discharged the highest work now done by our best newspapers, magazines, and reviews. To gain Cicero was what it would now be to secure the advocacy of the *Times*; or rather what it would be were there no other paper, review, or magazine but the *Times*, and were the leaders of the *Times* written by Burke and Sheridan. He placed the public in

agenti, sed publicam. But Cicero never succeeded in acquiring an affectionate regard for Pompey—a feeling against which in the case of Caesar he had to struggle hard. His comment on the death of Pompey does not speak the language of real grief: *Non possum eius casum non dolere; hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi.*—Att. xi. 6, 5 (418).

* This ideal period he himself often refers to in the words *nostra tempora*, and describes its duration in Fam. i. 9, 12 (153) *Tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium.* It is worth mentioning here that the oft-quoted verse—

'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam'

is often misunderstood. Its meaning is fixed by a passage in the *pro Flacco*, 102. The words may be rendered—

'O happy fate of Rome to date
Her birthday from my consulate!'

The birthday was the celebrated December 5, on which he put Lentulus and his accomplices to death: this is the passage from the speech for Flaccus: *O Nonae illae Decembres quae me consule fuistis! Quem ego diem vere natalem huius urbis, aut certe salutarem, appellare possum.* The phrase *natam me consule Romam*, for *quae diem natalem me consule habuisti* is like the expression of Horace (Epp. i. 5, 9) *cras nato Caesare festus Dat veniam somnumque dies.* So also Plautus says (Pseud., 243) *hodie nate*, meaning, 'you who are celebrating your birthday to-day.' Seneca (de brev. vit. 5) speaks of Cicero's consulate as praised by him 'justly but interminably' (*non sine causa, sed sine fine laudatus*), and no one can read in an unprejudiced spirit the history of the time without seeing what a very important part the great orator then played in Roman politics.

possession of the political situation. It is true, as Mommsen points out, that he came forward in the trial of Verres against the senatorial *iudicia* when they were already set aside, that he thundered against Catiline when his departure was already an accomplished fact. It is true that the second Philippic was not delivered and was not published till Antony had fled to Cisalpine Gaul. But were these speeches therefore useless, or mere exhibitions of powerful pleading? By no means. They put the public in possession of the circumstances in each of these cases, and taught them to look on these circumstances with the eyes of the speaker and his party; they converted resistance into acceptance, and warmed acceptance into enthusiasm; they provided faith with reasons, doubt with arguments, and triumph with words.*

Professor Beesly,† in a vigorous essay, maintains that the Catilinarian conspiracy (though falsely called a conspiracy according to him) was really an attempt to revolutionize the state—an attempt which was near succeeding, and which was made by the revolutionary party under the leadership of Catiline, who was the political successor of the Gracchi, of Saturninus, of Drusus, of Sulpicius, and of Cinna. That the movement is not to be

* O. E. Schmidt has drawn attention to some political pamphlets which were written at the time of the First Triumvirate (*Flugschriften aus der Zeit des ersten Triumvirats* in the *N. Jahrb. für das klass. Altertum*, 1901, 620-623). An example was possibly the *Ἐπιδεικνύμενα τῆς ὑπατείας* of Cicero, which was probably something more than mere self-glorification; for if so, why (Schmidt asks) did Cicero not write it till nearly three years after the event? Perhaps people were beginning to talk less about Cicero's exploits in that year, and he wished to turn the attention of the public once more to his great services. A more certain example is perhaps the *Oratio in Clodium et Curionem*, which was written in the summer of 693 (61), cp. 22, 10, but not published then, though it got into circulation in 696 (58), cp. 69, 2; 73, 3. The object of this pamphlet was to rally the party of order, and to castigate the extravagance and licence of the *jeunesse dorée*. The *ἀνέκδοτα* (= *De consiliis suis*), composed in the style of Theopompus, were also written at this time, but not published till after the death of Caesar: cp. Plut. Crass. 13; Dio Cass. xxxix. 10, 1; Cic. Att. xiv. 17, 6 (724). Varro composed some kind of attack on the triumvirs called *Ἰπικράπας* (Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 9), which was the title of a work of Anaximenes, attributed to Theopompus, which traced all the woes of Greece to the three towns, Athens, Sparta, Thebes. The *Dialogus in Caesarem* of Curio, referred to in Brut. 218 f., is another example: cp. Suet. Caes. 9, 49, 50, 52. Schmidt thinks that in Att. ii. 9, 1 (36) we should print in inverted commas 'cynico consulari' ('snarling consul') and 'piscinarum Tritonibus,' which were possibly expressions contained in pamphlets written by Clodius; cp. p. 26, note.

† *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1878.

wholly accounted for by saying that the parties to it were 'disolute youths,' 'insolvent debtors,' and 'disbanded soldiers,' he has shown very clearly.* Nor has he failed to make it plain that Caesar was at this time in no sense the leader of the popular party. But neither was Catiline. Until he failed in his suit for the consulship of 691 (63), and seemed about to fail for that of 692 (62), he does not seem to have even conceived the idea of an *émeute*; for the rumoured plot to murder Cotta and Torquatus, the consuls of the year 689 (65), was discredited even by the hypothetical victim Torquatus, who appeared as one of Catiline's supporters when he was tried for *repetundae* (Sull. 81). It is here that Mr. Beesly's brilliant picture seems blurred. He confesses that the popular cause might have been in better hands, but he seems blind to the utter incapacity and pitiable stupidity of Catiline and the whole revolutionary party. Catiline drifted into the ranks of the insurgents. After foolishly vapouring in the senate about putting himself at the head of the popular party, he was too weak and undecided to take any step. The feebleness of such a man would have saved him from the fate of the Gracchi and Saturninus had he remained at Rome, but it suited the Optimates that he should show his hand, and Cicero succeeded in forcing Catiline to join the insurgents, and thus to give colour to the stories (mostly exaggerated) about the widespread and terrible Catilinarian conspiracy. Then the gross blunder of Lentulus in making overtures to the Allobroges rendered possible the *coup d'état* of the 5th December. So the dull aristocrat was completely outmanœuvred by the adroit *parvenu*. The situation was no doubt menacing, chiefly on account of the vagueness and the wide area of the suspicion which prevailed. Even the loyalty of Cicero's colleague Antonius was breathed upon. Cicero saw that he must strike a blow, but was determined not to invoke the military power. The people would never brook the abnegation of the right of appeal to the tribes in the case of persons guilty only of a plot to commit assassinations or to abolish debts. But if the conspirators could be proved guilty of complicity with a foreign foe, of an attempt on the commonwealth, these extreme measures

* Yet that the special city following of Catiline was mainly composed of debtors who sought *novae tabulae* is plain from the invariable language of Cicero.

might be adopted. Catiline declared himself a public enemy when he repaired to the camp of Manlius; and Lentulus, by negotiating with the Gallic tribes, twisted for himself the rope which strangled him in the Tullianum.

In short, it seems that Catiline (whose atrocities are probably much exaggerated, and whose chief defect was his stupidity)* finds his political analogue not in Marat or Robespierre, but in Guy Fawkes,† or Smith O'Brien, who, had Fortune called him to die in battle, would have known how to die as well as Catiline, and who did not know much better how to effect the purpose of his life. Of course, in private life, there was all the difference in the world between the high-minded and single-hearted Irish enthusiast and the 'stolid rake' (as Professor Palmer aptly called him) who, even after full allowance is made for the exaggerations of his delineator and destroyer, must be admitted to have earned as bad a character in a bad age as was consistent with his dulness and want of individuality. Indeed, we cannot help thinking that Cicero has done all that could be done to secure a place in history for Catiline.‡ He has manufactured a somewhat imposing stage-villain out of very scanty materials. It is a strong proof of the amazing literary power of the orator. Surely no one would have been more surprised than Catiline himself (who seems to have been but too conscious of his own mediocrity) had he known that the time would come when he should occupy a niche beside Caesar Borgia, that ideal of capacity, when his existence should be reconciled with the Divine supervision of the world only on the theory that

'Plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design.'

* Cicero, in his speech *pro Murena* (§§ 50, 51), records some 'wild and whirling words' of Catiline. His whole portrait in this passage is in a more bold and picturesque attitude than we are accustomed to. However, the expressions there attributed to Catiline by Cicero probably derived most of their force and point from the orator himself, who was interested in making his foiled adversary appear as formidable as possible.

† In the Gunpowder Plot there is much that resembles the attempt of Catiline, not only in the crudeness of its conception, but also in the disproportionate alarm excited—a fact to which the Book of Common Prayer recently bore witness.

‡ Cp. Dio Cass. xxxvii. 42 Κατὶλῖνας μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη· καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον τε τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων ἀξίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντας ἔσχε.

We own we can look on Catiline as but a very mild type of epidemic, and only as a sort of make-believe stage earthquake.

Georges Thouret has shown in an excellent paper in the *Leipziger Studien*,* that it is probable that both Plutarch and Dio Cassius in their accounts of the conspiracy of Catiline borrowed from the lost *ὑπόμνημα περὶ ὑπατείας* which Cicero mentions to Atticus in the words *commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum misi ad te* (Att. i. 19, 10, Ep. 25). That Plutarch rested mainly on Cicero's Memoir is unlikely; and cogent reasons have been adduced by Prof. Gudeman to show that the chief authority of Plutarch was Suetonius,† who not only wrote a defence of the orator against an attack of Didymus, but also a *Life of Cicero*. The Greek Memoir, as well as the letter to Pompey in Latin, *de rebus suis in consulatu gestis*, has completely perished; and of the third essay on the same subject, the Latin poem also mentioned in Att. i. 19, 10 (25), we have preserved only a few verses, which, however, are a valuable aid in the critical treatment of that passage. Accordingly, if it be allowed that Plutarch and Dio Cassius found in the *περὶ ὑπατείας* materials for their history of the conspiracy,

* Vol. i., Part ii., pp. 303-360.

† While agreeing with Professor Gudeman (*The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero*) in his main contention that the principal authority used by Plutarch was Suetonius, we cannot help thinking that he has gone too far when he holds that Plutarch did not read the *ὑπόμνημα*. The passage from the *Life of Caesar* (c. 8) quoted below in the text surely implies that he read the treatise, and that with some care. Again, in the *Life of Crassus* (c. 13) he says *ὅμως δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ* [sc. the *ἀνέκδοτα*] *φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος*. 'Ἄλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ ὑπατείας ὁ Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἐξηγουμένην, ὡς ἦδη βεβαιούντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Κράσσος αἰὲ μὲν ἐμίσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὸν ἐμπόδων εἶχε τὸν νόον. Why should we suppose that Plutarch had not read the Memoir? Plutarch when setting to work at a *Life* probably (cp. Thouret, p. 314) read a number of authorities; and when he chose one to be the main foundation of his narrative, he did not forego the advantage he might derive from others. Professor Gudeman rightly lays little stress on the appeal made to the authority of Cicero in Plut. Cic. 20, to prove that Cicero's works were the chief foundation of Plutarch's narrative. The words are *ἡ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πρᾶξις τις οὐδ' ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μάλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδούσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ) ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε κ.τ.λ.* It is plain from the position of *ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων* between the comparative and the participle that the authority of Cicero is invoked for nothing more than the epigrammatic remark.

then we may reduce the records of this important episode to two—the Ciceronian and the Sallustian; for Appian and Florus followed Sallust. Now, when Cicero published the *ὑπόμνημα* in 694 (60), two years and a half after the events narrated therein, he did not wish to implicate Caesar in the conspiracy. He was at the time on the best possible terms with Caesar, and expressed hopes that he might convert him from the error of his political ways: cp. Att. ii. 1, 6 (27) *Quid si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem, num tantum obsum reipublicae?* We may infer from the account of Plutarch that Cicero in his treatise *περὶ ὑπατείας* refused to implicate Caesar, though he did implicate Crassus, and thereby earned his hostility. Again, Plutarch (Caes. 8) tells how Caesar was assailed on leaving the Senate on the famous 5th of December, adding *τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθὲς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἔγραψεν*. The reason is plain from the consideration just mentioned. The same writer tells us that Cicero did incriminate Caesar after his death, in his *ἀνέκδοτα*.* Knowing, therefore, that Cicero has deliberately suppressed his real opinion on this important question, and that Sallust (though not the mere special pleader that Mommsen would make him) is strongly prejudiced in Caesar's favour, we are bound very carefully to reconsider the almost unanimous verdict of modern historians acquitting Caesar. To the proofs of the guilt of Caesar put forward by Mommsen the following considerations may be added.

We have the unequivocal evidence of Suetonius. He is undoubtedly disposed to embrace views unfavourable to the character of Caesar; and so modern historians think they may neglect his distinct evidence that Caesar was publicly arraigned as one of the

* This treatise, also called apparently *Consilia* (cp. Asconius 83, 21 in *expositione consiliorum suorum*: Charisius i. 146 (ed. Keil) in *ratione consiliorum suorum*), is mentioned in Att. ii. 6, 2 (33); xiv. 17, 6 (724): Plut. Crass. 13 (ἐν τινι λόγῳ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν (sc. of Crassus and Caesar): Dio Cass. xxxix. 10, who speaks of it thus βιβλίον τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε. καὶ ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμὸν τινα ἔχοντι. πόλλα δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων (sc. Crassus and Caesar) καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συνένησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ, κατεσημήνατό τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί (probably Tiro is meant), προστάξας οἱ μὴτ' ἀναγνῶναι μήτε δημοσιεύσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἂν μεταλλάξῃ.

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conspirators:—*recidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestorem a L. Vettio indice, et in senatu a Q. Curio . . . Curius e Catilina se cognovisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae datum pollicebatur* (Iul. 17). However, in a very similar passage (Iul. 9) Suetonius states that, in the year of the city 688 (66), Caesar entered into a conspiracy with Crassus to make Crassus dictator with himself as *Magister Equitum*, and to secure by a *coup d'état* the consulship for P. Sulla and L. Autronius; and he distinctly gives as his authorities Tanusius Geminus,* M. Aetorius Naso, the Edicts of Bibulus, and the speeches of C. Curio senior. Now the two last-named may be discounted as notoriously hostile to Caesar; but who can deny that the testimony of the two first-named writers is unimpeachable? If therefore, as seems probable, Suetonius relied on the same authority in the question of Caesar's complicity with Catiline, surely his evidence is altogether worthy of credence. And indeed what antecedent objection besets the theory that Caesar should eagerly follow the banner on which was inscribed *novae tabulae*? He was now plunged in a sea of debt; he had lavished unheard-of sums in the attempt to climb into popular favour, and he had as yet reaped no reward. Pompey was on the point of returning from the East. When he said to his mother on the Ides of March, 691 (63), after lavishing a fortune on his suit for the Pontificate, *domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum* (Suet. Iul. 13), he spoke the words of a desperate man.†

* If Tanusius is the Volusius of Catullus (xxxvi. 1), which is far from certain (cp. Ellis *ad loc.*), he must have been a far from attractive writer, but not necessarily untrustworthy. There is a possible allusion to the guilt of Caesar in Mur. 84 *non nemo etiam in illo sacrario reip., in ipsa inquam curia non nemo hostis est*. But this cannot be the passage to which Plutarch refers, as it was written during the lifetime of Caesar. The passage Att. x. 8, 8 (392), does not refer to the Catilinarian conspiracy, but to the Senatusconsultum ultimum passed in January, 705 (49), cp. Fam. xvi. 11, 2 (301).

† There is one argument against the guilt of Caesar which seems to some to be of great weight. 'If,' it is urged, 'Caesar had been a Catilinarian, Cicero must have known it; and it is certain that Cicero would have mentioned it in some of those letters before the outbreak of the civil war, in which he weighs the characters of the rival leaders, and the probable issues of the conflict.' But Cicero had made up his mind about the policy of Caesar. Caesar is to him a *perditus civis*, a *tyrannus*; his action is a *furor*, a *scelus*. He had done of late so many illegal acts that the question what he was fourteen years ago was irrelevant. Besides, we think Cicero does hint at Caesar's complicity with Catiline, when he dwells on his *mores*, ANTEFACTA,

As to the argument which has satisfied many, that Caesar would not have stooped to accept a position subordinate to Catiline, we should remember that we moderns are very prone to exaggerate the proportions of Caesar as a historical figure in the eyes of his countrymen, while his contemporaries, on the other hand, were more likely to underrate his dimensions. Looking back on his marvellous career, and reflecting on the momentous issues which followed the civilization of the West, we feel that Caesar still

‘doth bestride the narrow world

Like a Colossus,’

and can hardly recall in imagination the time when he was no very imposing personage in the eyes of his contemporaries. On Att. ii. 19, 3 (46), it has been pointed out how the commentators have insisted on making Caesar ‘the tyrant,’ and Pompey one of his ‘supporters,’ whereas the whole context shows that it is Pompey who is the *dominus*, and Caesar one of his *advocati*, in the eyes of the people of Rome, though at that time, 695 (59), Caesar no doubt actually did see his way to that supreme position, which cannot have been more than the merest hope in the year 691 (63).^{*} Probably, had the rash attempt of Catiline succeeded, Caesar would have had an earlier opportunity of showing his true greatness—his admirable fitness to use success, and to wield power however absolute.

Next to the consulship, the most interesting episode in this period of the life of Cicero is his exile. Professor Beesly again points out ‘the inherent improbabilities in the vulgar account.’ ‘We are asked to believe,’ he says, ‘that, stained with the blood of the popular leaders, Cicero was respected and beloved by the

Att. ix. 2a, 2 (356). This unproved surmise was a mere drop in the ocean compared with his subsequent acts. The negative evidence which rests on the silence of Cicero concerning this one illegality of Caesar cannot be set against the positive proofs of Mommsen and others.

^{*} Suetonius (Iul. 9) quotes from a letter of Cicero to Axius the words *Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de quo aedilis cogitabat*. This may have been a hope of Caesar’s at the time, but nothing more; cp. Plut. Cic. 20 τότε δὲ νέος ὢν (sc. Καῖσαρ) ἔτι καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἔχων τῆς ἀνέξεως ἀρχάς, ἥδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἢ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς μὲν ὑποψίας λαβὼν δ’ οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἐλεγχον παρέδωκεν.

vast majority of Roman citizens, and that the troubles which subsequently befell him were simply the result of a personal quarrel with Clodius.' He sees in this account a tendency 'so easy, and to the vulgar mind so agreeable, to attribute the Persian invasion of Greece to a curtain-lecture of Atossa's, or the English Reformation to the pretty face of Anne Boleyn.' There is much that is both new and true in what he has advanced, and we think we may admit that Cicero was not a favourite with the populace after his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Indeed, he admits as much himself in some passages of his letters—for instance, in that one in which he says that the fact that his deposition in disproof of the *alibi* of Clodius did not avail to procure a conviction has actually been of service to him with the populace. 'The plethora of my unpopularity,' he says, 'has undergone depletion, and the operation has not been painful.*' And it seems probable, too, that the people at Rome were opposed to his restoration, which was procured by a 'whip' of Italian voters. It is certainly true that there was an attempt made to impede the rebuilding of his house, and that he had to walk about the city with a guard of armed men. But here his enemies are the mere mob, whom he calls *sordem urbis et faciem*. With the more respectable elements of the popular party there is evidence that the picturesque career and demeanour of the great *novus homo* were not without their effect on the imagination. When, being prevented by the tribune Metellus Nepos from addressing the people on laying down his office, he swore that he had saved the state, there really was a general burst of responsive enthusiasm, cp. *Fam.* v. 2, 7 (15). The Catilinarian conspiracy at one time wore a very threatening aspect, made more sinister by the empty vapourings of Catiline, and Cicero had put it down without calling on Pompey to unsheath his sword. No attempt to upset the constituted government by force recommended itself much to the law-abiding Roman who had won his empire by subordination of self to State, of imagination to reason. The Roman citizen presents the strongest contrast to the Parisian, who will die behind his barricade for an idea.

But to return to the circumstances which led to the exile of

* *Missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore.*—*Att.* i. 16, 11 (22).

Cicero. Some time in the year 692 (62) Clodius was found in woman's clothes in the house of Caesar, one of the praetors, where the women were celebrating the rites of the Bona Dea, from which all males were rigorously excluded. We find the first notice of this event in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, written on January 1, 693 (61). For this last reason, and because Clodius is spoken of as *quaestor designatus* at the time, which would place the crime in one of the later months of the year, it has generally been inferred that the outrage took place in December, 692 (62). On the other hand, Ovid (*Fast.* v. 146) assigns May 1st as the date of the festival of the Bona Dea. Hence Mr. Beesly infers that Clodius must have ventured on this daring escapade in May, that seven months were allowed to elapse before any notice was taken of the crime, and that it was then made use of merely as a pretext for venting on Clodius the political rancour of the oligarchy, to whom (he suggests) Clodius must have given some fresh offence, as we should probably find if we had the history of the year 692, of which we are ignorant, owing to a break in the continuity of Cicero's correspondence. But Mr. Beesly's assumption is utterly unwarranted. The Bona Dea, on whose rites Clodius intruded, was worshipped on the night of the 3rd and 4th December, as has been *demonstrated* by Marquardt (*iii.* 331-2, ed. 1878). Marquardt quotes Plutarch (*Cic.* 19) to the effect that on the night after Cicero had disclosed the plot of Catiline he was brought home to the house of a neighbour, *because Cicero's own house was occupied by the rites of the Bona Dea*. Cicero, as we know, made his celebrated disclosures on December 3; therefore the rites of the Bona Dea were going on during the night of December 3-4. The Bona Dea to whom Ovid refers was quite different. Her sacrifices were held on May 1st in a temple on the Aventine, whereas the rites which Clodius violated were held in a private house. The latter sacrifice, however, was a public sacrifice (*pro populo*), because it could only be held in the house of an officiating *consul* or *praetor urbanus*. Caesar at the time of Clodius' crime was both *pontifex* and *praetor urbanus* (*Marq.* *iii.* 332). Thus vanishes Mr. Beesly's incredible hypothesis that Cicero should have told the whole story of the sacrilege without hinting that the crime was seven months old. But even without this demonstrative proof the evidence of

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Cicero is unmistakable. In a letter to Atticus, written on January 1, 693 (6) (Ep. 16, 3), he says:—

‘I suppose you must have heard that P. Clodius was detected in the disguise of a woman in C. Caesar’s house when the sacrifice was going on, and that he was allowed to escape safe from the house through the aid of a servant maid; and that the outrage has caused immense indignation. I am sure you will be sorry for it.’

On January 25 of the same year, again writing to Atticus, he says (and it will be observed that the accurate rendering of the word *instaurassent* accounts for at least some delay):

‘I suppose you must have heard that while sacrifice was being offered at the house of Caesar, a man effected an entrance in woman’s clothes, and that it was only after the Vestal Virgins had performed the sacrifice afresh, *instaurassent* (the first having been polluted by the intrusion of Clodius), that Cornificius—not one of us consulars, observe—brought the matter before the Senate. The Senate referred the matter to the Pontifices, who pronounced that sacrilege had been done. So the consuls were directed by the Senate to bring in a bill to hold an inquiry into the matter. Caesar has divorced his wife. The consul Piso, through friendship for Clodius, is doing his best to shelve the bill which he is himself obliged to bring forward by order of the Senate. Messalla, the other consul, is in favour of strong measures. The partisans of the good cause, yielding to the prayers of Clodius, are standing aloof. Gangs of bravoës are being got up. I myself, though I had been a perfect Lyeurgus at first, am gradually cooling down. Cato is straining every nerve for the prosecution. In a word, I am afraid that this cause, defended by the democrats, while the Optimates stand aloof from the prosecution, will work great mischief to the State.’

Surely this whole passage is completely opposed to the theory that the prosecution of Clodius was the result of spite on the part of the oligarchy, who trumped up an almost forgotten charge against a person who had rendered himself politically obnoxious to them. On the contrary, the Optimates were desirous of standing aloof from the prosecution altogether until pushed into it by the foolish obstinacy of Cato. In the course of the debate, however, Clodius was imprudent enough to try conclusions with ‘Tear-’em the ex-consul,* and found him far too cunning of fence, and

* So may be translated the expression *cynicus consularis* in Att. ii. 9, 1 (36),

keen of thrust. Cicero, true to the programme of his party, which he strongly condemns Cato for neglecting, would have gladly stood apart, but that Clodius brought an odious taunt against his cherished consulship: *me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur* (Att. i. 14, 5, Ep. 20). This was the ill-omened word that began to be bruited about against the Father of his country even during his consulship, that in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy he had been wont to declare 'that he had received information' to this or that effect, that he required neither trial nor proof, that 'he had information' which justified his acts. So ill-sounding was this word in his ears, that in a letter to his colleague Antonius (Fam. v. 5, 2, Ep. 18), written but a short time before this, Cicero actually avoids the word *comperi* for this reason, *contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audiui, nam comperisse me non audeo dicere ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso in me conferri*—Clodius had used the hated word, and Cicero (Att. i. 16, 1, Ep. 22)—*cum ille ad conciones confugisset in visque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur; di immortales quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi!*

It was then that Hortensius, feeling that no panel could fail to convict Clodius, hit on the expedient of facilitating matters, and obviating the hostility of the tribune Fufius, by giving up the consular bill, which empanelled a jury to be chosen by the praetor, and allowing Fufius to propose a bill providing that the jury should be chosen by lot out of the *decuriae*. This was of course the ordinary practice; and it is clear that the consular rogation, in providing a panel chosen by the praetor, proposed an exceptional

borrowing the phrase from the *sobriquet* of Mr. Roebuck. The word refers to Cicero's biting repartees. The common rendering of the phrase 'the consular cynic' is not a translation at all. Cicero had nothing in common with the cynic philosophy but his biting tongue, under the lash of which Catiline tottered half stunned and paralysed from the Senate, and Clodius *magnis clamoribus afflictus conticuit et concidit* (Att. i. 16, 10, Ep. 22). The term 'cynical,' in its modern sense, as applied to the cold man of the world, devoid alike of beliefs and enthusiasms, is perhaps, of all words in our language, the one least applicable to the character of Cicero. Perhaps 'snarling consular' would express the idea. O. E. Schmidt (*Flugschriften aus der Zeit des ersten Triumvirats*, in N. Jahrb., 1901, p. 629) holds that we should print '*cynico consulari*' and '*piscinarum Tritonibus*' in inverted commas, as they were probably expressions contained in pamphlets written by Clodius, or perhaps in speeches made by him. The last expression, he thinks, in a special degree evinces youthful extravagance.

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measure, which is not made very clear to us. But is it not a most daring assumption to suppose, as Mr. Beesly does, that the oligarchy 'were bent on nothing less than galvanising the *comitia centuriata* into a new life, for the purpose of creating by its instrumentality a *Quaestio* to try Clodius'? Can anyone suppose that Cicero would leave an attempt so remarkable in such obscurity, and never mention the extraordinary circumstance that the bill was moved in the *comitia centuriata*? 'I presume,' says Mr. Beesly, 'that for a Roman such information was not necessary, because to tell him that a bill was moved by a consul was equivalent to telling him that it was moved in the *comitia centuriata*.' But surely this view is incompatible *omnibus litteris* with the account of Cicero, who invariably speaks as if the projected *Quaestio* could easily have been successful except for the blunder of Hortensius. Moreover, the oligarchy are supposed to have conceived this unprecedented *coup* through their thirst for the blood of a man whose offence against them is in itself a hypothesis. He must have offended them because they thirsted for his blood. And why did they thirst for his blood? Because he had offended them so grievously. Similarly, that Clodius was a 'prominent member of the democratic party' is assumed, because 'there is no other way of accounting for the extraordinary *acharnement* of the nobles, or the interest the people took in his cause.' The fact is, that he had hitherto appeared first as the accuser of Catiline, and afterwards as one of Cicero's body-guard at the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices—not very consistent acts in 'a prominent member of the democratic party.' The violation of the state religion seems to have been resented in a way which we can hardly understand in a nation which certainly was mainly sceptical; but anything is possible in a state where C. Julius Caesar, notorious for scepticism and profligacy in a sceptical and profligate age, was Pontifex Maximus.* The Optimates, as we have seen,

* The curious tenacity of the Romans for traditional usages, and the strange fusion of formalism and scepticism in their character, are strongly illustrated by the history of the prosecution of Rabirius. He, whom the eloquence of Cicero had not availed to save, was rescued by the adroitness of the praetor Metellus Celer, who struck the flag which waved from the Janiculum during the assemblies of the centuries. This was in old times the signal of an Etruscan raid. On seeing the flag struck, the burghers would rush from the debate to repel the foe, Dio Cass. xxxvii. 27, 28. The ruse

would have held aloof but for the quixotism of Cato. Cicero, as a leading Optimate, gave evidence to upset the *alibi* of Clodius.* Clodius was acquitted by thirty-two to twenty-five votes—the second occasion during a period of five years on which the verdict of a Roman jury was *meridie non lucere*—and during the struggle and after it raged the war of words in which Clodius was so notably worsted. Hence arose the enmity between Clodius and Cicero, not from Cicero's deposition, to which the latter never adverts as the source of Clodius' persecution. And hence the adoption of Clodius into a plebeian family, his tribunate, and the exile of Cicero. For it would seem that here, if ever, we have an instance of a political event of some magnitude brought to pass by private animosity and personal *pique*. It is possible to sin in the writing of history by making causes too particular; but it is also possible to sin in making them too general. It is absurd 'to attribute the Persian invasion of Greece to a curtain-lecture of Atossa;' but there is a great temptation, which chiefly besets brilliant writers like Mr. Beesly or Theodor Mommsen, to absolutely discount private influences as a factor in history, to refer every phenomenon to the operation of general laws, and, exaggerating the paradox of Buckle, to speak as if it might have been predicted *à priori* that Caesar would be bald, and Claudius die of eating a mushroom. Yet such historians do not question the Aristotelian apophthegm (Pol. viii. 3, 1 = 1303 b. 17) γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται. Nor do they demur to the long list of instances adduced by him, in which private quarrels and jealousies were the *occasions*, though not the *causes*, of public events of great importance.

Moreover, Mr. Beesly's account is inconsistent with itself. If Clodius had really been 'the prominent leader of the popular party,' he needed not to have taken the trouble to become a

succeeded. The populace, who refused the life of Rabirius to the arguments of Cicero, gave it to the observance of an obsolete constitutional fiction.

* Cicero may have been persuaded by Terentia to depose against the *alibi* of Clodius. Terentia hated Clodia, whom she suspected (seemingly without much evidence) of designs on her husband. *Ego illam odi* is Cicero's own description of his feelings towards this *publica cura* of Rome.—Att. ii. 1, 5 (27).

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tribune; he could, on the invitation of Fufius, have addressed the *comitia tributa*, which would have readily given ear to the acknowledged popular leader. Clodius sought the tribunate in the character of an opponent of Caesar,* who seeks to deny for himself and Pompey any participation in bringing about the adoption into a plebeian family. Cicero suspects nothing. He refuses a place among the *Vigintiviri* and a *legatio* offered by Caesar, who, on failing to gain him as an adherent, generously seeks at least to protect him from molestation.† Pompey assures Cicero of his protection, and Cicero, when it does occur to him that Clodius is his enemy, declares that

‘His soul’s in arms and eager for the fray.’

One cannot doubt that, had Cicero chosen, the Triumvirate might have been a Quattuorvirate‡; but he is faithful to his *causa optima*, the defection of Pompey from which he regrets in expressive phrase (Att. ii. 21, 3, 4, Ep. 48). His only comfort is that he has now no rival in Pompey for the plaudits of posterity (Att. ii. 17, 2, Ep. 44). Clodius having gained his tribunate by

* *Inimicissimus Caesaris, et ut omnia ista rescindat.*—Att. ii. 12, 2 (37).

† Att. ii. 18, 1 (45), 19, 4 (46); Prov. Cons. 41, 42: cp. Att. ix. 2a, 1 (350). Plutarch (Cic. 30) gives a strange account of these proceedings, which is rightly rejected by modern historians, as it is not confirmed by extant sources, and is inherently improbable; but it is worth quoting:—*τῶν δὲ πλείστον δυναμένων τότε τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Κράσσου μὲν ἀντικρὺς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος, Πομπηίου δὲ θρυπομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξιέναι μετὰ στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑποδὸς ὁ Κικέρων, καίπερ οὐκ ὄντα φίλον ἀλλ’ ὑποπτον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίαν, ἤξιωσε πρεσβευτὴς αὐτῷ συστρατεῦν. Δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κλώδιος ὁρῶν ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα προσποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν καὶ τῇ Τερεντίᾳ τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθεῖς αἰτίαν, ἐκείνου δὲ μεμνημένος ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώμονας ἐνδιδοῦς, ὥς ἂν τις οὐ μισῶν οὐδὲ χαλεπαίνων, ἀλλ’ ἐγκαλῶν μέτρια καὶ φιλικὰ, παντάσῃν αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνῆκεν, ὥστ’ ἀπειπεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχουσαι τῆς πολιτείας.*

‡ This is stated in so many words by Cicero in Prov. Cons., § 41 *me in tribus sibi coniunctissimis consularibus esse voluit*. And this pronouncement is abundantly confirmed by Cicero’s private letters of this period. See Att. ii. 1, 6, and 7 (27) to the words *non minus esset probanda medicina quae sanaret vitiosas partis reipublicae quam quae exsecaret*; also Att. ii. 3, 3 (29) from the words *Nam fuit apud me Cornelius*, where he distinctly says that he might have been a member of the coalition, but that he preferred to adhere to the policy and party which from his boyhood he looked on as the party of patriotism and constitutionalism. In fine, he resolves that his motto shall be *εἰς οἶκόνδ’ ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρίδος*.

concealing his designs against Cicero (a strong proof that Cicero was not the object of popular resentment), at once proceeds to his revenge. After several enactments, having a tendency to conciliate the various classes of Roman society, he proposes a law enacting that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without trial should be interdicted from fire and water. Caesar having in vain tried to gain Cicero as an adherent—having in vain sought even to afford him an opportunity for retiring from a perilous position with honour—now abandons him to his fate. Indeed, Cicero's presence in Rome as a declared opponent of the Triumvirate might have proved an obstacle to his own departure for Gaul. Pompey betrayed him to whom he had so often pledged his word. The treason of Pompey and the jealousy of Hortensius well-nigh cost the world some of the noblest of the speeches and essays of Cicero; for often during his exile the victim of Clodius was on the point of self-destruction. He often regrets that he had not opposed force to force, even though he should have perished in the employment of it; and still more he deplores the fatal step which he took in leaving Rome before he was directly impeached. But he invariably attributes his fall, first, to the treason of Pompey against the Optimates, and consequently against himself; secondly, to the jealousy felt towards him by the rival aspirants to the leadership of the Optimate party.

The recall of Cicero cannot for a moment be ascribed to a sudden *rapprochement* on the part of Pompey to the nobility. Nor is Mr. Beesly true to the authorities in saying that the terms on which the nobility accepted the overtures of Pompey were 'the re-establishment of the senatorial government and the recall of Cicero.' The exile of Cicero was due to the jealousy of the nobility as much as to the treason of Pompey. But jealousy is a sentiment which, though it grows terribly while its object is still in a position to excite it, yet is capable of being allayed by the humiliation of the once envied rival. Cicero recalled from exile, even with all the honours which attended his recall, was no longer the triumphant *parvenu*, the irresistible *moqueur*, unstained by a humiliation and unabashed by a repulse. And to this must be added the effect of that essentially personal factor in history which is so completely discounted by Mr. Beesly and his school.

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A quarrel about the safe keeping of an Armenian princeling brought about an incurable rupture between Pompey and Clodius, and obtained for Cicero the good offices of Pompey in procuring his restoration. Moreover, the people, whose instincts led them to acquiesce in the punishment of a man who had undoubtedly strained the constitution, yet felt that he had amply atoned his *coup d'état*, and welcomed back the saviour of his country. No doubt, the rabble hissed, but the people (especially the Italians) were enthusiastic in the cause of his restoration, and Pompey, through hatred for Clodius, enrolled himself on the same side. The Senate strained every nerve, and there seems to have been an organized 'whip' of Italian voters. Nor were the bravoos of Milo, as would appear, an unimportant factor in the result achieved.* Thus, probably, the restoration of Cicero was brought about mainly by the unconstitutional means by which it might more easily have been averted.

It will be seen, therefore, that neither in his version of the conspiracy of Catiline, nor in his account of the circumstances which led to the exile of Cicero, can the view of Mr. Beesly be accepted, unless by one who has deliberately formed the theory that Cicero has 'cooked' his letters—has given not the record of his own shifting hopes and fears, but a series of simulated reflections, so contrived as to put his own position and character in the best possible light. If anyone so reads these letters, which practically are our only authority for this period, it is impossible to argue with him. We differ on ultimate principles. When Cicero, in no polemical spirit, with no thought of proving anything, calls himself, in playful passages, *vindicem aeris alieni*,† it seems to us to show that he looked on the Catilinarian conspiracy as a struggle on the part of deeply indebted desperadoes, who were prepared, if necessary, to blot out the accounts against them in blood. Now a far more direct attestation to the same effect in one of his speeches would go a very small way towards convincing one of the sincerity of the sentiment expressed. Such is our view of the nature of the letters; and we believe this view will commend itself to every unprejudiced reader of them.

But there is one sentence in which Mr. Beesly sums up the

* Dio Cass. xxxix. 8.

† Fam. v. 6, 2 (16); Att. ii. 1, 11 (27).

character of Cicero, which is interesting as an outspoken statement of much that is generally only implied in other arraignments of this conspicuous personage. 'I protest,' he says, 'that I have a genuine sympathy for all that is amiable and attractive in the character of Cicero. But I cannot forget that he took the wrong side in the politics of his country—nay, that he hired himself to do the work of a vile party.' That he hired himself to do the work of a vile party is not true. He joined a party, and used all his splendid abilities for the support of a party, which some may think it fitting to call vile; but he had never belonged to any other party, and his hire was the honours and influence which his commanding intellect must have won in any civilized society. Except in the case of Burke, never perhaps has such genius reaped so little political reward. Whether Cicero 'took the wrong side in the politics of his country' depends on the other question, Which was the right side? This question is answered against Cicero, first, by theorists who are smitten with an inordinate lust for despotism; or by those who, like Mommsen, gaze upon Caesar with inarticulate rapture.* These speak as if Cicero should have seen that his cherished Republic was no longer possible; that everything had long since been tending to monarchy; that Caesar was the genius destined to erect a great structure, 'to have laid any stone of which would have been enough to have secured the immortality of any man.'† In the work of C. Gracchus, which laid the foundation

* 'As the artist can paint everything except consummate beauty, so the historian, when once in a thousand years he falls in with the perfect, can only be silent regarding it. . . . The secret of Nature, whereby in her most finished manifestations normality and individuality are combined, is beyond expression.'—Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 457.

† It must not be forgotten that the spheres of the historian and of the biographer do not completely coincide. If it is the duty of the historian to seek to solve the question, what was the real character of the Catilinarian conspiracy, it is no less the duty of the biographer to try to discover what was the actual opinion of Cicero about its nature and origin. The conspirators may have been democrats; but if Cicero thought they were anarchists, the biographer is bound to construct his analysis of Cicero's character as if they were anarchists. The Republic, no doubt, was sick of a mortal disease, but Cicero thought it was curable. A dagger was plunged to the heart of the Republic, and Cicero did not apprehend that it would be fatal to pluck the weapon from the wound. Caesar may have come to deliver the people from oppression, but Cicero thought he was coming to establish a despotism. Mommsen has an amazing power of seizing the *Zeitgeist* of an epoch, and of marshalling his facts so as to point out, amid a mass of apparently isolated phenomena, some prevailing and

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of the *tyrannis*, Cicero only saw the *seditio* of a turbulent tribune who sought to excite the people against constituted authority. In the Gabinian and Manilian Laws, which established the *tyrannis*, he only saw large honours conferred on one to whom he looked as the champion of the Optimates. Whether Caesar formed or did not form clearly the design of establishing a *tyrannis*, he certainly did not avow it. It is remarkable how, during his whole career, even the most acute of his contemporaries failed to appreciate the colossal proportions of Caesar as a historical figure. They stood too near the canvas to judge of the effect.

But again, the question which we have put has been answered against Cicero by those who are enamoured of liberty, of whom is Mr. Beesly. They argue as if Cicero knew well that the aristocracy were 'a vile party,' who were determined to maintain their privileges of oppression, as if he said to himself, 'Caesar is coming to rescue the people from the tyranny of a dominant class, but he shall not do so; we will resist him, and oppress them still.' Now, it never occurred to Cicero that the people were being oppressed; if he had been told that Caesar was coming to restore them their liberty, he would have asked when had they lost it; * and it would have seemed a strange reflection to him that a gang of ruined aristocrats like Curio, Dolabella, Antony, under the leadership of one who boasted his descent from the heroes of the Iliad, from Venus Aphrodite, from the kings and gods of Rome, were coming to wrest the despoiled liberties of the people from the usurping hands of a Varro, a Cicero, and a Cato—from two burghers of Reate and Arpinum, and the descendant of a Tusculan peasant. But the fact is that Caesar, when once launched in the war, did not claim for himself the character of a liberator. † He spoke of his consulship refused to him, his province taken away, and his army disbanded. We hear nothing about an oppressed people, or himself as a champion of democracy. Cicero saw in the approach of Caesar

characteristic tendency; but he forgets that his Caesars and Ciceros were struggling under a dust of battle which two thousand years have hardly cleared away. He forgets that his estimate of the influence of Caesar on history may still be quite just, though Caesar dreamed not of the fine issues to which his spirit was so finely touched.

* Gaston Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis*, p. 64.

† He claimed it at the very commencement of the struggle (De Bell. Civ. i. 22), but dropped the cry afterwards.

nothing but peril to his dear Republic. Nor could he possibly have diagnosed the disease by which the Republic was slowly dying. When a Saturninus or a Catiline was crushed, he thought the Republic was cured. He did not see that these were but recurring symptoms of a deeply-seated and fatal malady. The Republic on which Cicero centred his faith and love, to which he devoted his pen and tongue, and for which he gave his life, was the Commonwealth of the Scipios.* Such a Commonwealth existed now only in an imagination which took memories for hopes. But surely the Commonwealth of the Scipios, which fired the enthusiasm of Virgil under Augustus, and of Lucan under Nero, was no unworthy object of the devotion of Cicero.† There are some who so lust to see 'brute Power increase,' that they can sneer at the struggle of Chaeronea, and smile at the death-pains of Poland; that they can but shout *vae victis* over the defeated, however noble or unequal the struggle. To us it seems that none but such as these ought to be able to view with indifference the fall of the Roman Republic, or to wonder why Cicero clung with such reverential homage to the Commonwealth, and even to the faint, pale ghost of the Commonwealth, which, in the times of the First Triumvirate,

'Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.'

And if it be contended that Cicero showed some want of insight in not seeing that monarchy was inevitable, we may reply that his was a blindness which contrasts favourably with the perspicacity which taught Atticus to make his peace with Caesar and Antony so secure.‡

* It is from this period that Cicero loves to take his interlocutors in his dialogues. He professes to Pompey in *Fam. v. 7, 3* (13) that his highest aspiration is to play Laelius to the Scipio of Pompey; and, in choosing a fictitious name under which to correspond with Atticus, he calls himself Laelius.

† The benefits of the Empire were of course very great to the world. The provincials especially had good reason to bless it. But we must enter on the *per contra* side of the account the great weakening of the manly fibre of the Roman character. Compare the independent tone of Cicero's letters with the polished subservience of Pliny. Nay, take the Machiavellian letter of Quintus on the tactics of a candidate for consulship (*Ep. 12*); nothing could be more worldly and politic than its precepts; but what an advantage in dignity it has over some of the epistles of Horace. The one teaches to flatter the public; the other to cringe to the Emperor.

‡ An able and encouraging review of the first edition of this volume in *The Times*

In a word, Cicero, like every politician, was actuated by mixed motives in the line which he took. He desired to achieve the commanding position to which he felt that his powers entitled

would put the matter in a nutshell by asking, Did Cicero sincerely believe Pompey to be the champion of the Republic? We give the whole passage, as it vigorously expresses the reviewer's conception of Cicero's attitude towards Pompey:—

"It is interesting to notice Cicero's estimate of Pompeius at different stages of his career. His real opinion of the man is contained in a curious passage in Att., Bk. i. [13, 4, Ep. 19]: 'He is affectionate towards me openly; but his dislike is sufficiently obvious. He has no courtesy, no candour, no high-mindedness in his public life, no brilliancy, no resolution, no generosity.' Pompeius's behaviour in face of the victorious advance of Caesar in Italy is thus described: 'But our Gnæus—is it not incredible and heart-breaking?—is completely prostrate! He has no heart, no head, no activity, no troops.' [Att. vii. 21, 1, Ep. 319.] It was indeed a cruel disappointment to one who had written [Fam. ii. 8, 2, Ep. 201] to Cælius two years before that Pompeius was 'a great citizen, and of mind and discretion adequate to all possible emergencies.' But Cicero's contempt for the man himself vanishes when he regards him as the representative of the *optima causa*, the champion of the Senate and the ancient constitution. He then thinks only of the dignity of Pompeius's position; of the many ties which bind him to himself: he calls him his dear friend, with whom he stands or falls. But did Cicero sincerely believe Pompeius to be the champion of the Republic? This is the nutshell in which the whole question of this part of Cicero's policy lies. If he did believe it, it was his stern duty to adhere to the Pompeians. If he did not, it was open to him either to remain neutral, or to side with whichever leader was in his opinion best fitted to govern the State. Cicero makes no disguise to Atticus of his opinion on this point. In March of 49 he writes [Att. viii. 11, 2, Ep. 342]:—

"What both rivals seek is absolute power; they have not cared one jot for the prosperity and honour of the State. Nor, indeed, did Pompeius leave the city because he could not defend it, nor Italy because he was driven thence; but from the beginning his design was to move every land and sea, to incite barbarian kings to bring savage nations against Italy, to assemble the largest armies he could. That is the sort of Sullan dominion which many of his suite have long been thirsting for. Do you think an arrangement might not have been come to between the two? Why, such might be framed even at this moment; but our friend (Pompeius) will have none of it; both rivals, I repeat, wish to reign."

"Thus it is clear that Cicero knew that Pompeius was only using the constitution as a peg on which to hang his pretensions. Possessing this knowledge, Cicero had no justification for the course he took."—*Times*, Monday, Aug. 16, 1880.

To this the answer is that a fair and full examination of Cicero's letters shows that he did look on Pompey as the champion of the Republic, while Caesar was its declared foe; and that it is unfair to set against the prevailing tone of the letters the hasty expression of a momentary fear, the feverish outburst of distracted petulance. Undoubtedly Cicero does speak of Pompey as being actuated, like Caesar, only by personal motives; but it is in the tone in which a good Tory might have sometimes said of Lord Beaconsfield—"I declare he is as bad as Gladstone."

him; but he did not wish to reach by crooked paths an eminence, however great. He was ambitious to rise, but he was ambitious to rise by inspiring his fellow-countrymen with a strong and abiding sense of those pre-eminent abilities of which he was conscious, and to use his power, when attained, in the honest service of the best interests of the State, as he conceived them. That vanity and self-laudation, which is so repugnant to our sense of fitness, was a vice not only of the man but also of the age, though no doubt he was vain to a degree conspicuous even then. How different from ours was the spirit of the time when even Caesar, on whose 'marvellous serenity' Mommsen dwells so lovingly, could send such a letter to the senate as *veni, vidi, vici*. With what ridicule would such a despatch now be received by Parliament and the Press. Cicero lived in an epoch when pro-consuls sought and found their 'laurels in a must-cake,' and on their return to Rome enjoyed the empty pageantry of a triumph or a *supplicatio*, which was often but a mockery of their demonstrated incompetence. But, in spite of characteristic weaknesses, Cicero was a great power in his age. In the opinion of his contemporaries, he saved Rome in the time of Catiline, and did his best to save it in the time of Antony. When once fairly embarked in politics, Cicero was eminently serviceable to the party of his adoption. For these services he has been condemned by Mommsen, but has won the enthusiastic praise of Pliny, who rightly sees the splendid triumphs of a born orator, not the enforced drudgery of a slighted hireling, in the speeches which persuaded the people to abandon the Agrarian Law, 'that is, their food,'* and to spare Roscius; and which induced the descendants of the Sullan proscripts to relinquish their claim to office. It was the same magic power which extorted from the *iudices* the con-

* Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 116, 117 *Sed quo te, M. Tulli, piaculo taceam quove maxime excellentem insigni praedicem? quo potius quam universi populi amplissimo testimonio, e tota vita tua consulatus tantum operibus electis? Te dicente legem agrariam, hoc est alimenta sua, abdicarunt tribus, te suadente Roscio theatralis auctori legis ignoverunt notatasque se discrimine sedis aequo animo tulerunt, te orante proscriptorum liberos honores petere puduit, tuum Catilina fugit ingenium, tu M. Antonium proscripsisti. Salve primus omnium parens patriae appellate, primus in toga triumphum linguaeque lauream merite, et facundiae Latinarumque literarum parens atque, ut dictator Caesar hostis quondam tuus de te scripsit, omnium triumphorum laurea maior. Quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse quam imperii.*

demnation of Verres, and which sent Catiline half stunned from the Senate. It would be very easy to add to Pliny a long array of enthusiastic admirers of Cicero among ancient writers. The eloquent eulogy of Velleius Patereculus (ii. 66) has often been quoted; and Quintilian (xii. 1, 15-17) has given a noble testimony to the patriotism of Cicero; Cremutius Cordus, quoted by Seneca (Suas. vi. 23), writes that he was 'conspicuous not only for the greatness but the number of his virtues'; and Livy (Seneca, *ibid.* 22) says that 'to praise him as he deserves we ought to have another Cicero.*' But these witnesses are superfluous to him who reads the letters as they have been read by all historians from Niebuhr to Merivale; while Mommsen and Drumann would, no doubt, dismiss their evidence with a sneer, and again betake themselves to their *acte d'accusation*.†

§ 2. CICERO IN HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

Cicero is presented to us even at the very commencement of his correspondence as being in easy circumstances. He already possesses his estates at Formiæ and Tusculum. We find him in the year 687 (67) looking out for *objets d'art* for his *gymnasium* at Tusculum, and he is in a position to pay some £170 for certain statues made of the *κογχίτης λίθος*, for which Megara was

* Seneca, Suas. vi. 22 *Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensaret, vir magnus ac memorabilis fuit et in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.* 23 *Civis non solum magnitudine virtutum sed multitudine quoque conspiciendus.*

† We quote here the concluding words of an admirably just and learned account of the life of Cicero in the *Quarterly Review*, by Mr. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College, Oxford (cp. his *Cicero*, p. 428):—

“His is one of those characters whose faults lie on the surface; and the preservation of his most secret letters has withdrawn the veil which hides the weakness and the pettiness of most men from the eyes of posterity. His memory has thus been subjected to a test of unprecedented sharpness. Nevertheless, the faithful friends who resolved to present to the world his confidential utterances, unspoiled by editorial garbling, have not only earned our gratitude by the gift of a unique historical monument, but have judged most nobly and most truly what was due to the reputation of Cicero. As it was in his lifetime, so it has been with his memory: those who have known him most intimately have commonly loved him best. He is no demi-god to be set on a pedestal for the worship of the nations, but a man with human virtues and human weaknesses, and withal possessed of a charm of grace and goodness which makes us think of him

famous. He had inherited from his father an estate in Arpinum, in the neighbourhood of the two country houses of his brother Quintus, Arcanum and Laterium; and a house in Rome on the Carinae, which he seems to have made over to his brother Quintus, when he himself, after his consulate, bought for nearly £30,000 the magnificent house of M. Crassus on the Palatine, which brought on him so much envy and misconstruction.* The marriage portion which he received on marrying Terentia, 677 (69), at the age of 29, amounted to about £3400. But even before this time he was in a position, in the years 675, 676 (79, 78), to make a tour through Greece and Asia. What, then, were the sources of Cicero's income, for there is no evidence that he inherited any considerable fortune? The chief source, no doubt, was his practice at the Bar, especially as the advocate of foreign States and Kings. For though the Cincian Law† forbade the

as of some familiar and beloved friend. The calm retrospective judgment of Caesar Augustus, recorded for us by Plutarch (Cic. 49), sums up not unfairly the story of Cicero's life:—

“It happened many years after, that Caesar once found one of his grandsons with a work of Cicero in his hands. The boy was frightened and hid the book under his gown; but Caesar took it from him, and standing there motionless he read through a great part of the book; then he gave it back to the boy and said, *This was a great orator, my child, a great orator and a man who loved his country well*’ (λόγιος ἀνὴρ, καὶ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλόπατρις).”

* The reason assigned by Plutarch (Cic. 8) is that those who paid their respects to him should not have to come a great distance. The purchase of the house of Crassus by Cicero seems to have been much talked about at Rome. *Domum emisti* (Ep. 22, 10) says Clodius to him in the Senate, implying that the purchase was beyond Cicero's means, as indeed it was (Ep. 16. 2). Gellius tells a story (xii. 12) in reference to this transaction to show how clever Cicero was to turn aside an accusation by making a joke. *Cum emere vellet in Palatio domum et pecuniam in praesens non haberet, a P. Sulla, qui tum reus erat, mutua sestertium viciens tacita accepit. Ea res tamen priusquam emeret, prodita est et in vulgus exivit obiectumque ei est quod pecuniam domus emendae causa a reo accepisset. Tum Cicero, inopinata obprobatione permotus, accepisse se negavit ac domum quoque se empturum negavit atque ‘adeo’ inquit ‘verum sit, accepisse me pecuniam, si domum emero.’ Sed cum postea emisset et hoc mendacium in senatu ei ab inimicis obiceretur, risit satis atque inter ridendum, ‘ἀκοινοβήτοι’ inquit ‘homines estis, cum ignoratis, prudentis et cauti patrisfamilias esse, quod emere velit, empturum sese negare propter competitores emptionis.’*

† This law was proposed by M. Cincius Alimentus in 550 (204), and supported by Q. Fabius Maximus (Cic. Sen. 10). It is mostly referred to as forbidding gifts to advocates, cp. Tac. Ann. xi. 5, xv. 20. As the nobles were for the most part the advocates, the object of the law was chiefly to prevent the plebeians from becoming

feeling of advocates, yet there is abundant evidence that the thankfulness of successfully-defended clients generally took a substantial form. We may perhaps infer from Att. i. 20, 7 (26), that the gratitude of L. Papirius Paetus showed itself in the appropriate present of his library; and the tone of this passage leads us to surmise that the Lex Cincia de Muneribus, then nearly 150 years old, had to a great extent become obsolete.* Cicero, then, who devoted himself to the Bar at the early age of 25, must have made a considerable income by his profession. For there seems to have been but one other source of income to him—legacies left by grateful clients or admiring friends. Plutarch (Cic. 8) tells us that early in life he was bequeathed a sum of about £3000; but his receipts under this head are probably much exaggerated.† For instance, we are asked to believe that in 695 (59) the Stoic Diodotus, who had been for some time an inmate of Cicero's house, left him heir to a sum equal to about £85,000! Of a truth—

‘Sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,’

if he can make such bequests to his friends or hosts. But the grandeur of the legacy is as nothing compared to the coolness of the legatee, *Diodotus mortuus est; reliquit nobis HS fortasse centies* (47, 6), and then he passes to other trifling topics. Malaspina is, no doubt, right in reading *sestertia centum*, about £850. At the

impoverished by having to make presents to their patrons (cp. Livy xxxiv. 4. 9 *quid legem Cinciam de donis et muneribus, nisi quia vectigalis iam et stipendiaria plebs esse senatui coeperat?*). But besides this special prohibition, it forbade all gifts above a certain amount, and required full execution of the gift. There was no penalty for violation of the law, but gifts which contravened the enactment could be revoked by the donor: see Roby, *Roman Private Law*, i. 526; Lange, *Röm. Alt.* ii³, 190–192. But though the law was doubtless passed in the interests of the plebeians, as time went on it proved advantageous to the nobles. It shut the career of an advocate to all who did not possess some fortune. It denied the necessities of life to the advocate, while it gave him the luxuries, which came in the form of handsome presents from wealthy clients. The Bar, then, as a political career, until very recent times, was the privilege of the well-to-do.

* It is possible, indeed, that the remark here may be merely playful, as there is no evidence that Cicero ever acted as advocate for Papirius Paetus. But, besides this passage, there is some proof that this law was practically a dead letter.

† Cicero boasts (Phil. ii. 40) that he had received in bequests above £170,000; but this is probably a rhetorical hyperbole. A large list of legacies which Cicero received during his lifetime is given by Drumann, vi. 383.

age of 61, in the year 709 (45), Cicero did receive a very large legacy from Cluvius, who had formerly acted as agent for Pompey (cp. vol. iii. p. xxv.), which he tells us brought in nearly £700 a-year, and afterwards over £800: *vehementer me Cluviana delectant*,* he says to his friend Atticus when he discovers how valuable his legacy is about to prove. Cicero appears† to have been able to serve the interests of this rich Puteolan by using in his favour his influence with Q. Thermus, who governed Asia as pro-praetor in 703 (51). There seems to have existed in Rome a testamentary mania, in consequence of which distinguished public characters often became the heirs of men personally quite unknown to them. The obscure *millionaire* loved at his death to divide his riches between two or three of the most eminent public characters of the day. It was not a tribute to the character or the politics of the legatee. Such bequests were thought to reflect distinction on the testator. Caesar and Cicero were co-heirs of Cluvius; and Cicero was coupled with the detested Clodius in the will of the architect Cyrus. This vagary of human folly ought not to cause much surprise. Are there not now those who during life devote their resources to the entertaining of distinguished persons, whose society they dislike; or the purchase of works of art, the merits of which they cannot appreciate; or who, at their death, apply to ostentatious charity wealth equitably due to dependants or benefactors?

Such, then, were the main sources of Cicero's income, for he refused to avail himself of the ordinary avenues to wealth in Rome. These were, first and chiefly, the plunder of the provinces. Cicero turned his back on this means of enriching himself by waiving his claim to a province after his praetorship and his consulate. When, in the year 703 (51), he did accept the government of Cilicia, he set his face against the illegal practices by which Appius had 'depleted' the province. We may form an estimate of the wealth to be amassed by an unscrupulous governor, when we learn from Cicero himself that, in spite of the rigorous purism of his administration, he laid by in his provincial life

* Att. xiii. 37, 4 (657) note: 46, 3 (663). The *horti Cluviani* were Cicero's Puteolanum; cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen*, pp. 50-53.

† Fam. xiii. 56 (231).

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nearly £19,000. This sum, which was in *cistophori*, the Asiatic currency, he deposited in the hands of certain *publicani* in Ephesus.* Another road to a fortune neglected by Cicero was the practice of usury.† It is a singular feature in the social life of this period, that men of the highest distinction lent money on interest to individuals and corporations. Brutus, though according to Shakspeare he condemned Cassius for his itching palm, had large transactions of this kind,‡ and it was thus that Atticus amassed the wealth which he knew so well how to keep. Nor was this trade confined to men. There is some reason to believe that Terentia may have embarrassed her husband by speculations, in which she allowed herself either to be a partner with or to be defrauded by her steward and freedman, Philotimus. Caerellia,§ too, seems to have had extensive business transactions. From these Cicero always held aloof, though we find

* Cicero distinctly tells Rufus, in *Fam.* v. 20, 9 (302), that Pompey appropriated this money. Yet we read in the early letters of the eleventh book to Atticus of this sum of money apparently still intact. There seems thus to be some reason for the inference of Boot that the statement made by Cicero to Rufus was untrue, and that it was made with the design of comforting Rufus, who had recently sustained a pecuniary loss. Rufus was his quaestor.

† This mode of acquiring wealth was by no means deemed disreputable in Rome. But Cicero does not seem to have sought thus to add to his resources. He uses, in one of his letters to Quintus (66, 6), an expression which seems designedly employed to show that his means were more honourably acquired. Writing from exile, he speaks of himself as one who once was *liberis, coniuge, copiis, genere ipso pecuniae, beatissimus*. Cicero did not look down on trade. In *Parad.* 46 he writes, *qui honeste rem quaerunt mercaturis faciendis, operis dandis, publicis sumendis*; but he aspires, for himself, to the function which Scipio, in the Republic (i. 35), claims, *cum mihi sit unum opus hoc a parentibus maioribusque meis relictum, procuratio atque administratio reipublicae*.

‡ For details, cp. vol. vi., pp. xeviii, ff.; see also C. Bardt (*Programm des A. Joachimsthalischen Gymnasiums*, 1898), Mommsen (*Hermes*, 1899, pp. 145-150), and W. Sternkopf (*Dortmund Programm*, 1900) on the usury of Brutus in Cilicia. See also *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, Polite Literature and Antiquities*, vol. vi., 400-405.

§ This interesting woman (the loss of whose correspondence with Cicero is much to be regretted) may, perhaps, have afforded to him that intelligent sympathy in his literary labours which he sought in vain from Terentia. She was the Stella of Cicero. That the intimacy partook in no degree of the nature of an intrigue is plain from the friendly relations which subsisted between Caerellia and Terentia: cp. vol. iv., p. lxxi. Yet the rancour of Dio Cassius has not recoiled even from this aspersion. Like Swift, Comte, and Goethe, Cicero felt the charm of a woman's sympathy; but Caerellia never had reason to regret that she had extended it to him. In his respect for the sanctity of domestic life Cicero presents a strong contrast to the manners of his age. Other

him ever ready to lend to a friend, and very frequently obliged to borrow.* His exile and its consequences involved him in difficulties from which he never wholly emerged. Yet he cannot have ever been deeply in debt, for we find him throughout his life in possession of half a dozen country residences in the most delightful parts of Italy,† together with 'lodges,' or *deversoria*, at Tarra-cina, Sinuessa, Cales, and Anagnia, which the absence of hotels rendered necessary for persons of distinction who would travel in a manner befitting their rank. In the matter of money lent to him, Cicero shows a sense of honour consonant with the sound business principles of the Romans. He feels it incumbent on him to apply to the repayment of his debt to Caesar the money which he had received for the expenses of his triumph, 'because it looks ugly to be in debt to a political opponent.‡ Again, on leaving Rome after the death of Caesar,§ he writes to Atticus:—'I am owed money enough to satisfy all claims on me; yet it often happens that debtors fail to pay in due time. If anything of this sort should happen, pray consult only my reputation. Borrow afresh to meet the demands of my creditors, or even raise money by selling my property.'

His married life with Terentia|| was decorous, and for a long time they lived together with kindly feelings one to the other. Cicero's letters from exile are full of tender expressions (e. g.,

traits in his character, too, show an approximation to modern modes of feeling and thought—for example, his refined repugnance to the cruel sports of the amphitheatre.—Fam. vii. 1, 3 (127).

* Cicero walks under his load of difficulties with a light step, which reminds us of Sheridan, with whom, indeed, the *seurra consularis* has other affinities. He says of his country houses at Tusculum and Pompeii, *me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, aere non Corinthio sed hoc circumforaneo obruerunt* (27, 11); and again (16, 2), *itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni, ut cupiam coniurare, si quis me recipiat*.

† For a full discussion of Cicero's villas throughout Italy (*ocellos Italiae villulas meas*, as Cicero calls them, Att. xvi. 6, 2, Ep. 775), see O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen* in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1899. It is hard to know whether to admire most the feeling for landscape, the human sympathy, or the wide learning of this most attractive dissertation.

‡ *Est enim εμφορον αντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτην esse*.—Att. vii. 8, 5 (299).

§ Att. xvi. 2, 2 (772).

|| There is an interesting and learned monograph on *Cicero und Terentia* by O. E. Schmidt in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*, 1899, pp. 174–185, to which we are much indebted.

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62, 1); and Terentia was exposed to much hardship and persecution by Clodius, who seems to have suspected her of concealing her husband's effects (79, 2; Sest. 54). In all this crisis Terentia seems to have behaved with much resolution, and was affectionately commended by her husband. At the end of 704 (50), Terentia is still *suavissima et optatissima*; and six months later, when Cicero is leaving Italy for the East, he writes with affectionate pride that he would urge her and Tullia to be strong at heart were it not that he knew them to be stronger than any man.* That was at least twenty-eight years after their marriage.† But the next letter, Fam. xiv. 6 (414), dated July 15th, 706 (48), shows an altered tone. None of the remaining letters to Terentia are in the least affectionate;‡ and two years later Cicero divorced her. The reasons seem to have been money difficulties. It would appear that Terentia diverted to her own use part of the money due to Dolabella for Tullia's dowry, though Cicero says that was the least of his wrongs; cp. Att. xi. 2, 2 (407), where allusion is also made to the disappearance of the rents of his real estate. Cicero was, no doubt, careless about money; but we may well suppose that Terentia and her knavish (cf. Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. 282) agent, Philotimus, were too solicitous to secure their own money, cp. Att. xi. 16, 5 (431). She would appear also to have incurred debts; and there was further a source of contention in a will which Terentia appears to have drawn up, which did not in Cicero's eyes make suitable provision for Tullia and young Marcus.§

* Fam. xiv. 7, 2 (405) *Cohortarer vos quo animo fortiores essetis nisi vos fortiores cognossem quam quemquam virum.*

† Tullia was married to Piso in 63 B.C. (Cat. iv. 3); at which time she cannot have been less than 14, which would place her birth at the latest in 678 (76), and accordingly Cicero's marriage in 677 (77), which was about the time he returned from the East.

‡ The last, dated October 1, 707 (47), indeed is singularly laconic and business-like. Here it is, Fam. xiv. 20, Ep. 449 *In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata (plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur); labrum si in balneo non est, ut sit, item cetera quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Oct. de Venusino.* 'A gentleman,' says Mr. Long, 'would write a more civil letter to his housekeeper.' It reminds one of Mr. Pickwick's celebrated letter about 'chops and tomato sauce.'

§ Plut. Cic. 41: Cic. Att. xii. 18a. 2 (551). Cicero considered that she acted *scelerate* and that her conduct was *perfidia*, cp. Att. xi. 16, 5 (431), Fam. iv. 14, 3 (535).

He certainly did not find her well-disposed to him (ἐγγνώμων, Plut. l. c.) when he returned to Italy in 707 (47), and he does not seem to have ever repented of having divorced her. It is not the least charming and chivalrous trait in Cicero's character, that he was most anxious to act towards Terentia with the utmost fairness in respect to the repayment of her dowry, and that he preferred to submit to sharp practice on her part rather than act with any harshness on his own, cp. Att. xii. 21, 3 (557). O. E. Schmidt well contrasts the *humanitas* of Cicero and the *austeritas* of Terentia (cp. Plut. Cic. 20). It is stated by Jerome that Terentia afterwards married the historian Sallust, and later Messalla Corvinus; but these marriages are not mentioned by Plutarch. She is said to have lived to the age of 103. Cicero has been blamed for his divorce of Terentia, and his re-marriage with the youthful Publilia at the age of 63. But it must be remembered that a politician 63 years of age was not then so old as he would be now. Men began life much later than in modern times. Cicero cannot be said to have begun his political life till he was nearly 40 years of age; and Cæsar began his career as a great general at an age at which Alexander was dead and Napoleon had been conquered. But we do not want wholly to defend Cicero as regards this marriage with his young ward. He might reply to his detractors that 'Anon she'll be a woman' (*Cras mulier erit*, Quintil. vi. 3, 75); but he felt excuses were needed; and the excuse he made was that Publilia's dowry was required by him to extricate him from his financial difficulties, cp. Fam. iv. 14, 3 (535), and Plut. Cic. 41. Terentia, of course, mockingly, said that Cicero was captivated by Publilia's youth and beauty (Plut. *ib.*). Later Cicero seems not to have been able to endure her, cp. Att. xii. 32, 1 (568). Publilia may have been the wife of Cicero whom Vibius Rufus is said to have married (Dio Cass. lvii. 15). It can hardly have been Terentia, even though she did live to the age of 103 (Val. Max., viii. 13, 6).

Nor was the career of his son Marcus* a source of happiness to Cicero. Finding him intractable under the hands of his tutor Dionysius, his father sent him to Athens (as to a University) to complete his education. His allowance seems very ample,

* For a full account of young Marcus see vol. v., p. lvi, ff.

amounting, as it did, to about £850 a-year. Yet the youth squanders this on carousing and entertainments, while his tutor Gorgias abets his extravagances and dissipations, reminding us of Doctor Pangloss in *The Heir-at-Law*. Young Marcus seems never to have thoroughly cast off the vices of his youth. In the letter to Tiro (Fam. xvi. 21, Ep. 786), in which he announces his complete reformation, we cannot help feeling that the young man 'protests too much'; and we hear that, even after Augustus raised him to the consulate, he distinguished himself by his drunken excesses.* It is a sad reflection to think what the consulate was when the great orator had to strain every nerve to gain it, and what it was when, as a late return for the services of the father, the Emperor conferred it, as a piece of patronage, on a brainless profligate.

It is in his daughter Tullia that Cicero finds his solace and pride. Like Francis Atterbury, he found in the society of a daughter his one refuge from the chances and changes of a troublous life. He is never wearied of recounting her virtues. Indeed, he so eulogises her intellectual powers and her acquired knowledge, that he has almost earned for her the unenviable reputation of an *esprit fort*, or even a blue-stocking. Her infatuation for Dolabella, her third husband, is quite consistent with her father's account of her. We often find women of really exceptional intellect yielding to the fascinations of a handsome, shallow, somewhat clever Bohemian. Such in real life was the blind admiration

* Brutus (Brut. ii. 3, 5, Ep. 837) commended his services in the campaign against C. Antonius; and Cicero had the delight of announcing in the senate that 'the legion which was commanded by Lucius Piso, one of the lieutenants of C. Antonius, has put itself at the disposal of my son Cicero' (Phil. x. 13). It is very interesting to observe how, under the profligacy and superficial cultivation of the declining Republic, still we may occasionally catch a glimpse of the old Roman qualities by which *fortis Etruria crevit*. We can still see the iron hand in war. Quintus lays down his bloody axe and well-worn scourge, young Marcus casts the chaplet from his wine-flushed brow, to wield the sword with all the energy of Camillus or Scipio. Plutarch (Cic. 49) remarks that by a singular coincidence Divine justice reserved the completion of the punishment of Antony for the house of Cicero: after the capture of the fleet of Antony, which was immediately followed by his death, it was to the new consul, M. Cicero, that the official despatch announcing the victory was sent; 'and in his consulship the senate threw down the statues of Antony, and annulled all other honours that had been bestowed upon him, and further enacted that no Antony henceforth should bear the name of Marcus' (Plut. Cic. 49).

which the Brontë sisters felt for their worthless brother; such in fiction was the love of George Eliot's Romola for Tito; and such was the strange infatuation which made Tullia cling to Dolabella, in spite of his wicked extravagance, which squandered her dower, and his insulting infidelities with Caecilia Metella, which he hardly took the trouble to conceal. Tullia had lost her first husband, the noble Piso, by death;* she was then married to Crassipes. It was when her father was absent in Cilicia that her hand was sought for the third time. Among her suitors was Tiberius Nero, the father of the Emperor. Thus Cicero might have been the ancestor of an Emperor, as Atticus was of an Empress. Tullia died in child-birth,† at the age of 31, at her father's house in Tusculum, where she had taken refuge from the outrages of Dolabella. Cicero never recovered her loss. He never forgave Publilia, who (he thought) betrayed joy at her death (Plut. Cic. 41), and never again received her into his house, in spite of the girl's earnest entreaties to be allowed to return to her aged husband. One cannot but smile to find Cicero at once preparing to deify his dead daughter, as Hadrian afterwards deified his beloved slave. We owe to the death of Tullia the letter of Sulpicius, written to console the bereaved father (Fam. iv. 5, Ep. 555). This is perhaps the best of the extant letters to Cicero, which, as a rule, show an amazing inferiority to the letters of the orator himself. There is a manly letter from Matius (Fam. xi. 28, Ep. 785), and many amusing letters from others; but this is the only great letter, not by Cicero himself, in the whole correspondence. It is sad to see how little real consolation Sulpicius could offer to his friend. He urges him to moderate his grief for his daughter; to see her father so wretched would wound her loving heart were she alive; perhaps it wounds her even now, *si quis etiam inferis sensus est* (cp. Phil. ix. 13).

* This Piso was most active in efforts to prevent the banishment of his father-in-law (Plut. Cic. 31), and worked hard for his restoration (Cic. post red. in Sen. 38; Sest. 68). He declined to go as quaestor to Bithynia in 697 (57), in order that he might devote his energies in Rome on behalf of Cicero. He died in the first half of 697 (57), before Cicero's return (Cic. Sest. 68 *Piso ille, gener meus, cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a populo Romano ferre licuit*). Cicero speaks warmly of his intellectual powers in Brut. 272.

† She had had no children by her previous marriages.

In his romantic love for his daughter and his indifference to his wife, the character of Cicero presents a trait familiar in modern French life. Again, we have a view very characteristic of the modern Frenchman in the lightness with which he assigns to Terentia religion as her department, while his own business is with men.* Another thoroughly French feature in his disposition is his hatred for provincial life. 'I cannot express to you,' he writes (Att. v. 11, 1, Ep. 200), 'how I am consumed with longing for the town, how intolerably insipid is this provincial life.' A letter to Caelius (Fam. ii. 12, 2, Ep. 263), in the passage beginning *Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole, et in ista luce vive*, breathes the very spirit of the *salon* and *boulevard*.

It is singular that the correspondence of another great letter-writer should be marked by the same overflowing love for a daughter. Madame de Sévigné's love for 'the prettiest girl in France' certainly was not so well placed as the love of Cicero for Tullia. Madame de Grignan seems to have been selfish, extravagant, and cold-hearted—not, indeed, nearly so lovable as her brother Charles de Sévigné. Indeed, we can hardly acquit the clever Frenchwoman of assuming a rôle, and posing in the picturesque attitude of the adoring mother.

Cicero speaks in the highest terms of his father and mother. Of the former he writes (De Or. ii. 1) as *optimi ac prudentissimi viri*; and there is some reason to think that the beginning of his

* *Neque Di quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines quibus ego semper servivi.*—Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62); cp. also Fam. xiv. 7, 1 (405). We find often in Cicero casual hints at his agnosticism, for instance, in Att. iv. 10, 1 (121) *fors viderit, aut si qui est qui curet Deus*; and in the pro Cluent. 171, we have this remarkable passage:—*nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi forte ineptiis et fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre . . . quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intellegunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit praeter sensum doloris?* (yet cp. Phil. xiv. 32). In the speech for Rabirius (29) Cicero anticipates an eternal existence for the souls of the good, basing it on the instinctive belief of mankind: again, in the De Har. Resp. 19, he affirms his belief in the existence of gods, grounding it on the evidences of design in Nature. But it is strange how lightly his beliefs sit upon him, and how little they influence his conduct: in Tusc. i. 74 he says that the God who holds authority in our breast forbids us to leave our post without his leave; yet we know that during his exile he clearly and deliberately contemplates the commission of this act, and we hear nothing at all about any prohibition of conscience, or even a hint that self-destruction is unworthy of a good man. For more evidences as to Cicero's belief in a future state, cp. vol. v., p. lxxiv.

poem on his consulship was devoted to an elaborate eulogy of his father.* Cicero has often been accused of want of filial feeling, because he has been supposed to have curtly announced the death of his father to Atticus in the words *pater nobis decessit a. d. iiii. Kal. Decembris* (Att. i. 6, 2; Ep. 2). In the notes on that passage we have fully discussed the soundness of the text. It is enough here to observe that even if the text be sound, it is quite probable that Cicero had announced to Atticus in more fitting terms his father's death, and is here (in answer to a question from Atticus) merely reminding his friend of the date—'the date of my poor father's death [for this is the force of *nobis*] was Nov. 24.'†

While acquitting Cicero in this particular instance, one cannot help noticing, even in the most refined of the ancient Romans, an absence of sensibilities which polish, and even sweeten, the intercourse of modern life. In letter 8 (Att. i. 3) Cicero announces to Atticus the death of the grandmother of Atticus in jesting phrase, which good taste must condemn. It seems that the lady was not dear to Atticus, and that he was not at all likely to feel real grief for her; yet there is certainly a coarseness of tone in the letter. A sentiment of reverence should be inspired by the thought of death; and even if it be not felt, it should be assumed. In such a case, if ever, hypocrisy is a homage to good taste.

In connexion with this vindication of Cicero from attributed want of affection, it will be pertinent to examine briefly a few other charges brought against Cicero on the authority of his own letters.

In Att. iii. 12, 2 (69) Cicero says, 'I am shocked that my speech against Curio has become public. I wrote it under the influence of anger, and as a reply to his attack on me. But I thought I had prevented any chance of its getting into circulation. However, inasmuch as I happen never to have had any verbal altercation with him, and inasmuch as it is written with less than my usual care, I think a good case could be made to show it was not by me.' When Cicero wrote this, he was in an agony of suspense about the success or failure of the attempts to bring

* See note on Att. i. 19, 10 (25).

† For strong expressions of real sorrow for the death of a slave, and again, of a mere acquaintance, we have to go no further than Att. i. 12, 4 (17), and iv. 6, 1 (110).

about his restoration. A speech against Curio and Clodius, of the literary execution of which he was ashamed, and which was extremely likely to inflame still more against him the resentment of his enemies, had, in spite of Cicero's efforts to prevent it, somehow got into public circulation. Cicero accordingly wished that it could be represented not to be his. It seems to us that even at the present day, if a public man wrote something which, on reflection, appeared likely to injure him, and also was unworthy of him in style, he would feel a desire to disown the article, or at least would refrain from acknowledging it to be his, which would probably have very much the same effect. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the supposed modern statesman, even in a letter to an intimate friend, would own his real feelings. And this very fact must be placed to the credit of modern society. Christianity and chivalry have made certain acts and sentiments impossible for a gentleman to avow.

One is bound to take into account the different points of view from which an act presents itself to the moral sense at different epochs of society. Cicero did favour his friend Brutus in a dispute with the Salaminians; but Brutus could hardly understand why Cicero should take the Salaminians into account at all. Cicero was in advance of his age in every way, and behind the present age, not in obedience to the dictates of the moral sense, but only in the education and refinement of it. This consideration perhaps entitles Cicero to an acquittal in the two following cases.

We learn (Att. vi. 6, 4, Ep. 276) that Cicero was desirous of securing the good will of Caelius for his friend Atticus; so he dictated to the copyist of Atticus, who happened to be with him, a letter in praise of Caelius Caldus, which he read to Caelius as having come from Atticus. Cicero in all naïveté exclaims, *at te apud eum, di boni! quanta in gratia posui, eique legi litteras non tui sed librari tui (Qu. mei)*. It never occurred to Cicero that it was base to stoop to a fabrication even to serve a friend.

In 707 (47) a packet of letters from Quintus, directed to various friends, fell accidentally into the hands of Marcus. Some of them he forwarded to their destination. But on learning from these persons that the letters forwarded by him were full of atrocious reflections upon himself, he opened the remaining missives,

and sent them to Atticus, leaving it to him to decide whether they should be retained or sent to their destination. 'The fact that they have been opened,' he suggests, 'makes no matter, for I fancy Pomponia has his seal-ring.*' This, of course, strongly conflicts with modern notions about honour, but the writer is supremely unconscious that the act is in any way questionable.† Yet of those who would now look on such an act as worse than a crime, how few would be capable of the high-mindedness with which Cicero acted on his discovery of his brother's treachery! He wrote to Caesar a letter (of which we still preserve the copy which he sent to Atticus, in Att. xi. 12, 2, Ep. 427), completely absolving his brother from the suspicion of having instigated his own hostility against Caesar, or having urged him to fly to Greece, and begging the good offices of Caesar for a brother under the recent sense of whose baseness to him he must have been still smarting. It seems to us that this is an act of large nobleness and truly chivalrous feeling, quite startling when we remember the times in which Cicero lived.

The character of Quintus is very remarkable. One is familiar with the domestic bully, who in the world is an obsequious sycophant. But in Quintus we have the exactly opposite type. With his friends he is

'Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel':

the violence of his expressions‡ makes us feel that in his tragedies he must have 'torn the passion to tatters': in his province he is a wild beast in ferocity, though he seems to have sought to be just, and he certainly was not rapacious; he returned from Asia as poor as he left Rome; but woe to the luckless provincial who was caught tripping; the scourge was not cruel enough for Quintus, nor the axe sufficiently expeditious. Not Shakspeare's Richard was more ready to cry 'Off with his head!' But in private life he was the humblest of men. *Haec ego patior quotidie* is his plaintive ejaculation when Pomponia insults him in presence of his brother Marcus,

* Att. xi. 9, 2 (423).

† The same observations apply to a practice which Cicero acknowledges that he adopts in giving introductory letters to friends: see Fam. xiii. 6a (115).

‡ For examples of the violence of Quintus, see Ep. 53, § 6, where Cicero speaks with some asperity of the *invidiosa atrocitas* of his language.



and refuses to sit at table because Quintus had sent his slave Statius on before to see if dinner were ready, cp. Att. v. 1 (182). No doubt, the undue influence accorded to Statius in domestic matters was resented by the mistress of the household; but the paramount position of that slave seems to show that (in his private life), had Quintus been emancipated from the tyranny of Pomponia, he would have experienced but a change of rulers. The letters of Marcus are full of affection towards his brother Quintus. Nor does he fail in solicitude for him and his son even after he has discovered their base treachery in seeking to prejudice him with Caesar.

T. Pomponius Atticus, who stood to Cicero in the relation which Sir Horace Mann occupied to the Cicero of English letter-writing, Sir Horace Walpole, is not a pleasing person. His persistent neutrality in politics* was a course which, though nowise reprehensible in our own times, must have been regarded with disfavour in the days of Cicero. Yet he seems to have escaped to a great extent from adverse criticism, probably, as Mr. Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero*, p. 70) observes, because the Roman knight and man of business was not expected to regulate his conduct by the same high standard as was demanded of the consular; and, though connected with the unfortunate Sulpicius, he succeeded in living uninjured by Cinna or Sullan, and in affording pecuniary assistance to Marius in his flight.† He was intimate with the best Romans, from Sulla to Augustus; he was on good terms with both Caesar and Pompey; he had the warm friendship of Brutus, Hortensius, and Cicero, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Catullus. This he accomplished partly by availing himself of the shelter of his philosophic opinions, which, as Nepos says (Att. 17), he used for the purpose of regulating his life, and not for ostentatious

* As regards actions at least. He had, it appears, political feelings of some strength. We are told that he exclaimed *periisse causam si* [Caesar] *funere elatus esset*: see Att. xiv. 10, 1 (713).

† He was always ready to help his friends when in distress. Thus he assisted Terentia during Cicero's exile, and Fulvia and her children after Antony's defeat at Mutina. In return for this, Antony removed the name of Atticus from the proscription-list, and also that of his friend Gellius Canus (Nep. Att. 9, 10). Antony appears to have arranged the marriage between Attica and Agrippa (*ib.* 12).

display of learning. The Epicurean was speculatively bound to prefer the life of thought to the life of action. But he could not have preserved his complete tranquillity had he not early migrated to Athens, and there remained for about twenty years. In Athens we find him leading the life of a cultured gentleman, a recognised patron of literature and the fine arts, and recommending himself to his adopted fellow-citizens by gifts of corn, grown, no doubt, on his Epirote estate—a Roman practice which Cicero seems disposed to condemn.* As a thorough man of business,† a ready lender of money, and a literary critic of a high order—Cicero professed himself afraid of his ‘red-pencil marks,’ see Att. xvi. 11, 1 (799)—Atticus was, of course, very useful to Cicero; but, no doubt, the keen *negotiator* found not a little that was negotiable in his relations with the great *littérateur*. Atticus kept large numbers of *librarii*, or slaves who acted as copyists (Nepos, Att. 13). These executed many copies of the masterpieces of Cicero, and thus, no doubt, contributed not a little to fill the coffers of their master. We have here an insight into the elementary form of publishing practised during the last century of the Republic.‡ Atticus seems to have neglected none of the avenues to wealth, and even to have discovered some new ones for himself. Not only do we find him practising money-lending on a large scale, but we even read of his buying and training bands of gladiators, to be hired out to the Aediles for their public shows.§ And the wealth thus accumulated was preserved by a consistent parsimony in his household *ménage*, on which Cicero often rallies him. In Att. vi. 1, 13 (252) he takes him to task for serving up cheap vegetables on expensive plate, and asks what would be his fare if his service were of earthenware; and in Att. xvi. 3, 1 (773) he sends Atticus his treatise *de Gloria*, which he asks him to have copied on large

* Att. vi. 6, 2 (276) *Heus tu πρὸς εἰς δῆμον Athenis! Placet hoc tibi?*

† Nepos tells us (Att. 6) *nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est*. See note on Ep. 25, 9. He used not to take interest from friends to whom he lent money; but he was particular to demand the principal from them on the day fixed for repayment, *quod utrumque iis salutare fuit*, says Nepos (Att. 2).

‡ On the publication by Atticus of the *De Oratore*, the *Academica*, the *De Finibus*, and *Pro Ligario*, see Att. iv. 13, 2 (130); xiii. 13, 1 (627); 19, 5 (631); 21a, 2 (632); 44, 3 (646).

§ Att. iv. 4b, 2 (107); iv. 8a, 2 (112).

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paper, and, in suggesting that he should read it for his guests at a dinner which he was about to give, Cicero adds: 'but give them a decent entertainment, an you love me; else they will vent on my treatise their indignation against you.' Nepos (Att. 13) says that he knows as a fact that the amount allowed by Atticus for household expenses was 3000 *asses*, or about six guineas of our money, per month.

Nothing seemed more important to Atticus than to conceal as much as possible his business relations, and to appear before the world as a literary gentleman living on his estates in Epirus and elsewhere. When we find that his uncle, the odious Caecilius, from whom, Cicero tells us, even his own relations could not get a farthing under twelve per cent., adopted Atticus, and left him heir to a large fortune, one is a little tempted to think that the usurer Caecilius was in reality a secret partner of Atticus, taking much of the profits and all the obloquy, and not unwilling on those terms to play Jorkins to the Spensloe of his influential nephew.

One cannot much admire the character of the man who was on terms of intimate friendship with Clodius during his persecution of Cicero, and who, after the murder of Cicero, was the friend and entertainer of Fulvia, the wife of Antony. His knowledge of business was, no doubt, of much service to Cicero; but we find that Cicero even here was able to repay him in kind. In the efforts of Atticus in respect to the people of Buthrotum we see the keen interest which Cicero took in the material interests of his friend.* And there can be no doubt that his moderate and unemotional nature was of great advantage to the impulsive and impetuous Cicero, who in all his troubles and difficulties solicits his advice; and it is certain that the sober counsels of Atticus often afforded Cicero much comfort.†

A short account of the movements of Atticus between Greece

* Att. xvi. 16.

† See, for example, Att. ix. 10, 10 (365); xiii. 13, 3 (627). Yet at times Cicero complains of the instability of the opinions of Atticus; as an instance may be quoted his rapid change of opinion as regards Cicero's projected journey into Greece in the autumn of 710 (44); cp. Att. xvi. 7, 2, ff. (783). In Att. ix. 10 (365) there are several quotations from letters of Atticus, and we thus get a glimpse of his literary style. He uses at least one fine expression, cp. § 3, '*Sol' ut est in tua quadam epistula 'excidisse mihi e mundo videtur.'*'

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); *quiniplures*; *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. Ἐπαγάρχῃ, or ἀπόδος Ἐπαγάρχῃ, 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 Auriculae*. 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 ερρωσαι και τα λοιπα σοι κατα γνωμην εστιν ερρωμεθα δε και ημεις.—*Petrie Papyri*, II. xi. 1.
- (b) Απολλωνιω Αμμωνιος ει ερρωσαι και ταλλα σοι κατα λογον εστιν ειη αν ως βουλομαι καγω δ ικανως ειχον.—*Ib.* III. 53 (n).
- (c) Βαρχαϊος και 'Απολλώνιος 'Απολλωνίω τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαιρειν· εἰ ἐρρωμένως σοι και τᾶλλα κατὰ λόγον ἐστὶν τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη καὺτοὶ 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 Εὐδῆμῳ χαιρειν. Εἰ ὑγιαίνεις ἔχοι ἂν καλῶς. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετρίως ἔχω; and ends—καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίνης· εὐτύχει.

‡ See on this subject Bardt, *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

word, codicilli, amanu, sponden, evidence, Tiro, w, letters w, is proba, of the c, hear th, Caesar i, got so s, "Accord, of the le, Brutus, he canno, habere op, quoque q, a letter, Cicero, r, himself, had dest, remarka, should b, kept. A, He has, Cicero w, compose, exaravi, usage accor, all the mat, the signet-, * Often, dangers of, (810): xi. 1, 889. Impo, publication, mean quod, describenda, † Briefe

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, vitiis 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 (cp. 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 perspicis, nisi forte volumus scholas-ticas 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 κατηχῆσαι, 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 excerptisse 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 excerpti*), 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. 52n.) 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, *cp.* 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. 9A, xiv. 17A), *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. 65n.

† 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, δορυβοροει?*

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 debere 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 'exceptor' 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* for *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.

† *Quamquam 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 *rumorculi* 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 Matus 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 cp. 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 omnis 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*, Plant. 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 ornatus. *Epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus*.—Fam. ix. 21, 1 (497).

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); *incurritates*, 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 *mihi*.

(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 gravis 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 ὅθεν περ ἦκελ.—*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

* We have
with the letter
of Cicero.

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 caeter 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*; ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, *en passant*; μετέωρος, *distract*; μείλιγμα, *douceur*; νεωτερισμός, *bouleversement*; ροιζόθεμις (?), *fracas*; σκυλμός, *tracasserie*; μαλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς, *en grand seigneur*; καχέκτης, *mauvais sujet*; ἀπρακτότατος, *maladroit, fainéant*; ἀφελής, *ingénu, naïf*; ὑποσόλοιον, *a bêtise*; σφάλμα, *a faux pas*; ἀπροσδιόνυσον, *ἄκυρον, mal à propos*; ὑπόμνημα, *mémoire*; περίστασις, *entourage*; πρόσνευσις, *penchant*; δύσχηστα, *désagréments*; σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας, *coup d'état*; λέσχη, *causerie*; ἀνεμοφόρητα, *canards*; ἀποφθέγματα, *bons mots*; πρόπλασμα, *pochade*; 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, 'impeccuniosity'; ἄμορφον, 'bad form'; πoλίτευμα, 'platform'; τρισαρειοπαγίτης, 'a bigwig'; ἔξοχή, 'a lead'; ἄνω κάτω, 'topsy-turvey'; ἐκτένεια, 'gush'; ἐξακανθίζειν, 'to pick holes'; ἐπίτηκτα, 'veneering'; ὀξύπινος, 'sharpset'; θορυβοποιεῖ, '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, ἀκοτίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τέρψιν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλάς. So ἄκινδυνα, 'symptoms not serious,' in *Att. xiii. 19, 1* (631); *Fam. xiv. 7, 1* (405) *χολὴν ἄκρατον noctu ei ei*: *Att. xiv. 5, 1* (707) *ἡσίτησας*, '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); *collubus*, 'agio' 'exchange,' *xii. 6, 1* (499); διάγραμμα, 'schedule,' *ix. 9, 4* (364);

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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 ὅσιν φθιμένοισιν,* and the proverb *ne sutor supra crepidam* (often wrongly quoted *ultra*)† appears in Cicero in its Greek dress as ἔρδοι τις.‡ Again, μηδὲ δίκηνηξ is *audi alteram partem*; a *lapsus memoriae* is a μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα; *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 ἀδιόρθωτα 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 ὅσιν καταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. But Cicero writes φθιμένοισιν: see Att. iv. 7, 2 (111). He makes a similar μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα 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 indicaret*, '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 εἶδεν τέχνην.—Ar. Vesp. 1431.

§ μηδὲ δίκηνη 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. 282, ed. C. F. W. Müller); desideratives like *petiturit*, 'he is keen about standing'; *Sullaturit*, 'he is bent on a coup d'état'; *proscripturit*, '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*, *levidentis*, *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*, *fureilla*, *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 *Orations*, 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.

II. § 2. ON THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS. 89

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*), *impendio*, *inhumaniter*, *perverser*, *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*, *suppuet*. 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, oblanguere. 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*; *involatus* (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 *ellipse*. 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 *ellipse*, 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.

II. § 2. ON THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS. 91

(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 tuæ virtutis*; for *dignus* with gen. (which is un-Ciceronian) compare Plaut. Trin. 1153.

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

(4). Caelius, in Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226), has the remarkable Graecism *nostri 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 ἄπαξ 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 *mihi crede*. On the other hand, *crede mihi* 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 mihi* 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 Petrarcha*, 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 (M¹), 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 Philologiae 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, Gulielmus 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), lxvi-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 Gulielmus.

† 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 adolescentem 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),	mihiq̄ue 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 mallem 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.

III. § 2. *EPP. AD BRUTUM, QUINTUM, & ATTICUM.* 101

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, *Oxonienses Canonici* 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 castigatioribus, 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 Broaschini, a friend of his at Verona. The text of this was apparently based on the Veronensis.†

2. Those marked *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 *c* *Liberasti igitur*—a correct alteration; Att. ix. 2 a, 1 (356) *ut honorem quidem a se accipere vellem*

M¹. Over *vellem* appears *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), *desseu 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 Broaschini'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 M^1 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 existimassem*. 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 M^1 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 (M^3), 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 *animum*; others reproduce M^1 , e.g. Q. Fr. i. 3, 2 (66) *dolor* M^{13} , *dolorum* M^2 . Others are confirmed by other mss, e.g. Att. v. 15, 3 (207) *redditu ire* M^3 , *redditu iri* Zl (= 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 abhorreere 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 Ueberlieferungs-Geschichte 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.

III. § 2. *EPP. AD BRUTUM, QUINTUM, & ATTICUM.* 105

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 *commuticium* M¹) *Pisoni consuli mirificum facit, si id est convicium* (M⁴; *commuticium* 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; Helmsstadtensis; 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 Fiorentina, 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.

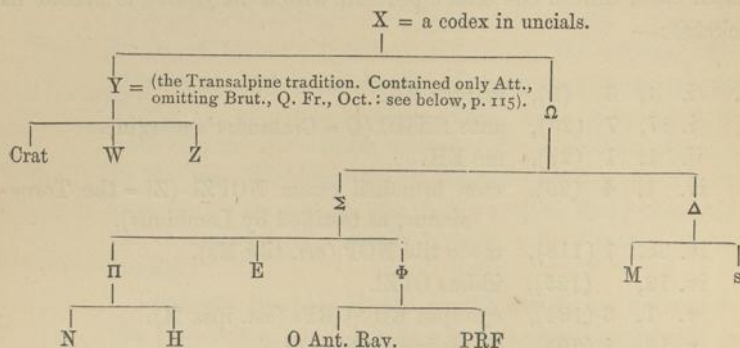
The following list of readings found in these mss, but omitted in M, will show that they are independent of M; for the view that the archetype of these mss was a copy from M, and that

III. § 2. *EPP. AD BRUTUM, QUINTUM, & ATTICUM.* 109

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 Tornosianus, 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 = Tornosianus 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, nati 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 ΩΣΠΦΔ 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. iiii. 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. (cp. 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 exeutiendos 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 Sichardt,* 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 Tournes, 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 (ΣΔ),† 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 Sichardt obtained from the Lorsch library.

† For example, vi. 3, 6 (264) praefecti WZ profecto ΣΔ Crat: xi. 10, 2 (425) Italia CWZ alia ΣΔ. 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,

ναφε 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 adiuvisi* (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 ὅπως τοῖς παραγγέλλουσι εἰς ἀρχὴν ὀνοματολόγοι μὴ παῶσι, χιλιαρχίαν (*tribunatum militum*) μετιῶν μόνος ἐπέλθετο 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

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 adiuvisti* (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 omnis 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 iurantibus 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

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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 adiuuabo, 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 expert 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 difficilium . . . 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 memini* (*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 quibus sita Urbs est: feriae non populi, sed montanorum modo; ut Paganalia 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 *sore*, 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."

PART I.—p. 176
Epist. No. 1-89

LETTERS WRITTEN BEFORE CICERO'S CONSULSHIP.

EPP. 1-12.

A. U. C.,	686-690
B. C.,	68-64
AET. CIC.,	38-42

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PART I.

CICERO'S EXTANT CORRESPONDENCE COMMENCES

B. C. 68 ; A. U. C. 686.

CICERO was now 38 years of age. Eleven years before he had returned from his travels in Greece and Asia, where he had attended lectures in philosophy and rhetoric, and shortly after his return (aged about 29) had married Terentia. At the age of 17 he had served under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War. He had distinguished himself by his speech for P. Quinctius (673, b. c. 81), and by his daring defence of Sex. Roscius Amerinus and an Arretine woman (674, 675, b. c. 80, 79) against the power of Sulla, and had filled the quaestorship at the age of 31 (679, b. c. 75). He had afterwards, in his defence of Q. Roscius Comoedus (678, b. c. 76), more clearly shown his great qualifications for the Bar. But it was not until he was 36 years old (two years before the date of these letters) that his public life may be said to have begun with the prosecution of Verres (684, b. c. 70). The year after this famous prosecution he became curule aedile, and while holding that office made the speech for M. Fonteius, charged with misgovernment in Gaul, and defended A. Caecina. Except the treatise 'De Inventione Rhetorica' (668, b. c. 86), Cicero had contributed to literature only translations from the Greek, most of which he afterwards retouched, as, for instance, the 'Phaenomena' of Aratus. Of these translations only fragmentary remains are preserved.

LETTER OF THE FIRST YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 1.

A. U. C. 686 ; B. C. 68 ; AET. CIC. 38.

COSS. L. CAECILIUS METELLUS, Q. MARCIUS REX.

THE year of these letters was marked (in Cicero's private life) by the death of his cousin Lucius. It must have been a little before this time that his brother Quintus married Pomponia, the sister of Atticus.

CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

1. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 5).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 686; B. C. 68; AET. CIC. 38.

De L. Ciceronis fratris patruelis morte, de Q. fratris animo in uxorem suam, Attici sororem, et placando et regendo, de intermissione litterarum, de negotio Acutiliano, de Luceii offensione lenienda, de re Tadiana, de Epirotica emptione Attici, de ornando Tusculano, de Terentiae valetudine et humanitate.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantum dolorem acceperim et quanto fructu sim privatus et forensi et domestico Luci fratris nostri morte in primis pro nostra consuetudine tu existimare potes. Nam mihi omnia quae iucunda ex humanitate alterius et moribus homini accidere possunt ex illo accidebant. Qua re non dubito quin tibi quoque id molestum sit, cum et meo dolore moveare et ipse omni virtute officioque ornatissimum tuique et sua sponte et meo sermone amantem, adfinem,

1. *fructu*] *Fructus* is not enjoyment simply, but *enjoyment with profit*. The latter idea predominates here. 'What a loss I have sustained both in public and in private life.' Lucius was the *cousin* of Cicero. In *Fin.* v. 1 he expresses the relationship more accurately in calling him *fratrem cognatione patruelem, amore germanum*. Lucius, according to Asconius (p. 125, Or.), travelled in Sicily with Cicero, to aid him in collecting evidence against Verres. Cp. *Verr.* iv. 145. This explains *forensi*.

humanitate et moribus] 'his kindly disposition': a very mitigated specimen of the *ἐν διὰ δυνάμιν* so common in the poets

and in Tacitus. Cp. *pro Cluent.* 111, *mores eius et adrogantiam*. Dr. Reid translates *moribus* 'winning ways,' comparing *Prop.* iv. (v.) 11. 86.

omni . . . ornatissimum] 'graced by every charm of character and manner.' Cf. *virum . . . summo officio ac virtute praeditum*, 2 *Verr.* i. 135, 'a most obliging fellow.'

adfinem] Rather loosely used here; properly speaking, Q. Cicero only was the *adfinis* of Atticus, being the husband of Atticus's sister, Pomponia; not even Marcus, the brother of Quintus, still less Lucius the cousin, was *adfinis* to Atticus in strictness of speech.

amicumque amiseris. 2. Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit, ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse deberet. Quem cum esse offensorem arbitrarer, eas litteras ad eum misi quibus et placarem ut fratrem et monerem ut minorem et obiurgarem ut errantem. Itaque ex iis quae postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt confido ita esse omnia ut et oporteat et velimus. 3. De litterarum missione sine causa abs te accusor. Numquam enim a Pomponia nostra certior sum factus esse cui dare litteras possem, porro autem neque mihi accidit ut haberem qui in Epirum proficisceretur nequedum te Athenis esse audiebamus. 4. De Acutiliano autem negotio quod mihi mandaras, ut primum a tuo digressu Romam veni, confeceram, sed accidit ut et contentione nihil opus esset et ut ego qui in te satis consili statuerim esse malletm Peducaeam tibi consilium per litteras quam me dare. Etenim cum multos dies auris meas Acutilio dedissem, cuius sermonis genus tibi notum esse arbitror, non mihi grave duxi scribere ad te de illius querimoniis, cum eas audire, quod erat subdiosum, leve putassem.

2. *de sorore tua*] For an admirable account of the pettishness of Pomponia, see Att. v. 1, 2 (185). Cicero appears afterwards to completely absolve his brother from blame in his unhappy domestic relations.

minorem] Quintus was probably about four years younger than M. Cicero—about thirty-four years of age at the date of this letter.

3. *missione*] Bembus conjectures *intermissione*, and this is accepted by Baiter, who compares Fam. vii. 13, 1 (171), where Cic. uses the phrase *intermissionis epistularum*; but that supplies no reason why we should impugn here *missione* of the mss. The phrase may be rendered exactly, 'You have no right to complain of me as a correspondent': quite similarly in Att. iv. 16, 1 (144), Cicero says, *De epistularum frequentia te nihil accuso*, 'I bring no charge touching your regularity as a correspondent,' which is quite as natural a way of speaking as if he had said *infrequentia*, *irregularity*. So here he might have said *intermissione*, but did say (quite as correctly) *missione*: see C. F. W. Müller's learned note in Friedländer's Juvenal on 2. 39. Cf. Att. v. 10, 3 (198), *ut meum consilium saepe reprehendam quod non . . . emersem*,

where *consilium* really means 'my want of prudence.' Cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 85, *haec . . . reprehendi iustius illis*, where *haec* and *illis* are both pregnant, 'their absence can be more justly found fault with than the absence of those things which,' &c. This usage is common in Greek. Mr. Pretor compares Demosth. 1251. 2.

4. *De Acutiliano negotio*] See Att. i. 8, 1 (4), and Att. i. 4, 1 (9). As the latter letter was written in 687 (b. c. 67), the business must have been unfinished at the end of two years. Well might Cicero say *accidit ut contentione nihil opus esset*, 'it so happened that there was no need of any great haste.'

confeceram] Perhaps this may be best taken here as the *epistolary* pluperfect. If not writing a letter, Cic. would have used the imperf. *conficiebam*, 'I meant to finish the business, but,' &c. In a letter, *conficiebam* would mean, 'I am finishing,' so he is forced to use the pluperf., just as in Att. v. 14 (204), *Nunc iter conficiebamus pulverulenta via. Dederam Epheso pridie. Has dedi Trallibus*. See Roby, § 1468.

dux] One would at first sight expect *duxissem*, which Corradus and Malaspina conjectured, and Bosius pretended to have

Sed abs te ipso qui me accusas unas mihi scito litteras redditas esse, cum et oti ad scribendum plus et facultatem dandi maiorem habueris. 5. Quod scribis, etiam si cuius animus in te esset offensior, a me recolligi oportere, *teneo* quid dicas neque id neglexi, sed est miro quodam modo adfectus. Ego autem quae dicenda fuerunt de te non praeterii: quid autem contendendum esset ex tua putabam voluntate me statuere oportere: quam si ad me perscripseris, intelleges me neque diligentiores esse voluisse quam tu esses neque negligentiores fore quam tu velis. 6. De Tadiana re, mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse, nihil esse iam quod laboraretur, quoniam hereditas usu capta esset. Id mirabamur te ignorare, de tutela legitima in qua dicitur esse puella nihil usu capi posse. 7. Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere. Quae tibi mandavi et quae tu intelleges convenire nostro

found in one of his fabricated mss. But *duxi* is quite right. Cicero is defending himself from the charge that he neglected to write, so as to escape the trouble of it. 'Seeing that I endured to listen to Acutius for several days, I did not think it a great task to write you an account of his complaints, when I made so light of listening to them, which was somewhat a bore.' We should rather have expected a word enhancing the meaning of *odiosum*, than the addition of a prefix like *sub*, which mitigates. Cicero affects words compounded of *sub* in this sense.

unas] *unas litteras*, 'one letter,' there being no ambiguity; but *duae litterae* would be 'two letters of the alphabet.' Two, three letters (epistles), &c., must be expressed by the distributive numeral *binæ, trinæ*, &c.

5. *Quod scribis . . . velis*] 'You write that even if somebody is a little offended with you, my part ought to be to bring about a better feeling: I see what you mean; and I did my best to that end; but he feels the matter very deeply. I did not fail to say all that was needful about your case; but how far I should go in my efforts, I thought I should regulate by your wishes, and when you have communicated these to me, you will see that I did not care to be more busy than you were yourself, and that, on the other hand, I shall not be more remiss than you would wish me to be.'

The reference is to Lucceius, cp. Fam. v. 12-15. He mentions the name plainly afterwards (Ep. 7. 1: 20. 7). It is,

however, possible that *cuius animus* might be explained as a reference to some general proposition in Att.'s letter. 'I have a right to look to you to mitigate any offence that may be taken.' See Ep. xiii. 8. *Teneo* was inserted by Orelli. It might well have fallen out after *-tere*, the last syllable of *oportere*; and it is idle to suppose that the want of a verb here could be accounted for as a justifiable ellipse. The old commentators defended the ellipse as a *loquendi genus comicum*; and this would have great weight if it could be proved, for we shall find many coincidences between Cicero's letters and the comic drama. It is natural that there should be close resemblances between the language of familiar letter-writing and the language of familiar dialogue. See Introduction, ii. 2.

6. *De Tadiana re*] Tadius had somehow got into his hands the property of an heiress who was still a ward. He had held her property for two or more years which would give a right to prescriptive ownership. When the property was claimed for the girl by her lawful guardians, Tadius, by the advice of Atticus, pleaded his prescriptive right. Cicero expresses his surprise that Atticus should not know that no prescriptive right can be acquired to the property of a ward under the care of her statutory guardians; cp. Roby, *Roman Private Law*, 227, 474.

7. *Epiroticam*] Near Buthrotum, often mentioned afterwards.

Tusculano, velim, ut scribis, cures, quod sine molestia tua facere poteris. Nam nos ex omnibus molestiis et laboribus uno illo in loco conquiescimus. 8. Q. fratrem cotidie exspectamus. Terentia magnos articularum dolores habet. Et te et sororem tuam et matrem maxime diligit; salutemque tibi plurimam ascribit et Tulliola, deliciae nostrae. Cura ut valeas et nos ames et tibi persuadeas te a me fraterne amari.

8. *articularum dolores*] 'rheumatism.'

LET

THIS v
in the
power
Tullia
of age

LETTERS OF THE SECOND YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 2-8.

A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

COSS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO, M'. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

THIS was the year in which the tribune L. Roscius Otho assigned special seats in the theatre to the equites, and in which the Lex Gabinia gave such large powers to Pompey to act against the pirates. In this year Cicero's daughter Tullia was betrothed to C. Piso. She cannot have been more than ten years of age at this time.

2. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 6.).

ROME; JANUARY (TOWARDS END); A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De mutuo litterarum commercio, de domo Rabiriana Neapoli a M'. Fonteio empta, de animo Q. fratris in Pomponiam, de patris morte, de Tusculano ornando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non committam posthac ut me accusare de epistularum neglegentia possis. Tu modo videto in tanto otio ut par in hoc mihi sis. Domum Rabirianam Neapoli quam tu iam dimensam et exaedificatam animo habebas M'. Fonteius emit HS CCCIOOOXXX. Id te scire volui, si quid forte ea res ad cogitationes tuas pertineret.
2. Q. frater, ut mihi videtur, quo volumus animo est in Pomponiam et cum ea nunc in Arpinatibus praediis erat et secum habebat hominem *χρηστομαθῆν*, D. Turraniū. Pater nobis decessit

1. *Domum Rab.*] 'Rabirius' seat at Neapolis, which you had already laid out and completed in your mind's eye, M'. Fonteius has bought for 130,000 sesterces (£1100). *Domum Rabirianam* implies that it was the family mansion; *domum Rabiri* would merely express that it was his dwelling.

2. *Arpinatibus*] The names of the estates of Quintus in Arpinum were *Laternum* and *Arcanum*, the latter named apparently from a pagus or castle called *Arx*, now *Rocca d'Arce*.

χρηστομαθῆν] 'an adept in *belles lettres*,' 'a man of excellent polite learning.'

Pater nobis d.] This is a *locus vexatissimus*. Madvig, Boot, and others read *decessit* on the ground that Cicero would not have been so unfeeling as to announce his father's death in such curt terms. Boot urges that he is deeply moved at the death of his slave, Sositheus (Ep. 17. 4): he might also have noticed Cicero's almost exaggerated expressions of grief for Lentulus (Att. iv. 6, ep. 110). But if we read *decessit*, we must also read *pater noster decessit*, 'my father left,' instead of *pater nobis decessit*, the ethical dative implying serious loss to oneself. Unless, indeed, we make a

further change, and read *a nobis decessit*; and even then it is not probable that Cicero would write, 'my father has left' without mentioning whither he went, or why he thought the fact worth recording. But the chief argument against *decessit* is the alleged evidence of Asconius that Cicero's father did not die till the year 690 (b. c. 64). The passage of Asc. is, however, highly suspicious. In enumerating the competitors of Cicero for the consulship, Asc., in his commentary on the *Or. in Toga Cand.*, p. 82, writes:—'*Duos patricios P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, atque in petitione patrem amisit.*' Could anything be more abrupt or irrelevant than the words in italics? I believe the passage of Asc. is unsound. Very possibly Asc. wrote *omisit*, as Mr. Harrison, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has suggested. It may have been customary in the *profectio* to give the father's name with one's own. Cicero may have excited

a. d. IIII. Kal. Decembris. Haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem. Tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδη reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas. Nos Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsis tum denique cum illo venimus placeamus. Quid agas omnibus de rebus et quid acturus sis fac nos quam diligentissime certiores.

3. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 7).

ROME; FEBRUARY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De matre Attici Caecilia, de pecunia L. Cincio constituta, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca ab Attico conficienda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud matrem recte est eaque nobis curae est. L. Cincio HS xxcd constitui me curaturum Idibus Februariis. Tu velim ea quae nobis emisse te et parasse scribis des operam ut quam

comment by omitting this customary formality. If then we may dismiss the testimony of Asconius, there is no urgent reason for doubting that *decessit* is right, and means 'died.' Yet we may acquit Cicero of want of feeling; thus: let us suppose that he had already communicated the death of his father, in a letter to Atticus, now lost; that Atticus in a subsequent letter asked Cicero, 'What did you say was the precise date of your father's death?' and that Cicero here replies *pater nobis decessit a.d. iv. Kal. Dec.*, 'The date of my poor (*nobis*) father's death was the fourth day before the kalends.' *Nobis* is itself a tender expression. Cp. ure *mihi*, Prop. iv. 7, 78. Editors do not sufficiently keep before their minds the fact that much that is difficult in these letters arises from the loss of the replies of Atticus. Prof. A. Palmer acutely suggested a difficulty which besets this attempt to explain *decessit*, 'died,' in a way compatible with Cicero's filial affection. If Cicero writes 'four days before the kalends of Dec.' he is, of course, referring to Nov. 26 of the year 686 (68). Now, it is impossible that a letter could have come from Att. between that date and the end of the year. Either, therefore, our explanation is impossible, or this letter should be referred to the year

687 (67). We do not see any reason against adopting the latter course. The question between *discesserat* and *decesserat* arises again in Fam. v. 14, 1 (585), but there *discesserat* has M on its side.

γυμνασιώδη] '*objets d'art*,' 'articles of vertu.' γυμνάσιον was the name given by the Greeks originally to the places where bodily exercises were performed; but such places were afterwards used by philosophers for lecturing in. Cicero loved to lay out in the neighbourhood of his villas such places for philosophic discussion or for general conversation. These *gymnasia* consisted of a hall with seats called *exedrae*, and a covered colonnade (*stytus*), or a walk planted with trees for those who preferred to walk during the disquisition or conversation. For Cicero's villa at Tusculum ep. O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen*, p. 30 ff.

1. *Apud matrem*] 'Your mother and her household are getting on very well.' *constitui*] This word seems to indicate a definite arrangement to pay, and if not paid, the debt could be enforced by an *actio pecuniae constitutae*; cp. Att. xvi. 15-5 (807) and Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii, p. 86, note.

HS xxcd] This very sun, 20,400

primum habeamus, et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis. Omnem spem delectationis nostrae, quam cum in otium venerimus habere volumus, in tua humanitate positam habemus.

4. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 8).

ROME; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De matre Caecilia, de controversia Acutiliana, de negotio Tadiano, de Luceio Attico etiam nunc irato, de pecunia L. Cincio curata, de signis quibus maximo opere delectetur mittendis, de Tullioli munusculum flagitante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud te est ut volumus. Mater tua et soror a me Quintoque fratre diligitur. Cum Acutilio sum locutus. Is sibi negat a suo procuratore quidquam scriptum esse et miratur istam controversiam fuisse quod ille recusarit satis dare **AMPLIUS ABS TE NON PETI**. Quod te de Tadiano negotio decidisse scribis, id ego

sesterces (£173 8s.), is expressed by quite different symbols in Att. i. 8 (4). It should not surprise us to find such latitude in letters. So the horizontal stroke indicating thousands of sesterces has often to be supplied or not, according to the context. Thus in an English letter if we met the expression 'I gave 100 for a horse,' we should guess it meant £100, not 100 shillings; but if we found 'I gave 1000 for a horse, we might not feel quite sure whether the word written was *house* or *horse*. This being so, we follow the practice of those editors who do not supply in the text the horizontal stroke (which is not found in the mss), but leave the symbol as it is found in the mss, adding an explanation, if requisite, in the foot-notes.

conficere] 'secure.'

1. *Apud te est*] 'With your people all is as we wish': Cic. refers to the household of Quintus, where Pomponia was the ruling spirit.

Tadio et gratum esse intellexi et magno opere iucundum. Ille noster amicus, vir mehercule optimus et mihi amicissimus, sane tibi iratus est. Hoc si quanti tu aestimes sciam, tum quid mihi elaborandum sit scire possim. 2. L. Cincio HS CCIOO CCIOO CCCC pro signis Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi. Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aëneis de quibus ad me scripsisti iam nunc me admodum delectant. Qua re velim et eos et signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique videbuntur esse. Nam in eo genere sic studio efferimur ut abs te adiuvandi, ab aliis prope reprehendendi simus. Si Lentuli navis non erit, quo tibi placebit imposito. Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat. Mihi autem abiurare certius est quam dependere.

amicus] sc. Luceius.

2. HS CCIOO CCIOO CCCC] See Ep. 3, 1, note.

curavi] 'paid.'

Pentelici] Of marble from Pentelicus (Mendeli).

iam nunc] 'already, even before I have seen them.'

eius loci] 'any articles of *vertu* which may seem suitable to my Academy, my enthusiasm for such things, and your own taste.'

gymnasi xystique] See on Att. i. 6, 2 (2). A *xystus* (ξυστός) was originally the part of a gymnasium wherein the athletes used to scrape (ἐβένω) the oil and dust off with strigils. It was afterwards used for any covered place for walking. Vanicek derives it from the polished floor usually found therein (p. 1117).

5. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 9).

ROME; MARCH OR APRIL; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De litteris crebrius ab Attico ad se dandis, de signis sibi mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nimium raro nobis abs te litterae adferuntur, cum et multo tu facilius reperias qui Romam proficiscantur quam ego qui Athenas et certius tibi sit me esse Romae quam mihi te Athenis. Itaque propter hanc dubitationem meam brevior haec ipsa epistula est, quod, cum incertus essem ubi esses, nolebam illum nostrum familiarem sermonem in alienas manus devenire.

2. Signa Megarica et Hermas de quibus ad me scripsisti vehementer exspecto. Quidquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. Genus hoc est voluptatis meae: quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt ea quaero. Lentulus navis suas pollicetur. Peto abs te ut haec diligenter cures. Thyillus te rogat et ego eius rogatu Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια.

1. *devenire*] 'find its way by chance'; cp. Brut. 157, *consideranti ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint*.

2. *Signa Megarica*] of the Megarian marble called κογχίτης λίθος.

Hermas] see note on Ep. 9, 3.

Academia] this is the name given by Cicero to the gymnasium in his Tusculan villa.

arcae] *Ex arca solvere* means to pay in money, not by a draft on a banker; but there is no evidence that *arca* implies a ready-money payment. In Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 5 (133), Cicero says, *nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret*, 'it will be his own fault if he should fail through any reliance on my purse,' where there is surely no allusion to ready money. The real *antitheton* to

arca is *sacculus* or *loculi*. *Arca* is the rich man's purse, or perhaps rather safe, or strongbox; while *sacculus* is the poor man's money-bag: Juv. xi. 26, *Ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca Sacculus*. The words *sacculus* and *loculi* are combined in Mart. v. 39, 7, *excussi loculosque sacculumque*. The word for paying by draft is *scribere nummos*: see on Ep. 66, 7.

Genus, &c.] 'This is the line my fancy takes' (Pretor).

Thyillus] Thyillus, a poet, who afterwards thought of making Cicero's consulship the subject of a poem (Ep. 22, 15). He now asks Atticus for a description of the 'ritual of the Eumolpidae,' priests of the Eleusinian Demeter at Athens. Doubtless Thyillus wished to introduce into some poem an account of the ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 10).

TUSCULANUM; MAY; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De tempore litterarum dandarum angusto, de Luceio iam a se placando, de signis aliisque ornamentis ab Attico sibi curandis, de bibliotheca Attici a se emenda, de Q. fratris animo, de comitiis suis, de Tulliola de munusculo diem dante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum essem in Tusculano—erit hoc tibi pro illo tuo 'Cum essem in Ceramico,'—verum tamen cum ibi essem, Roma puer a sorore tua missus epistulam mihi abs te adlatam dedit nuntiavitque eo ipso die post meridiem iturum eum qui ad te proficisceretur. Eo factum est ut epistolae tuae rescriberem aliquid, brevitate temporis tam pauca cogerer scribere. 2. Primum tibi de nostro amico placando aut etiam plane restituendo polliceor. Quod ego etsi mea sponte ante faciebam, eo nunc tamen et agam studiosius et contendam ab illo vehementius, quod tantam ex epistula voluntatem eius rei tuam perspicere videor. Hoc te intellegere volo, pergraviter illum esse offensum, sed quia nullam video gravem subesse causam, magno opere confido illum fore in officio et in nostra potestate. 3. Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas et si quod aliud οἰκίον eius loci quem non ignoras reperies et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasique videbuntur esse. Etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse admoneret. Praeterea typos tibi mando quos in tectorio atrioli possim inclu-

1. *Cum essem*] 'Being in Tusculanum—there you have a beginning to correspond with your being in Ceramicius—being there, however, I received a letter.'

verum tamen] resumes after the parentheses as δ' οὖν and δὲ in Greek, as well as γὰρ (for which Shilleto has so brilliantly vindicated this resumptive force in a note on the *De Fals. Leg.* 371. 4. § 94). *Sed, igitur* are also resumptive particles in Cicero, as *equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam (facilius enim . . . didicerunt) sed eam sic audio*, de Or. iii. 45; *recta effectio* (κατὰθωσι enim ita appello,

&c.), *recta igitur effectio*, Fin. iii. 45. Boot shows that *tamen* has this force in Brut. 101—where *tamen* introduces the parenthesis as well as resumes the narrative. So *ergo, autem*.

2. *amico*] Lucecius.

fore in officio et in nostra potestate] 'that he will be complaisant, and will put himself in my hands.'

3. *Hermeraclas*] See note to Ep. 9, 3. *scribebam*] 'I am writing,' epistolary imperf. See Roby, § 1468.

typos] 'bas-reliefs for insertion in the plaster walls of my antechamber' (Pretor).

dere et putealia sigillata duo. 4. Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnis meas vindemiolas eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem. 5. De fratre confido ita esse ut semper volui et elaboravi. Multa signa sunt eius rei, non minimum quod soror praegnans est. 6. De comitiis meis et tibi me permisisse memini et ego iam pridem hoc communibus amicis qui te exspectant praedico, te non modo non arcessi a me sed prohiberi, quod intellegam multo magis interesse tua te agere quod agendum est hoc tempore quam mea te adesse comitiis. Proinde eo animo te velim esse, quasi mei negoti causa in ista loca missus esses. Me autem eum et offendes erga te et audies quasi mihi si quae parta erunt non modo te praesente sed per te parta sint. Tulliola tibi diem dat, sponsorem *me* appellat.

7. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 11).

ROME; JULY OR AUGUST; A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De Luceio praeter expectationem nondum placato, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca sibi conservanda, de ceteris rebus iam deterioribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Et mea sponte faciebam antea et post duabus epistulis tuis perdiligenter in eandem rationem scriptis magno opere sum commotus. Eo accedebat hortator adsiduus Sallustius ut agerem quam diligentissime cum Luceio de vestra vetere gratia reconcilianda. Sed, cum omnia fecissem, non modo eam voluntatem

putealia sigillata] 'embossed well-covers.'

4. *Bibliothecam*] 'Do not on any account betroth your library to anyone, no matter how eager a suitor for it you find. I am hoarding up all my gleanings (savings) to buy it as a support (resource) for my old age.'

6. *De comitiis meis*] For the praetorship, which he filled, A. U. C. 688, B. C. 66.

tibi me permisisse] 'I do not forget that I gave you free permission' (i.e. to stay away). Cf. *neque discessisset a me*

nisi ego ei permissem, Fam. xiii. 71 (510).

Proinde] 'I should wish you to feel in this matter just as if I had sent you on my own business to the place you are in. And you will find (and hear from our common friends) that my feelings towards you are the same as if any success I may attain (at the election) were attained not only in your presence but through your instrumentality.'

Tulliola] 'My little Tullia is for having the law of you, and is dunning me as your representative.'

eius quae fuerat erga te recuperare non potui, verum ne causam quidem elicere immutatae voluntatis. Tametsi iactat ille quidem illud suum arbitrium et ea quae iam tum cum aderas offendere eius animum intellegebam, tamen habet quiddam profecto quod magis in animo eius insederit, quod neque epistolae tuae neque nostra adlegatio tam potest facile delere quam tu praesens non modo oratione sed tuo vultu illo familiari tolles, si modo tanti putaris, id quod, si me audies et si humanitati tuae constare voles, certe putabis. Ac ne illud mirere cur, cum ego antea significarim tibi per litteras me sperare illum in nostra potestate fore, nunc idem videar diffidere, incredibile est quanto mihi videatur illius voluntas obstinatio et in hac iracundia obfirmatio: sed haec aut sanabuntur cum veneris aut ei molesta erunt in utro culpa erit. 2. Quod in epistula tua scriptum erat, me iam arbitrari designatum esse, scito nihil tam exercitum esse nunc Romae quam candidatos omnibus iniquitatibus, nec quando futura sint comitia sciri. Verum haec audies de Philadelpho. 3. Tu velim quae Academiae nostrae parasti quam primum mittas. Mire quam illius loci non modo usus sed etiam cogitatio delectat. Libros vero tuos cave cuiquam tradas. Nobis eos, quem ad modum scribis, conserva. Summum me eorum studium tenet, sicut odium iam ceterarum rerum: quas tu incredibile est quam brevi tempore quanto deteriores offensurus sis quam reliquisti.

1. *illud suum arbitrium*] 'that arbitration case (decided by you against him) which he is always harping on.' It is a very uncritical expedient to read *tuum* against the mss.

nostra adlegatio] 'the mission to him that I have undertaken.' *Adlegatio* is private; *legatio*, public.

idem] 'however,' the *nom. masc.*

ei molesta] 'he will smart for it who deserves it'—a rather unsympathising sentiment.

2. *arbitrari*] The subject of *arbitrari* is perhaps omitted by Cic., as it would no doubt be easily supplied by the reader. We are not forced to suppose, with Zumpt, that *arbitrari* is here passive. Yet the position of *me*, as well as the *sciri* following, would seem to point to a passive *arbitrari*. The dictionaries quote more than one instance of *arbitrari* passive in Cicero's orations, e.g. Verr. v. 106 (where, however, the reading is doubtful); and Mur. 34, where there is no ms variation:

cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 6. 3. *Arbitrari* is found passive in the comic drama, e.g. Plaut. Epid. 267, but there we meet the active form *arbitrare* more than once (cp. Neue-Wagener, iii³. 24).

nihil tam] 'let me tell you the candidates are harassed to an unprecedented degree with all sorts of unreasonable demands.' The reference is probably to the double postponement of the comitia, owing to the measures against bribery proposed by the tribune, C. Cornelius, and the riots which ensued in consequence of them (Dio Cass. xxxvi. 38, 39; Ascon. p. 58).

3. *Mire quam*] = θαυμάσιος ὥς. This is a usage common in the comic drama, as *admodum quam*, Pl. Amph. 541. We find *sane quam*, Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (105); *valde quam*, Fam. xi. 13, 3 (859). Livy xxxvi. 25, 3, has *oppido quam*.

quas tu . . . reliquisti] 'you can hardly believe what a great and sudden change for the worse from the state in which you

8. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 3.).

ROME; A. U. C. 687 (TOWARDS END); B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De morte aviae Attici, de Attico Romae exspectato, de signis ab eo missis, de Luceio nondum Attico placato, de Tullia C. Pisoni Frugi desponsa.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse et simul quod verita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Alba-

left them you will find in public affairs, and in such a short time too.' *Quam brevi tempore* is 'in how short a time'; *quam reliquisti (deteriores)* is 'worse than you left them.'

1. *Aviam*] Does Cicero here seriously announce to Atticus the death of his grandmother, and then pass to jest, and say that her death was due to regret for the long absence of Atticus, adding (in ridicule of the lady, whom we must, with Manutius, conjecture to have been 'too religious') that her death was hastened by a doubt whether the Latin festival would 'come up to time,' and have the due procession of the victims for sacrifice to the sacred mount? Or are we, with Mr. Pretor, to regard the whole statement as a piece of pleasantry—'let me tell you that regret for your prolonged absence has been the death of your grandmother'? We hold the former view for these reasons: (1). There is no objection to it. It conflicts with modern notions of good breeding to announce the death of a relative in such a tone: but would a modern letter-writer announce the betrothal of his daughter in the laconic fashion which Cicero adopts in this letter? Cicero knew that Atticus would not feel any real grief for her death, and there existed then no code of taste which ordained that he should affect to believe that Atticus would be grieved. (2). The jest would be rather poor on Mr. Pretor's hypothesis; and Cicero would have rather said, 'let me tell you your grandmother will not long survive your protracted absence,' *mortuam esse*, not *mortuam esse*. We must again differ from Mr. Pretor in his view that the word understood after *Latinae* is

civitates, not *feriae*. *Latinae* is used for *Latinae feriae* in Q. Fr. ii. 4, 4 (105), and twice in Cicero's poem on his Consulship, preserved in De Div. i. 18. It is a sort of joke to say of a superstitious and nervous old woman that her death was due to a doubt whether the Latin festival would come up to time, and duly perform its rites. The personification of the festival, and the attributing to it conscious action, is the matter of the joke such as it is. Make *Latinae* agree with *civitates*, and you will have a more regular subject for *manerent* and *adducerent*; but you will also have a serious statement, and not the joke, which lies in the incompatibility of the expression. One may, however, get the meaning which we prefer without personifying *feriae*: the adj. *Latinae* may agree with *mulieres*, the women who would celebrate the Latin festival. Then we should have a regular subject for *manerent*, *adducerent*. Mr. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College, Oxford, takes *Latinae* with *civitates*, and explains in a way which certainly saves the joke. The old lady, according to his view, must have been going back to her memory of the Social War, when the fear, *ne Latinae (civitates) in officio non manerent*, must have caused much anxiety. When Cicero wrote, it would be like an alarm 'that Bonaparte was coming' in (say) 1840.

The *Latinae* were celebrated at uncertain periods, as they belonged to the *feriae*, called *conceptivae* because the magistrate had to appoint (*concipere*) the time of their celebration. This was a powerful weapon in the hands of a magistrate, who could, by proclaiming the *feriae Latinae*, suspend public business for a week. See Introduction, i. § 1.

num hostias non adducerent. Eius rei consolationem ad te L. Saufeium missurum esse arbitror. 2. Nos hic te ad mensem Ianuarium exspectamus ex quodam rumore an ex litteris tuis ad alios missis: nam ad me de eo nihil scripsisti. Signa quae nobis curasti, ea sunt ad Caietam exposita. Nos ea non vidimus: neque enim exeundi Roma potestas nobis fuit: misimus qui pro vectura solveret. Te multum amamus quod ea abs te diligenter parvoque curata sunt. 3. Quod ad me saepe scripsisti de nostro amico placando, feci et expertus sum omnia, sed mirandum in modum est animo abalienato: quibus de suspicionibus, etsi audisse te arbitror, tamen ex me cum veneris cognosces. Sallustium praesentem restituere in eius veterem gratiam non potui. Hoc ad te scripsi, quod is me accusare de te solebat: at in se expertus est illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium nec sibi nec tibi defuisse. Tulliolam C. Pisoni L. F. Frugi despondimus.

Eius rei] 'Saufeius (a follower of the Epicurean school, which held that death was no evil) will, I suppose, send you the appropriate consolation for the event.' Saufeius (as we learn from Ep. 35, 1) was only too glad to preach a sermon on such a text. So Cicero says, 'I shall not deprive him of his theme; I shall leave to him the task of offering you consolation.' All this shows clearly that (as Boot says) Cicero knew very well that Atticus did not need much consolation.

This Saufeius was a close friend of Atticus, and Atticus saved his property from confiscation by the triumvirs (Nep. Att. 12-3).

2. *Nos hic te*] 'I am expecting your arrival here by January from some flying rumour, I suppose—or is it from some letter of yours to someone else, for you did not mention it in any letter to me?' Madvig on Fin. ii. 104, *Simonides an quis alius*, has an excellent note on this use of *an*. His conclusion is that comparison of places where it occurs, viz. Fam. vii. 9, 3 (145); Att. i. 3, 2 (8); ii. 7, 3 (34); vii. 1 (284), shows that the phrase is not used for a disjunctive question, *dubium Simonides an quis alius*, but for a direct statement, to which is appended an expression of hesitation about its truth.

3. *Nostro amico*] Luceceius.

Sallustium praesentem] 'I failed to

bring about their former friendship between him and Sallustius, though the latter was on the spot (not absent, as you are). I mention this because Sallustius used to upbraid me with my failure in your case. But he has now found in his own case how sullen Luceceius is, and that no good offices of mine were spared either in his own case or in yours.'

Nec sibi nec tibi] *Meum studium nec tibi defuisse* is the ms, 'that my good offices were not wanting to you either.' This is defensible; but it is a very slight change to read, with Klotz (2nd ed.), *nec sibi nec tibi*. This is much better than the reading of Graevius, *nec tibi nec sibi*, for it supplies a reason for the corruption: the copyist had written the first *nec*, then he raised his eyes and went on after the second *nec*. This is a common cause of error in mss—the next most common to dittography. The term *parablepsy* might conveniently be used to describe this particular case of it. Boot's suggestion for this passage is worth noticing: 'Hoc ad te scripsi quod is me accusare de te solebat; at in se expertus illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium negat tibi defuisse.' This sounds more like Cicero. Perhaps *negabit* would be still better; *nec tibi* might easily have taken the place of *negabit tibi*.

L. F.] Luci filio.

LETTER OF THE THIRD YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 9.

A. U. C. 688 ; B. C. 66 ; AET. CIC. 40.

COSS. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

THIS was the year of Cicero's praetorship. While holding that office he defended A. Cluentius Habitus in a very able speech. But the year of his praetorship is rendered memorable chiefly by his speech in favour of the Manilian Law, which gave to Pompey a commission to carry on the war against Mithridates, with the government of Pontus, Cilicia, and Bithynia. This was his first great political speech. In it he spoke the sentiments of the moderate Optimates, who thought that it was the true policy of the senate to endeavour to make Pompey the champion of their class.

9. TO ATTICUS AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 4).

ROME; A. U. C. 688 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 66; AET. CIC. 40.

De Attico ad comitia Q. fratris et ad Acutilianam controversiam transigendam expectato, de condemnatione C. Macri, de signis, ornamentis, libris aut emptis aut emendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Crebras expectationes nobis tui commoves. Nuper quidem, cum iam te adventare arbitraremur, repente abs te in mensem Quintilem reiecti sumus. Nunc vero sentio, quod commodum tuo facere poteris, venias ad id tempus quod scribis: obieris Q. fratris comitia, nos longo intervallo viseris, Acutilianam controversiam transegeris. Hoc me etiam Peducaeus ut ad te scriberem admonuit: putamus enim utile esse te aliquando iam rem transigere. Mea intercessio parata et est et fuit. 2. Nos hic incredibili ac singulari populi voluntate de C. Macro transegitur. Cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi estimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset,

1. in . . . reiecti] 'put off till.'
sentio] This is the ms reading, changed by Lambinus to *censeo*. Klotz, in ed. 2nd, rightly restores *sentio*.

Q. fratris comitia] For the curule aedileship to which he was elected the next year.

2. Nos hic] 'I have settled the case of C. Macer, and gained thereby such marked approbation as you would hardly have believed possible. Though I might have taken a lenient view of the case (might have let him down easily), I gave sentence against him, and have reaped much greater benefit from the popular approbation thereof, than I could have gained from his good offices had he been acquitted.'

This was the historian, C. Licinius Macer, who, as *repetundarum reus*, came before Cicero as praetor, and was condemned; cp. Val. Max. ix. 12, 7: Plut. Cic. 9. This discreditable sentiment has

been mitigated by the edd. from Manutius to Merivale, by a mistranslation of *aequus*. Merivale renders 'I have done him strict justice, yet,' &c., thus confounding *ius* and *aequum*. *Aequus* means *favourable*, *friendly*, as in 'uni *aequus* virtuti atque eius amicis,' 'aequa Venus Teucris Pallas *iniqua* fuit,' 'aequi boni facit,' and other places. Casaubon first corrected the mistranslation of *aequi*; but he took *fuisset* as if it were *fuimus*. The subjunctive *fuisset* is both concessive and (elliptically) conditional: 'though I might have taken a lenient view (had I so willed).' We shall have something to say about another form of elliptical conditional sentence on Ep. 27. The view of the passage here given was originated by Tunstall, and is accepted by Boot. But perhaps the subj. is only concessive, 'though I had been favourable to him.'

gratia cepissimus. 3. Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est. Est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi. Qua re velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. Quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi. In Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. Illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo. Caietam, si quando abundare coepero, ornabo. Libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos *me* meos facere posse. Quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.

3. *Est ornamentum*] 'It (the Hermathena) is an ornament appropriate to my Academy, because Hermes is the usual decoration of all such places, and Minerva is peculiarly suited to mine.'

A Hermathena is a bust of Athena, superposed on a quadrangular pillar; compare such combinations as Hermeracles (Ep. 6, 3), Hermares, Hermeros, Hermanubis. The prefix *ἑρμ-* signifies the quadrangular pillar (*ἡ τετραγώνος ἐργασία*, Thucyd. vi. 27) on which the bust rested. In Epp. 4 and 5 Cic. speaks of this and other similarly formed pieces of sculpture as *Hermæ*. A Hermes-pillar surmounted by the bust of a divinity is (says Cicero) a kind of ornament found in every gymnasium; such a pillar with a bust of Minerva is especially appropriate in my gymnasium, which was to be used solely for mental and not for bodily exercise. It is possible that Hermathena may have signified a double-headed bust of Hermes and Athena: but if so, it is strange that Cic. would not have used Mercurius for Hermes, or Athena for Minerva. But inasmuch as there was no Latin word to express the peculiar kind of ornament which the Greeks called a *Hermes*, Cic. was compelled to use the Greek term. See Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, 2, p. 2342, and Gurlitt (*Steg-litz Programm*, 1898, pp. 1-3). We have not followed Boot in omitting *insigne*,

as he is wrong in saying that it rests *only* on the authority of Bosius. It is not found in M, but is in Z, in the marg. of Lambinus' ed., and also in several members of the *Σ* class. See Lehmann, 'Att.', p. 134, and Introduction, iii., On the Sources of the Text.

ea nondum vidi] Merely because *nondum* occurs here, Baiter would read *nosea nondum vidimus* in the preceding letter—a vicious principle; as if because Cicero says 'I have not yet seen them' in one letter, he should not say 'I have not seen them' in another, more especially as *nondum* is quite necessary here, contrasted as it is with two other points of time, in the words 'quae mihi antea misisti,' and 'quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam.'

Caietam] This is the ms reading, usually changed to *Caietanum*; but Klotz justly observes that Cicero may have preferred rather to call his villa *Caieta* than *Caietanum*. It was the same as the *Formianum*; see O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Viten*, p. 27, especially Note 2.

Crassum] Crassus is the typical millionaire of Roman literature; see Fin. iii. 75; Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 134.

vicos et prata] 'I envy no man's manor and demesne.' For *vici* in this sense, see Horace, Ep. ii. 2, 177, and Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82). Others translate 'city and country property.'

LETTERS OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 10, 11.

A. U. C. 689 ; B. C. 65 ; AET. CIC. 41.

COSS. L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

THIS year Cicero devoted chiefly to his canvass for the attainment of the consulship two years thence, 691 (b. c. 63). He could not legally become consul till he was 43 years of age. He offered to defend Catiline, in hopes that Catiline might make common cause with him against the other candidates. He had set his heart on the consulate, and he neglected no means which might achieve success. He refused to defend the uncle of Atticus in a just cause against Caninius Satyrus, whose influence he thought might be useful in his candidature. His son Marcus was born this year. This was the year of the speeches for C. Cornelius.

10. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 1).

ROME; JULY, A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Cum M. Ciceronis tempus iustum petendi consulatus appropinquaret, primum Attico exponit rationem petitionis suae et ea ipsa petitionis causa sese excusat quod Caecilio, Attici avunculo, contra A. Caninium Satyrum in iudicio adesse noluerit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Petitionis nostrae quam tibi summae curae esse scio huius modi ratio est, quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensat unus P. Galba: sine fuco ac fallaciis, more maiorum, negatur. Ut opinio est hominum, non aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haece praepropera prensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, cum hoc precrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium prensandi facere cogitamus eo ipso tempore quo tuum puerum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo, comitiis tribuniciiis,

1. *Petitionis*] 'About the prospects of my candidature, in which I know you are deeply interested, the case stands thus, as far as surmises go—Galba is the only one who is actively making interest for himself. He receives for answer a plain, unvarnished, old-fashioned no. This premature canvass of his, as common report goes, has not been a bad thing for my interests; for their refusal generally takes the form of a statement that they owe their support to me. So I fancy my cause is being served, now that the report gets wind that my supporters are found to be in the majority.' In using the word *petitio* here, Cicero does not imply that he is now engaged in any *petitio*. He only says the prospects of his candidature (when he shall become a candidate) are improved by the *praepropera prensatio* of Galba, who should have waited for the *comitia tribunicia*, the first election in the year, and the time at which (as it would seem) etiquette prescribed that the *prensatio* should begin. Cicero had not yet begun *prensare*, 'to make interest,' much less *petere*, 'to stand,' for the consulship.

sine fuco ac fallaciis] The alliteration is doubtless fortuitous. If it were designed, the phrase might be rendered 'clean and clever.' Cp. for the sentiment, Plaut. Truc. prol. 6:

En mehercle in vobis resident mores pristini
Ad denegandum ut celeri lingua utamini.

ita . . . ut] These particles are used with great delicacy by Cicero: see *Introd.*, II. § 2 B. A paraphrase like that in the rendering given above is often necessary to bring out the force of the particles. Cp. Att. vi. 9, 1 (282), *ita se domi ex tuis audisse ut nihil esset incommode*, 'that the account which he had from your people was incompatible with the idea of anything being wrong.' For *profici*, cp. Plin. Ep. ix. 40, 2, *memoriae . . . proficitur*.

cogitamus] is virtually an imperf., as *cogitavi* (ἐγνώκα) is virtually a present, 'I have made up my mind' = 'I purpose'; but here it is an epistolary tense: hence the pluperf. may here be fairly rendered by the English present, 'I was intending when I wrote,' that is, 'I intend.'

in campo] sc. Martio.

a.d. xvi. Kalend. Sext. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse. Ut frontem ferias, sunt qui etiam Caesonium putent. Aquilium non arbitrabamur qui denegavit et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et Palicano

qui certi esse videantur] 'to take only those who are certain to stand.' Cp. *quod exstet litteris*, Tusc. i. 38. *Qui modo* is more usual in this case, but *quod meminim*, *quod sciam* are common; cf. Roby, 1692, 1694. Boot, who apparently sees something in *qui . . . videantur* not parallel to *quod provideri possit* above, would (with Rom.) read *videbantur*, the epistolary imperf.

Puto] 'I can fancy your smile or sigh as you come to this piece of news. But here is something *à faire frémir*; some think Caesonius will actually stand.' *In hoc* refers to the whole sentence, 'you will smile or sigh (according to the point of view from which you regard the news) when you hear there are no candidates with stronger claims than these.' *Ingemere* really means to groan or growl; a modern English letter-writer would say, 'I fancy you will smile or else swear.' The 'groan' is essentially southern: still more, 'the smiting of the forehead.' None of the men had as yet achieved any such personal distinction as would warrant their standing. Q. Cicero, in the Comm. Pet. 7, says of these rivals of his brother, especially of Galba, *Vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi parvis non esse*.

Ut frontem] Cp. Brutus, 278, *nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis, frons non percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla supplotio*. Cp. also Apul. Met. i. 7, *imo de pectore cruciabilem suspirium ducens dextra saeviente frontem replaudens*.

Caesonium] He was a juror in the first trial of Cluentius, and also in the trial of Verres (1 Verr. 29). He was *curule aedile* with Cicero in 685 (69), and also praetor with him in 688 (66). He is perhaps the Caesonius mentioned in Att. xii. 11 (502).

iuravit] 'has excused himself on the plea of ill-health, and his unquestioned sway in the law courts.' For *iurare morbum* cp. Att. xii. 13, 2 (545). The position of Aquilius as a *iuris consultus*

was really deserving of the term *regnum*; see the eloquent eulogy of him in Caec. 77; he was the colleague of Cicero in the praetorship. It is to be noticed, then, that a distinguished Roman felt that he was bound to allege some excuse for his conduct, if he did not, having been praetor, aim at the consulship. For the expression *regnum iudiciale*, cp. *amisso regno forensi*, Fam. ix. 18, 1 (473). Cic. uses *excusare morbum* in the same sense in Phil. ix. 8, with which cp. *excusare laborem*, Hor. Ep. i. 7, 67.

Catilina] Catiline was charged by Clodius with misappropriation of public moneys. Therefore he could not stand for the consulship unless acquitted, that is only 'if the jury bring in a verdict that the sun does not shine at noonday.' The reference is to the trial of Catiline for extortion (*repetundae*) as propraetor in Africa: see the important passage in Asconius (p. 85. 8-16 Or.) and Reid, *pro Sulla*, Intro., §§ 7 and 12.

Aufidio] T. Aufidius, mentioned as a jurist in Brut. 179; he had been praetor in Asia, Flacc. 45. This is the view held by Borghesi and Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 40). Orelli, after Goveanus, has changed this reading to *Auli filio*, and has been almost universally followed by the editors; wrongly, as can be shown. *Aufidio* is the reading of all the mss, and there is no reason why he should not have aspired to the consulship, having been praetor, as well as Palicanus, who had only been tribune, and who was a man of bad character (Val. Max. iii. 8, 3). But Orelli observed that, in Att. ii. 3, 1 (29), the mss have *Atilio*, which should be, doubtless, corrected to *A. filio*, i.e. *Auli filio*, i.e. Afranio. Therefore, here he changes *Aufidio* to *Auli filio*. On Att. i. 4, 3 (8), attention has been already directed to the uncritical character of this method. But here is a far more serious case, for above *nondum* might have stood in both places; here *A. filio* cannot stand. For why should Afranius be here called 'the son of Aulus'? In Att. ii. 3, 1 (29),

non puto te expectare dum scribam. 2. De iis qui nunc petunt Caesar certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur: qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur

the correction is right, for Cicero is purposely using covert language; he says, 'it is said that a certain acquittal is due to the influence of the son of Aulus, and that Pompey (whom also he covertly calls Epicrates) has been going it strong.' Afranius was well known as a *protégé* of Pompey, and Atticus would understand what he meant. Besides, at that time, Afranius was consul; and Cicero might think it dangerous to criticise him except in covert phrase. In Att. i. 16, 12 (22), he first calls Afranius *A. filius*, but then he is referring to a matter well known to Atticus. In Att. i. 18, 5 (24), where also he calls Afranius *A. filius* (a letter also written in 694, b.c. 60, the year of Afranius' consulship), the context *proclaims* who is meant by *Auli filius*. But here (1) there is no objection to *Aufidio* of the mss; (2) there is no occasion for any covert allusion to Afranius; (3) Atticus could not have understood what he meant by *A. filio*. Mr. Watson honestly says, 'Afranius is said to have been called *Auli filius* on account of his own insignificance; *quasi terrae filius*, says Drumann, but it seems a strange expression.' But if it referred to his insignificance, it *ought* to imply that any little lustre he had was reflected from his father Aulus; now Aulus was quite obscure. Moreover, there are more insignificant men mentioned here, e.g. *Palicanus* (cp. Ep. 24, 5). No: he is never called *Auli filius* until Cicero feared to criticise him unless covertly, and then the context leaves it unmistakable who is meant by the son of Aulus. In Att. i. 18, 5 (24), we have, 'Metellus is an excellent consul; not so Aulus' son'—of course the other consul. There is no reference to insignificance. Having once given him this name in Att. i. 16, 12 (22), Cicero afterwards frequently applies it to him.

2. *De iis qui*] 'Of those who are now canvassing [sc. for the year 690 (64)] Caesar is sure to be elected. It is thought the real struggle will be between Thermus and Silanus, who are so poor in friends and character that it seems to me on the cards to carry Curius against them.'

Caesar] i.e. Lucius Julius Caesar consul in 690 (64). He was loyal to the senate after the murder of the Dictator (see Index).

Thermus] Cicero wrote some letters to this Thermus when he was governor of Asia (Epp. 230–232; 253, 4).

Silano] Consul in 691 (63).

et existimatione] So the mss; Boot and Baiter insert *ab* before *existimatione*. Klotz rightly adheres to the mss: *inops ab amicis* is found in De Domo, 58, and *inops verbis*, Brut. 247. Each of these constructions finds a parallel here.

Curium] Boot suggests *Turium*, which is found in the margin of the Med. He thinks Curius was of too bad a character (cp. Sall. Cat. 23) to have had a chance; but this is hardly sufficient ground for abandoning the Med., which, in these letters, is, in the present case, the best guide we have.

Nostris . . . acciderim] The meaning of the passage is this: 'it would suit my interests best that Thermus should be elected with Caesar (who is certain), for Thermus would be the most formidable rival to me, if left over for my year, because he is commissioner for the repairing of the Flaminian road, and when that is completed his influence will be greatly strengthened' (though it is not great now, as we see above, *qui sic inopes*, &c.).

In the text we have given the unintelligible reading of Med. The best conjecture is perhaps that of Manutius, who gives *quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem addiderim*; which might be improved thus: *quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eo libenter Thermum Caesari consulem acciderim*. The last word is suggested by Boot, but is rejected as being found only in Plautus. But this is in its favour: see Introduction, II § 2 A. The chief objection to Manutius' reading is, that it is a mere repetition. Read, therefore, *eo accordingly*, which suits the repetition, 'and that is why I would wish to solder together Thermus and Caesar in the consulship.' For *eo*, without correlatives *quo*, *ut*, see Fam. vi. 20, 1 (645), *dederam triduo ante . . . litteras ad te*:

Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex iis qui nunc petunt qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae:† que cum erit absoluta sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim.† Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio. Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, excurremus mense Septembri

EO nunc ero brevior; and de Div. ii. 46, *frater es: EO vereor*. *Libenter* nunc for *libenter* Thermum is a case of lipography—*ther* was left out after *ter*, and this is confirmed by the reading of Z and M; for Z (*teste Lambino*) reads *libenter nunciteri concili acciderunt*, and the margin of M has *nuntiteri* for *nunc ceteri*. Bosius made a very ingenious guess (which of course he fortified by fabricated mss), that there is here a play on the word *Thermum*, which in Greek is *θερμὸν*, a lupine, and the word *cicer*, a vetch. The way in which he works out his idea is bad, for it conflicts with the context: but the suggestion recommends itself to those who remember that Cicero can hardly resist a play on a name. Could Cicero have written *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem obduzerint*, therefore (when the Flaminian way is finished) they will gladly enough run Thermus against Cicero, the lupine against the vetch. Or better, if we suppose that *ciceri* could be meant as a pun on *Caesari*, not *Ciceroni*, one might read *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem acciderim*, 'therefore I would be glad to pound up together (Thermus and Caesar) the lupine and the vetch in the consulship.' In favour of making *ciceri* a pun on *Caesari*, it may be mentioned that there is a play on *Sosia* and *socius* in Plaut. Amph. 383-4. However, against this theory it is a strong objection that *ciceri* would more naturally be a play on *Ciceroni*. Bosius says he found *libenter nun ciceri* in XY, which he changes to *libenter Thermum ciceri*: but he might have spared himself here his appeal to his non-existent *codices*, for we may almost say that Z and M have this very reading, so very frequent is the confusion between *c* and *t*, so that *nunciteri* and *nuntiteri* would very probably have been written by a copyist who found *nunciceri*. Koch's and Kayser's reading, suggested by Corradus originally, *libenter*

municipia consulem accipient (*acceperint*), is decidedly attractive, though somewhat wide of the mss. Wesenberg reads *quae tum erit absoluta: sane facile eum Caesari consulem accedere viderim*, a reading chiefly founded on the conjecture of I. F. Gronovius, which Boot (Obs. p. 40) thinks might be improved by reading *addi* for *accedere*. Dr. Reid thinks that *renuntiarum* is concealed under *nunciteri*, and suggests *quae tum erit absoluta; sane facile eum ac libenter renuntiarum consulem acceperim*; and Mr. Pretor proposes *quae tunc erit absoluta. Sane factum eum libenter cum Caesare consulem viderim*.

The great Roman roads, such as the Appia, Flaminia, &c., were called *viae praetoriae* or *consulares*, and were overseen by *curatores*; the smaller roads which intersected them were called *viae vicinales*, and were under the charge of *magistri pagorum*.—Momm. St. R. ii. 650.

informata] 'in outline, *ἐσκιαγραφημένη* (Plato); *δπογεγραμμένη, δποτετυπωμένη* (Aristotle).

Gallia] Gaul, i.e. Gallia Cispadana, had great influence on elections at Rome. Cicero says of Gaul, cp. *a qua nos . . . tum petere consulatum solebamus*, Phil. ii. 76.

cum Romae] 'when the heat of business begins to cool down in the courts I shall take a run to Piso, not returning later than January.'

Piso was consul 687 (67), and since had been governor of Gallia Narbonensis (cp. Ep. 19, 2). He was afterwards defended by Cicero on a charge of *repetundae*, and acquitted in 691 (63). The *legatio libera* is here referred to. It was a sort of unofficial embassy, which enabled a senator to leave Rome on his own private affairs at the expense of the State. Cicero speaks strongly against the institution: de Legg. iii. 18. The last four months of the year were so occupied by holidays

legati ad Pisonem ut Ianuario revertamur. Cum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa esse, his dumtaxat urbanis competitoribus. Illam manum tu mihi cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompei, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huius modi sunt. 3. Sed est quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Caecilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario cum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre A. Caninio Satyro de iis rebus quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat L. Lucullus et P. Scipio et is quem putabant magistrum fore si bona venirent, L. Pontius. Verum hoc ridiculum est de magistro. Nunc cognosce rem. Rogavit me

and festivals that there was hardly any law business then in Rome.

Cetera spero] 'The rest I hope will be plain sailing, provided I have only to deal with the candidates who are now in the city,' or 'with my civilian rivals.' In Mur. 19, the profession of the jurists is called *urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi, cavendi*, which, perhaps, rather favours the latter view.

Illam manum] 'You, as you are nearer, must guarantee me the support of the following of P.' Some of those who were now with Pompey in Asia might have returned to Rome before Cicero's election, or, if absent, they might write to their friends in his favour. But perhaps he only means 'you must see that they do not stand against me.'

3. *Sed est quod*] 'But there is a matter for which I am very anxious to bespeak your kind indulgence. Caecilius, your uncle, having been defrauded of a large sum of money by Varius, has taken an action against A. Caninius Satyrus, the cousin of Varius, for some property which he says was fraudulently made over to him by Varius. All the other creditors made common cause with Caecilius, among whom were Lucullus, Scipio, and Pontius, who, they expect, will act as salesmaster if there is an auction of the goods of Varius. However, it is absurd to talk about who will be salesmaster at present. Now, perpend (*i.e.* mark the matter for which I want your pardon):—Caecilius has asked me to appear for him against Satyrus. Hardly a day passes without Satyrus coming to my house. He is most attentive to Domitius, and next, to me.'

This seems to have been what is called the *Actio Pauliana*, a suit granted to effect the restoration of anything belonging to a bankrupt's estate which had been wrongfully alienated. (Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. p. 273).

diceret] 'By a carelessness of expression, the verb of saying or thinking is sometimes put in the subjunctive instead of the thing said. So especially *diceret*,' Roby, 1746. See also Roby, 1722, 1742, and *cp. cum . . . diceret*, Att. i. 16, 2 (22). This is what Dr. Kennedy calls the 'virtual oblique.' *Cp.* also Fam. vii. 16, 3 (157), *quod negent te respondere = quod, ut dicunt, non respondeas*; Att. iv. 1, 6 (90), *quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere = quod, ut dicebant, non possent*: see also note on *reliquisset*, Ep. 27, 12. Mayor on Phil. ii. 7 compares the negligent expression in English, 'he went away because he said it was late,' = 'because it was late, as he said.'

magistrum] 'After possession [by the creditors of a bankrupt's estate] further proceedings could be taken with a view to a sale. The thirty days gave an opportunity for the debtor or his friends or representatives to settle the affair or to apply to the praetor with suitable objections, and the creditors would then be better able to estimate the financial position of the estate. The creditors then met, and one of their number was elected to arrange the sale and settle its conditions. He was called *magister*' (Roby, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 434-5); for *magistri* *cp.* Pro Quinctio 50; Att. vi. 1, 15 (252); Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899) and note on that passage.

Caecilius ut adessem contra Satyrum. Dies fere nullus est quin hic Satyrus domum meam ventitet. Observat L. Domitium maxime: me habet proximum. Fuit et mihi et Q. fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus. 4. Sane sum perturbatus cum ipsius Satyri familiaritate tum Domiti in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio: simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis facturum fuisse: nunc in causa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet facile causam communem sustinerent, aequum esse eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam vellem et quam homines belli solent et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit. Abs te peto ut mihi hoc ignoscas et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum *ne contra* amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, cum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quod si voles in me esse durior, ambitionem putabis mihi obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiam si id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse: *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ βούλην*. Vides enim in quo cursu simus et quam omnis gratias non modo retinendas verum etiam acquirendas putemus. Spero tibi me causam probasse, cupio quidem certe. 5. Hermathena tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est ut totum gymnasium † *ἐλίου ἀνάθημα* † esse videatur. Multum te amamus.

4. *perhiberet*] 'without the aid of a lawyer specially retained by Caecilius on his own account.' The word *perhiberet* here bears a very unusual sense. Perhaps Cic. wrote *praehiberet*; or *adhiberet*, as Dr. Reid suggests. Archaic terms are often found in connexion with legal transactions.

aequum esse] 'it was fair that Caecilius should consider my obligations (to Satyrus) and my position' (as candidate for consulship). For *tempori*, see Ep. 30, 15, note.

quam homines belli] 'than is usual in polite society.' Caecilius was a man of such harshness of manner (*asperitatem*) that no one could tolerate him except Atticus (cp. Nepos Att. 5, 1).

et postea] 'and afterwards completely dropped our intimacy, which was only a few days' standing.'

ne contra amici] 'from appearing

against a friend in a matter involving his political existence, and in the hour of his greatest need.' A conviction for *dolus malus* would have been followed by *infamia*.

putabis] 'pray, regard it as'; this is the polite future, like opt. with *av* in Greek, e. g., *χαροῖς ἂν εἶσω*. *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον*] See II. xxii. 159, 'It is for no paltry prize I am striving.' Cp. Virg. Aen. xii. 764.

5. *Hermathena*] 'I am wonderfully charmed with the statue you have sent me; and it is so happily placed that you would fancy my school to be an offering at its feet.' Thus has Mr. Pretor, with his usual elegance (and with a skill which so far as it is possible conceals the absurdity of the words here ascribed to Cicero), rendered Klotz' correction of the obelized words, viz.: *ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur*. If anyone can believe

11. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. 1. 2.).

ROME; AFTER JULY 17TH; A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Exponit M. Cicero de filio sibi nato, de Catilina defendendo, de Attici adventu ad hominum nobilium voluntatem sibi conciliandam a se exspectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. L. Iulio Caesare C. Marcio Figulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito salva Terentia. Abs te tam diu nihil litterarum?

that Cicero wrote these words, let him not read the rest of this note. I believe what Cicero wrote to be ἡλίου ἀνάμμα, 'the sun's upkindled orb.' The reading of M is *eliu anathma*. Here, as often, the Greek words are written in Latin characters. But it is singular that M is here reported to have a Greek θ, while the other characters are Roman. How does this happen? I have little doubt that this is a case of misreading of the ms. The Roman M in mss was very like a θ lying on its side. The word should therefore be read *anamma*, not *anathma*; ἀνάθημα has no ms authority, but it was supposed that the writer of *anathma* must have meant ἀνάθημα. *Anamma*, if I am right in my theory, has actually the authority of the only ms of whose evidence record is preserved. Cicero says, 'the Hermathena is so happily placed, that the whole gymnasium (looks most brilliant) seems to have got new life and light.' The ἀνάμμα is common in the Stoic philosophy, with which Cicero was very familiar. The sun was described by the Stoics as ἀνάμμα νοερὴν ἐκ θαλάττης. This phrase is used by Stobaeus to describe Heraclitus' theory of the sun; cp. οἱ δ' ἀστέρες ἐκ θαλάσσης μετὰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνάπτονται, Chrys. ap. Plut. *Stoic. rep.* 41. For the words ἀνάμμα and ἔξαμμα as common Stoic words, see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 206 (Eng. Trans.). Cicero might have expressed quite the same idea if he had said *ut toti gymnasio sol additus esse videatur*, just as in Att. iv. 8a, 2 (112), he writes *postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros deposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus*. [I confess to thinking that *eius ἀνάθημα* is defensible. ἀνάθημα is an 'appendage' 'adjunct' to a thing, cp. Hom. Od. i. 152: *μολπή τ' ὀρχηστὴς τε τὰ γάρ*

τ' ἀναθήματα δαυτός. What Cic. says is that the Hermathena is such a striking object in the gymnasium that the latter seems as if it were but an adjunct to it, as (say) a frame might be to a picture.—L. C. P.] Light and brilliancy were regarded by the Romans as the best qualities in a house. In Plaut. *Most.* 636 ff., Tranio tells Theopropides that Philolaches has bought a house; Theopropides asks, what kind of a house? Tranio replies (644), *speculicelaras, clarorem merum*, 'mirror-bright, brilliancy itself,' to which the answer is *bene hercle factum*. Cp. also *algentem rapiat cenatio solem*, Juv. vii. 183; To me, *claror merus* applied to a house seems a very similar expression to ἡλίου ἀνάμμα as used here. The vulg. ἡλίου ἀνάθημα can hardly mean 'a shrine of the sun,' or 'a place (or thing) consecrated to the sun'; and a room cannot be described as ἡλείον ἀνάθημα, 'an Elean offering,' as Peirlkamp thought. Gurlitt's proposal (*Steglitz Programm*, 1898, p. 2) *deas ἀνάθημα*, 'a dedication to the goddess' (i.e. Athena, cf. note to Ep. 9, 3), is much better. In the passage from Plaut. *Most.*, we have given *speculicelaras* (the conjecture of Ellis) for *speculo claras*. Prof. Palmer and E. Hoffmann ('*Archiv*' ii, p. 232) would read *speculoclaras* as a characteristic instance of wrong composition in an old Latin poet, and so Spengel and Schoell. *Speculo claras* can hardly be right; it can hardly mean *ut speculum claras*, as Leo says.

1. L. Iulio Caesare] 'Julius Caesar and Marcus Figulus having been elected consuls, let me tell you that on the same day I was blessed with a son, and that Terentia is doing well.' Cicero refers to

Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter. Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitamus. Iudices habemus quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate. Spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: sin aliter acciderit, humaniter feremus. 2. Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo: nam prorsus summa hominum est opinio tuos familiaris, nobilis homines, adversarios honori nostro fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video. Qua re Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis.

the day on which the result of the election was declared; these men were only *consules designati* until the next year. O. E. Schmidt thinks we should add *designatis*, see note to Ep. 17, fin.

summa accusatoris voluntate] He hints that the accuser, P. Clodius, was in collusion with Catiline, and exercised his right of *reiectio*, 'challenging,' against such jurors as were unfavourably disposed to the accused, a case of *praevaricatio*.

humaniter feremus] 'with resignation,' i.e. as part of the 'chances and changes of this mortal life,' ἀνθρωπίνως. Cp. Tusc. ii. 65, *morbos toleranter atque humane ferunt*. The meaning is not 'like a man' (ἀνδρεώς)—as Mr. Pretor has it. Plautus affects adverbs in *-ter*, even from adj. in *-us*, *-a*, *-um*, such as *sacviter*, *blauditer*; the only adverbs in *-ter* in the

letters derived from adjectives of three terminations are *humaniter*, *inhumaniter* (Q. Fr. iii. 1, 21 (148), but *inhumane*, Off. iii. 30, and 2 Verr. i. 138), *turbulenter*, Fam. ii. 16, 7 (394). Adverbs in *-ter* not from adjectives of three terminations, and peculiar to the letters, are *desperanter*, *fuenter*, *immortaliter*.

2. *tuos familiaris, nobilis*] Probably Hortensius, Crassus, and Lucullus, who do not seem to have been very friendly to Cicero. He constantly sneers at them in his subsequent letters. But perhaps he refers to the whole class of the *nobiles*, who may have been prejudiced against a *homo novus*; cf. Sallust, Cat. 23, *nobilitas quasi pollui cons. credebatur si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret*. The latter theory is confirmed by Q. Cic. Comm. pet. 4 (12); and the former by Att. i. 19, 6 (25).

LETTER OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 12.

FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS.

(Commonly called *De Petitione Consulatus Liber*, but more correctly called
Commentariolum Petitionis.)

A. U. C. 690 ; B. C. 64 ; AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

COSS L. JULIUS CAESAR, C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

For the reasons for including this work in an edition of Cicero's Correspondence, see Introduction, p. 110, *Appendix C. p. 116*

M. Cicero's speeches for this year were the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, and the speech for Q. Gallius.

12. FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS, AT ROME.

A. U. C. 690 (TOWARDS BEGINNING) ; B. C. 64 ; AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

Cum tempus instaret quo M. Tullius Cicero consulatum ex lege annali petere posset, scripsit ad eum Q. frater hunc libellum, quo docere fratrem suscepit quo modo et quibus artibus consulatum cuius petitionem proxime suscepturus erat consequi certo posset.

Q. M. FRATRI S. D.

I. 1. Etsi tibi omnia suppetunt quae consequi ingenio aut usu homines aut intelligentia possunt, tamen amore nostro non sum alienum arbitratus ad te perscribere ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem dies ac noctes de petitione tua cogitanti, 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. [Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere.] 2. Civitas quae sit cogita, quid petas, qui sis. Prope cotidie tibi hoc ad forum descendenti meditandum est: 'Novus sum, consulatum peto, Roma est.' Nominis novitatem dicendi gloria maxime sublevabis. Semper ea res plurimum dignitatis habuit. Non potest qui dignus habetur patronus consularium indignus consulatu putari. Quam ob rem quoniam ab hac laude proficisceris, quidquid es ex hoc es, ita paratus ad dicendum venito quasi in singulis causis iudicium de omni ingenio tuo futurum sit. 3. Eius facultatis adiumenta quae tibi scio esse seposita ut parata ac prompta sint cura et saepe quae de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scripsit

1. *consequi . . . possunt*] The letter begins with a *hyperbaton*, which is a marked feature in its style throughout: see §§ 12, 24, 32, 33.

ut ea quae in re] 'to bring together into one focus by a logical arrangement (*hendiadys*) points that in themselves (i.e. in your case) are isolated and without system.'

[*Quamquam . . . vincere*] These words have been rightly transposed to § 42, after *facere videre*.

2. *dignitatis*] 'political consideration.' *proficisceris*] 'have this reputation to start with.'

quasi in singulis] 'as if in every case the issue to be tried was, your own character as a man of ability.'

3. *seposita*] 'your special gifts.' *quae de Demosthenis*] See de Div. ii. 96, where the remark of Demetrius Phalereus is given *ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum Rho dicere nequivet, exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret*.

Demetrius recordare, deinde *vide* ut amicorum et multitudo et genera appareant. Habes enim ea quae *non multi homines* novi habuerunt: omnis publicanos, totum fere equestrem ordinem, multa propria municipia, multos abs te defensos, homines cuiusque ordinis, aliquot collegia, praeterea studio dicendi conciliatos plurimos adulescentulos, cotidianam amicorum adsiduitatem et frequentiam. 4. Haec cura ut teneas commonendo et rogando et omni ratione efficiendo ut intellegant qui debent tua causa, referendae gratiae, qui volunt, obligandi tui tempus sibi aliud nullum fore. Etiam hoc multum videtur adiuvere posse novum hominem: hominum nobilium voluntas et maxime consularium. Prodest quorum in locum ac numerum pervenire velis, ab iis ipsis illo loco ac numero dignum putari. 5. Hi rogandi omnes sunt diligenter et ad eos adlegendum est persuadendumque iis nos semper cum optimatibus de re publica sensisse, minime popularis fuisse: si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum qui plurimum posset aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium. 6. Praeterea adulescentis nobilis elabora ut habeas vel ut teneas studiosos quos habes: multum dignitatis adferent. Plurimos habes: perface ut sciant quantum in iis putes esse. Si adduxeris ut ii qui volunt cupiant, plurimum proderunt.

II. 7. Ac multum etiam novitatem tuam adjuvat quod eius modi nobiles tecum petunt ut nemo sit qui audeat dicere plus illis nobilitatem quam tibi virtutem prodesse oportere. Nam P. Galbam et L. Cassium summo loco natos quis est qui petere

non multi homines] is supplied by Schwarz from Fam. v. 18, 1 (180). See Adn. Crit.

propria] cp. § 35, 'attached to you personally.' The conjecture *praeterea* is unnecessary.

cotidianam . . . frequentiam] 'a large and constant circle of friends in daily attendance.'

4. *ut intellegant*] 'that it be clearly perceived by those who owe you a service, that this is the time, and no other, for paying their debt: and by those who desire to do you a service that this is the time, and no other, for laying you under an obligation.'

5. *adlegendum*] 'call on them': *adlegare* is used of a private mission, *legare* of a public: cp. Ep. 7. 1.

popularis] 'demagogues.'

6. *volunt*] see Adn. Crit.

7. *novitatem*] 'want of position.'

quis est qui petere cons. putet] 'who could look on them as candidates for the consulate?' Kayser's *oportere* after *petere* is not required. Moreover, it weakens the expression, which is intended to be very vehement: cp. *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 89), *te vero, Catilina, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est?* Galba seems to have been very poorly supported. See Att. i. 1, 1 (10), and Mur. 17, *mihi ipsi accidit ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbisimo atque audacissimo, altero moderatissimo atque optimo viro, peterem. Superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam. L. Cassius seems to have been one of the*

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consulatum putet? Vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi paris non esse. 8. At Catilina et Antonius molesti sunt. Immo homini navo, industrio, innocenti, diserto, gratioso apud eos qui res iudicant optandi competitores, ambo a pueritia sicarii, ambo libidinosi, ambo egentes. Eorum alterius bona proscripta vidimus, vocem denique audivimus iurantem se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse, ex senatu eiectionem scimus optima verorum censorum existimatione, in praetura competitorem habuimus amico Sabidio et Panthera, quom

most desperate of the conspirators with Catiline: he is often mentioned in the *Cat. oratt.* and in the *pro Sulla*. Asconius, in his commentary on the *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 82), enumerates the competitors of Cicero, 'duos patricios, P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, atque in petitione patrem amisit.' These last words have an important bearing on the disputed passage *pater nobis discessit*; see note on Ep. 2. 6.

familiis 'houses, establishments,' not 'families.'

sine nervis 'ability, vigour': cp. Fam. vi. 1, 3 (538), *quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est ac nervorum*.

8. *Antonius* who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, and had also been associated with him in the praetorship.

apud 'in the estimation of': cp. *apud publicanos gratiosus*, Verr. ii. 169.

Eorum alterius C. Antonius. This is explained by *or. in tog. cand.*, and the note of Asconius thereon. Cicero, in that speech (p. 84), says, *quem enim aut amicum habere potest is qui tot civis trucidavit? aut clientem, is qui in sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse?* Asconius explains that the first question refers to Catiline (see §§ 9, 10); the second to Antonius, who previously despoiled the Greeks in Achaia, having put himself at the head of certain *turmae* of the Sullan army. The Greeks brought Antonius before M. Lucullus, praetor peregrinus. C. Caesar, then a young man, pleaded the cause of the Greeks, and, Lucullus having decided in their favour, Antonius appealed to the tribunes,

declaring that he had no fair play against the Greeks. Antonius was removed from the senate by the censors Gellius and Lentulus for plundering the allies, for refusing to submit to law, and for the general profligacy by which he had dissipated his property.

bona proscripta See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 88), *alter pecore omni divendito et salibus prope addictis, pastores retinet ex quibus ait se cum vellet subito fugitivorum bellum excitaturum*.

in praetura competitorem habuimus i.e. the praetorship of Marcus, a. u. c. 688 (66). These details we should have expected to have heard of in the *pro Mur.*, if nowhere else. There Cicero distinctly states (§ 49) that Catiline was encouraged by the promises of his colleague. *Or. in tog. cand.* (p. 85) says, *nescis me praetorem primum esse factum, te concessione competitorum et collatione centuriarum et meo maxime beneficio postremo in tertium locum esse subiectum*. This last word is explained by Madvig as 'promoted,' by others as 'foisted into,' by some (wrongly) changed to *subiectum* or *subiectum*. Asconius indeed observes, that if Cicero had really defended Catiline, as Fenestella says, he would in the *or. in toga cand.* have twitted Catiline with the fact, as he brings up to Antonius the much slighter service done to him in his suit for the praetorship; and in this very speech (pp. 85, 86) Cicero upbraids Q. Mucius, a tribune, with his hostility to him, reminding him how he had defended him on a charge of theft. Again, these words, from the *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 87), seem (says Asconius) quite inconsistent with the theory of Cicero's defence of Catiline, *miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum*. But the statement in Ep. 11. 1, seems to support Fenestella's view. Asconius did

alios ad tabulam quos poneret non habebat. Quo tamen in magistratu amicam quam domi palam haberet de machinis emit. In petitione autem consulatus caupones omnis compilare per turpissimam legationem maluit quam adesse et populo Romano supplicare.
 9. Alter vero, di boni! Quo splendore est? Primum nobilitate eadem [qua Catilina]. Num maiore? Non. Sed virtute. Quam ob rem? Quod Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic ne leges quidem, natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium: cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit. Nam illis quos meminimus Gallis,

not know of that passage, as the Epp. ad Att. were probably not published until 60 A.D. If they had been published in 55 A.D., about which time Asconius wrote, such a careful investigator of matters connected with Cicero would not have failed to quote it.

ad tabulam] 'At the scrutiny of votes.' This word has a technical sense in Roman elections, and is carefully to be distinguished from the *tabellae*. At the election of magistrates each voter was supplied with one ticket (*tabella, tessera*), containing the names of all the candidates, and the voter affixed his mark (*punctum*) to the name of the candidate for whom he voted. The *tabellae* of each century were collected by the *rogatores* and brought back to the presiding magistrate, who put them in the *cista* or *sitella*; these *tabellae* were taken out and counted by the *diribitores*; and the votes, as they were taken out of the *cista*, were by the *custodes* checked off by *puncta* on a *tablet*. This *tablet* was called *tabula*, and this particular stage of the business of election was technically described by the phrase *ad tabulam*. See Varr. R. R. iii. 5, 18, *narrat ad tabulam, cum diriberent, quemdam deprehensum tesseras conicientium in loculum, cum ad consulem tractum a fautoribus competitorum*. Antonius had no more respectable friends than these obscure foreigners to whom to assign this important duty. The above three classes of officers are mentioned in Pis. 36. In the passing of laws the procedure was different: two *tabellae* were supplied—one for the law (marked V.R. = *uti rogas*, 'as you propose'), the other against it (A = *antiquo*, 'I reject').

de machinis] This was the public platform on which slaves were exposed for sale, also called *catasta*. The same meaning is conveyed by another phrase in Pis.

35, *duos de lapide emptos tribunos*; the *lapis* was the stone on which the *praeco* stood at slave auctions. See Plaut. Bacch. 815, *atque in eopse astas lapide ut praeco praedicat*.

caupones omnis compilare per turpissimam legationem] *Caupones* = *parochi*. To change *legationem* of the mss to *adlegationem* with Orelli destroys the sense. The meaning, no doubt, is this: Antonius accepted a *legatio* when he ought to have been canvassing, and in the character of *legatus* he was very oppressive to the innkeepers and *hospites*, who were obliged to afford to him a certain amount of entertainment. This amount was strictly limited by the Lex Julia, cp. Att. v. 16, 3 (208), Pis. 90; but its provisions were easily violated with impunity. This is rhetorically called by Quintus 'a robbery of the *caupones*.' The regular Latin for 'billeting' is *deductio*; the Greek is *ἐπιστάθμεια*: cp. Att. xiii. 52, 2 (679). Antonius, of course, conducted his canvass by proxy. Bücheler reads *Cappadoceas* for *caupones*, supposing Antonius to have had a *legatio* to settle the affairs of Cappadocia after the restoration of Ariobarzanes, and to have acted rapaciously in the discharge of his commission. See Adn. Crit.

9. *Alter*] Catiline.

Non] Cf. Mur. 73, *senatus num obviam prodire crimen putat? Non, sed mercede; convince. Num sectari multos? Non, sed conductos; doce*. See Adn. Crit.

umbram suam metuit] Cp. Att. xv. 20, 4 (752) *etsi mihi videtur iste, qui umbras timet, ad caedem spectare*.

in sororis stupris] 'quae Sergia fecit cum aliis; nam Catilinam etiam, sicut Clodium, sororis stupro pollutum esse, ne Marcus quidem fingeat.' Bücheler.

qui tum Titiniorum ac Nanniorum ac Tanusiorum capita demetebant, Sulla unum Catilinam praefecerat in quibus ille hominem unum optimum, Q. Caecilius, sororis suae virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum, suis manibus occidit.

III. 10. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano, vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu lacerarit, vivo spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a vertice teneret,

Titiniorum ac Nanniorum] These were victims of the Sullan proscription. For the Nannii or Nannei see Att. i. 16, 5 (22). Bücheler reads *Manliorum*: perhaps *Volumniorum*, which Lagomarsini's codex, No. 50, gives, should be read, cp. Asconius, p. 84.

demetebant] 'mowed down,' the conjecture of Gesner for *demebant*, and quite in keeping with the exaggerated tone of the letter.

unum optimum] 'of singular excellence.'

Q. Caecilius] i.e. Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, mentioned as an orator in Brut. 305.

10. *M. Marius*] He still dwells on the enormities of Catiline, recounting the details of his murder of M. Marius Gratidianus. This Marius gained great popularity by his bill for the regulation of the coinage, in which he stole a march on the tribunes and his colleagues in the praetorship, by proposing alone the bill which they had agreed to put forward in common. Cicero says of him, Off. iii. 80., *omnibus vicis statuæ, ad eas tus, cerei; quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit carior.*

qui . . . ceciderit] The perfect subjunctives throughout assign reasons why such a man should not be a candidate for the consulship; the imperfect subjunctives *teneret . . . fluere* merely express the minor details of his reprehensible acts. *Qui ita vixit* must be translated 'and then he lived such a life.' The perfect indicative no longer assigns a reason, only describes a circumstance.

bustum] Probably the *bustum Basili* near the city, on the Appian Road, where, as we learn from Att. vii. 9, 1 (300), a friend of Cicero, L. Quintius, was robbed and wounded. Asconius (p. 50) describes the *bustum Basili* thus:—Via Appia est

prope urbem monumentum Basili qui locus atrocitatis fuit perisfamis. But Seneca (De Ira, iii. 18), in describing this transaction, makes the *bustum Catuli* the scene of the outrage:—*Mario . . . L. Sulla praefringi cura, erui oculos, amputari manus iussit, et, quasi toties occideret quoties vulnerabat, paulatim et per singulos artus laceravit. Quis erat huius imperii minister? quis nisi Catilina omne facinus in Mario exercens. Sic illum ante bustum Q. Catuli carpebat.* Val. Max. ix. 2, 1, places the scene *ad sepulchrum Lutatie gentis*. Livy (epit. 88) says *Marium senatorii ordinis virum cruribus brachiisque fractis, auribus praesectis, et effossis oculis necavit*. Neither Livy nor Valerius Maximus ascribes the crime to Catiline, but they both ascribe it to Sulla.

vivo spiranti] cp. or in *tog. cand.* (p. 90), *quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus ad Sullam usque ab Ianiculo ad aedem Apollinis manibus ipse suis detulit*. This is a strong argument for *spiranti* instead of *stanti*, when we consider how largely Cicero availed himself of the phraseology of this part of his brother's letter in his candidatorial speech. See especially on *alia culpa*, § 10, and *sic as destringere*, § 12. So also *inspectante populo* in this sentence is borrowed by Marcus (p. 87): *populum vero, cum inspectante populo collum secuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti faceret ostendit*. In defence of *stanti*, the reading of the mss, Müller quotes Plaut. Merc. 308, *Decide collum stanti, si falsum loquor*. The *aedes Apollinis* was outside the Carmental Gate, between the Forum Olitorium and the Flaminian Circus. Asconius (p. 91) warns us against confounding it with the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was not built till after the battle of Actium.

caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius rivi sanguinis fluerent? Qui postea cum histrionibus et cum gladiatoribus ita vixit ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adiutores haberet, qui nullum in locum tam sanctum ac tam religiosum accessit in quo non, etiam si alia culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinqueret, qui ex curia Curios et Annios, ab atriis Sapalas et Carvilius, ex equestri ordine Pompilios et Vettios sibi amicissimos comparavit, qui tantum habet audaciae, tantum nequitiae, tantum denique in libidine artis et efficacitatis ut prope in parentum gremiis praetextatos liberos constuprarit? Quid ego nunc tibi de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? Nota sunt et ea tu saepius legito. Sed tamen hoc mihi non praetermittendum videtur, quod primum ex eo iudicio tam egens discessit quam quidam iudices eius ante illud iudicium fuerunt, deinde tam invidiosus ut aliud in eum iudicium cotidie flagitetur. Hic se sic habet ut magis timeat, etiam si quieris, quam ut contemnat, si quid

alia culpa] See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 92), *cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret.* The allusion is to the case of Fabia, a Vestal, who was tried for unchastity (the charge being an intrigue with Catiline), but was acquitted. This Fabia was a sister of Terentia; and the latter took refuge with her in the temple of Vesta when Cicero fled from Rome: *ep. Fam. xiv. 2, 2* (79). It is this connexion with his own family that makes Cicero careful here to add *etiam cum culpa nulla subesset.* The words of Quintus do not quite so emphatically acquit Fabia: 'even if he did not actually profane the sacred place, such was his vile character that he always left behind him the suspicion of having polluted it.' This was in itself a *culpa*; and this he was always guilty of, even when he committed no actual violation of the sacred character of the place. *Alia culpa* therefore gives an excellent sense, and is strongly confirmed by the parallel passage quoted from the *or. in tog. cand.* See *Adm. Crit.*

Curios et Annios] Friends of Catiline, and senators. Curius is probably the Curius mentioned in *Ep. 10, 2* (if the right reading there be not *Turium*). Asconius (p. 95) says Curius was a gambler, quoting the verses of Calvus on him—

Et talis Curius pereruditus.

ab atriis] 'from the auction-room such men as Sapala and Carvilius,' *atriis auctionariis*: the full term is found in *Rull. i. 7*. These men were probably both *praecones*: *tollitur ab atriis Licinius atque a praekonum consessu in Galliam Naevius* pro *Quinct. 12*. See also *Juv. vii. 7*.

praetextatos] cf. *praetextatus adulter*, *Juv. i. 78*. An exaggeration, quite in keeping with the character of Quintus. See *Q. Fr. i. 2, 13* (53).

de Africa] which Catiline governed as pro-praetor, in 687–8 (67–6).

de testium dictis] in the trial of Catiline for extortion in 689 (65), when Cicero thought of defending him.

aliud iudicium] See *or. in tog. cand.* (p. 87); *miser qui non sentias te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius iudicium . . . reservatum.*

quieris—commoveris] We have accepted Orelli's conjecture for *quierit, commoverit*, 'Such is his position that he must rather feel alarmed at you as a rival, even though you did not use any efforts towards success, than feel contemptuous, if you should use some exertion.'

contemnat] see *or. in tog. cand.* (pp. 87, 88): *me qua amentia inductus sit ut contemneret constituere non possum. Utrum aequo animo laturum putavit? At in suo familiarissimo (C. Verres, Asconius says) viderat me ne aliorum quidem iniurias mediocriter posse ferre.*

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commoveris. 11. Quanto melior tibi fortuna petitionis data est quam nuper homini novo C. Coelio ! Ille cum duobus hominibus ita nobilissimis petebat ut tamen in iis omnia pluris essent quam ipsa nobilitas, summa ingenia, summus pudor, plurima beneficia, summa ratio ac diligentia petendi. Ac tamen eorum alterum Coelius cum multo inferior esset genere, superior nulla re paene, superavit. 12. Qua re tibi, si facies ea quae natura et studia quibus semper usus es largiuntur, quae temporis tui ratio desiderat, quae potes, quae debes, non erit difficile certamen cum iis competitoribus qui nequaquam sunt tam genere insignes quam vitiis nobiles. Quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rem publicam sicas destringere ?

IV. 13. Quoniam quae subsidia novitatis haberes et habere posses exposui, nunc de magnitudine petitionis dicendum videtur. Consulatam petis, quo honore nemo est quin te dignum arbitretur, sed multi qui invideant. Petis enim homo ex equestri loco summum locum civitatis atque ita summum ut forti homini, diserto, innocenti multo idem ille honos plus amplitudinis quam ceteris adferat. Noli putare eos qui sunt eo honore usi non videre tu, cum idem sis adeptus, quid dignitatis habiturus sis. Eos vero qui consularibus familiis nati locum maiorum consecuti non sunt suspicor tibi, nisi si qui admodum te amant, invidere. Etiam novos homines praetorios existimo, nisi qui tuo beneficio vineti sunt, nolle abs te se honore superari. 14. Iam in populo quam

11. *C. Coelio*] Coelius Caldus, who was tribune in 647 (107), and consul with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 660 (94). Of the other noble competitor over whom he proved successful we can find no record. *Nuper* sometimes refers to a period which we should not call 'recent,' e.g. *nuper id est, paucis ante saeculis*, N. D. ii. 126. *ita . . . ut*] 'who, though of the highest rank, yet had in their rank the lowest of their qualifications.' Cp. § 13. *pudor*] 'character.'

12. *insignes . . . nobiles*] 'distinguished . . . remarkable.' Bücheler brackets *insignes*: Bährrens reads *viles* for *nobiles*.

duas in rem publicam sicas] This vigorous expression was adopted by Cicero in his election speech (p. 94): *qui postea quam illo quo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt, duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam sicas destringere*.

Asconius adds '*Hispaniensem pugiunculum* Cn. Pisonem appellat, quem in Hispania occisum esse dixi. *Duas sicas* Catilinam et Antonium appellari manifestum est.'

13. *subsidia novitatis*] 'means of counteracting your want of position.' *ita summum ut*] 'and greatest in this sense that.'

idem] 'the same thing.' One might have expected *eundem*, but this license is not unusual in Cicero's letters: see Fam. ii. 8, 2 (201), cum Pompeio compluris dies nullis in aliis nisi de rep. sermonibus versatus sum; *quae* nec possunt scribi, nec scribenda sunt; so Fam. i. 9, 7 (153), tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus; in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo. This usage is also found in Latin comedy, and is one of the many coincidences between the diction of Cicero's letters and the Latin comic stage.

multi invidi sint, quam multi consuetudine horum annorum ab hominibus novis alienati, venire tibi in mentem certo scio. Esse etiam non nullos tibi iratos ex iis causis quas egisti necesse est. Iam illud tute circumspicito, quod ad Cn. Pompei gloriam augendam tanto studio te dedisti, num quos tibi putes ob eam causam esse amicos. 15. Quam ob rem cum et summum locum civitatis petas et videas esse studia quae tibi adversentur, adhibeas necesse est omnem rationem et curam et laborem et diligentiam.

V. 16. Et petitio magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populari voluntate ponenda est. Amicorum studia beneficiis et officiis et vetustate et facilitate ac iucunditate naturae parta esse oportet. Sed hoc nomen amicorum in petitione latius patet quam in cetera vita. Quisquis est enim qui ostendat aliquid in te voluntatis, qui domum ventitet, is amicorum in numero est habendus. Sed tamen, qui sunt amici ex causa iustiore cognationis aut adfinitatis aut sodalitatis aut alicuius necessitudinis, iis carum et iucundum esse maxime prodest. 17. Deinde ut quisque est intimus ac maxime domesticus, ut is amet et quam amplissimum esse te cupiat valde elaborandum est, tum ut tribules, ut vicini, ut clientes, ut denique liberti, postremo etiam servi tui: nam fere omnis sermo ad forensem famam a domesticis emanat auctoribus. 18. Denique sunt instituendi cuiusque generis amici; ad speciem homines illustres

14. *consuetudine horum annorum*] Probably an allusion to C. Marius, who was a *novus homo*; or perhaps to Coelius, see § 11; or perhaps 'the routine of the last few years,' where so few *novi homines* had been elected.

num quos . . . amicos] Ern. reads *inimicos*, but there is no need to depart from the mss. The advocacy of the cause of Pompey would not as yet be a road to the acquisition of influence; it might even be a source of unpopularity. As Mr. Shuckburgh says the reference is probably to Caesar, who supported Antonius and Catiline, and also the Luculli, who were enemies of Pompey.

16. *duarum rationum diligentiam*] 'activity of two kinds, one to be exercised in gaining the zeal of your friends, the other in gaining the good-will of the public.'

beneficiis et officiis] 'kindnesses done and repaid.'

vetustate] 'long-standing acquaintance-ship' (which may ripen into friendship): cp. Lael. 68, *maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis*. For this use of *vetustas*, see Fam. xiii. 32, 2 (684); x. 10, 2 (788); xi. 16, 2 (888).

latius patet] 'has a wider area.'

iustiore] 'regular.'

sodalitatis] 'club'; though in strictness 'chapter,' as ostensibly religious.

17. *nam fere*] 'for that report of a man, which is the basis of his public character, has its origin in his private circle.'

18. *cuiusque generis amici*] These are *ad speciem*, 'for show' (cp. Ep. 24, 1, *ambitiosae fucoosaeque amicitiae*); *ad ius obtinendum*, 'to make good the justice of one's claim'; *ad centurias conficiendas*, 'to get the votes of the centuries': cp. Fam. xi. 16, 3 (888), *mitte ad Lupum ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat*.

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honore ac nomine, qui etiam si suffragandi studia non navant, tamen adferunt petitori aliquid dignitatis; ad ius obtinendum magistratus, ex quibus maxime consules, deinde tribuni pl.; ad conficiendas centurias, homines excellenti gratia. Qui abs te tribum aut centuriam aut aliquod beneficium aut habeant aut sperent, eos prorsus magno opere et compara et confirma. Nam per hos annos homines ambitiosi vehementer omni studio atque opera elaborant ut possint a tribulibus suis ea quae petierint impetrare. Hos tu homines quibuscumque poteris rationibus ut ex animo atque ex illa summa voluntate tui studiosi sint elaborato. 19. Quod si satis grati homines essent, haec tibi omnia parata esse debebant, sicuti parata esse confido. Nam hoc biennio quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundani, Q. Galli, C. Corneli, C. Orchivi: horum in causis ad te deferendis quid tibi eorum sodales receperint et confirmarint scio: nam interfui. Qua re hoc tibi faciendum est,

suffragandi studia non navant] 'take no active interest in the canvass.'

Qui abs te aut tribum] 'those who through your influence have got or expect the votes of a tribe in the comitia tributa, or a century in the comitia centuriata, or any other favour.' Cp. *ferre tribum* = 'to get the votes of a tribe.' *Habere tribum* has a different sense in Att. iv. 15, 9 (143), where *tribus habet Pomptiniam*, &c., means 'the tribes from which the jury are to be chosen to try his case are,' &c.

aut habeant aut sperent] So Wesenberg reads. The principal mss give *aut ut habeant sperent*. Some of the inferior mss have *aut habent sperent*, which Bücheler adopts, adding *aut* and altering to *sperant*. Lambinus' codex (Lag. 50) and the codex of Turnebus have *aut habeant aut habere sperent*, which may possibly be right. In H we find *ut habeant aut ut habeant sperent*, the first *ut habeant* being written above the line in different ink, but by the original hand.

opera] Cp. Att. xiv. 14, 6 (719), *omni ope atque opera enitar*. It is chiefly as part of the phrase *magno opere, tanto opere*, &c., that *opere* is used. Cp. Fam. xiii. 7, 1 (674); Ter. Eun. iii. 3, 27 (533).

ex illa summa voluntate] *Illā* can hardly be right, unless it refers to *omni studio atque opera* above, see § 39; or, unless it be supposed that *illa* points to a pro-

verbial character in the phrase *ex summa voluntate*, 'from the bottom of their hearts, as the saying is,' Bücheler thinks *illa summa* conceals a superlative, as *quis summos* (Ep. 22, 3) conceals *nequissimos*. Perhaps *illorum* for *illa* may be suggested. For *hos...elaborato*, see § 29.

19. *Quod si satis*] 'if men had any sense of favours past (which they have not), these sources of influence ought to be now laid up for you to draw upon (you must have a fund of such sources of influence to draw upon), as I am sure they are (as I am sure you have).' Eussner's *parata* for *parata* is unnecessary.

sodalitates] Clubs for religious purposes ostensibly, as the *sodalitas germanorum Lupercorum*, mentioned in Cael. 26: cp. Marquardt, St. V. iii. 130.

C. Fundani] Some mss have *M. Fundani*. But we do not read elsewhere of a M. Fundanius defended by Cicero. He defended C. Fundanius in 688 (66). Q. Gallius was defended on a charge of bribery in 690 (64), C. Cornelius in 689 (65). Orchivius was Cicero's colleague in the praetorship, and was tried for peculation, when he may have been defended by Cicero.

receperint et confirmarint] 'took on themselves and promised.'

nam interfui] an artless and convincing testimony to the authorship of Quintus.

hoc tempore ut ab iis quod debent exigas saepe commonendo, rogando, confirmando, curando ut intellegant nullum se umquam aliud tempus habituros referendae gratiae: profecto homines et spe reliquorum tuorum officiorum et [iam] recentibus beneficiis ad studium navandum excitabuntur. 20. Et omnino quoniam eo genere amicitiarum petitio tua maxime munita est, quod ex causarum defensionibus adeptus es, fac ut plane iis omnibus quos devinctos tenes descriptum ac dispositum suum cuique munus sit. Et quem ad modum nemini illorum molestus ulla in re umquam fuisti, sic cura ut intellegant omnia te quae ab illis tibi deberi putaris ad hoc tempus reservasse.

VI. 21. Sed quoniam tribus rebus homines maxime ad benevolentiam atque haec suffragandi studia ducuntur, beneficio, spe, adiunctione animi ac voluntate, animadvertendum est quem ad modum cuique horum generi sit inserviendum. Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum ii quibus saluti fuisti, quos tu habes plurimos,

homines] Almost used as a dem. pronoun, as in Latin comedy, *nosti hominem = nosti eum*.

spe . . . beneficiis] 'by hope of all the other returns you can make them and the late benefits you have done them.' Nearly all edd. bracket *iam*. Müller conjectures *iam <acceptis>*. Possibly we should read *tam*. *Beneficium* is the original act of kindness or attention which begins the friendship; *officium* the return for the *beneficium*, as may be gathered from Fam. i. 7, 2 (114), *defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae*. So also Fam. x. 23, 7 (895), *opto ut mihi liceat iam praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora*.

20. *descriptum*] Cf. Att. ii. 1, 4 (27). Böheler is right in rejecting *descriptum* here.

21. *Sed quoniam*] Bährens (Misc. Crit., p. 29) wishes to transpose §§ 21 to 24 to follow *videare* § 32, altering *videare sed to videaris et*. His reasons could not be stated more concisely than in his own words: "Velim autem aliquis mihi explicet, cuinam bono sit totum caput sextum eo quo nunc legitur loco. Nam inde a capitis quinti § 16 de amicorum studiis ita Quintus disserit ut

primum de amicitii iam partis fundatissque usque ad § 20 exitum, deinde a § 25 de amicitii in ipsa petitione faciendis loquatur. Iam quod intercedit caput sextum (§ 21-24) non de amicis veteribus agit sed de novis conciliandis." But we do not think that this last clause exactly describes the course of the argument. Quintus had in the passage preceding § 20 spoken of the clients who had been defended by Marcus and were plainly and explicitly under obligations. Now he goes on to speak of those who may be called friends implicitly, men to whom Marcus had shown slight favours, or who hoped to get favours from him, or who he might consider entertained friendly feelings for him. These three classes may be grouped under the head of *partae ac fundatae amicitiae* (§ 25): cp. § 23. Their friendships and good will were already acquired; all Marcus had to do was to remind them that now was the time to show that friendship. In § 25 Quintus goes on to speak of obtaining *new* friends during the canvass. On these grounds we hesitate to interfere with the order of chapters as given in the mss.

adiunctione animi ac voluntate] 'disinterested sympathy,' 'sincere attachment'—another case of *hendiadys*.

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non intellegant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini umquam fore. Quod cum ita sit, tamen rogandi sunt atque etiam in hanc opinionem adducendi ut, qui adhuc nobis obligati fuerint, iis vicissim nos obligari posse videamur. 22. Qui autem spe tenentur, quod genus hominum multo etiam est diligentius atque officiosius, iis fac ut propositum ac paratum auxilium tuum esse videatur, denique ut spectatorem te suorum officiorum esse intellegant diligentem, ut videre te plane atque animadvertere quantum a quoque proficiscatur appareat. 23. Tertium illud genus est [studiorum] voluntarium quod agendis gratiis, accommodandis sermonibus ad eas rationes propter quas quisque studiosus tui esse videbitur, significanda erga illos pari voluntate, adducenda amicitia in spem familiaritatis et consuetudinis confirmari oportebit. Atque in iis omnibus generibus iudicato et perpendito quantum quisque possit, ut scias et quem ad modum cuique inservias et quid a quoque expectes ac postules. 24. Sunt enim quidam homines in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi, sunt diligentes et copiosi qui, etiam si antea non studuerunt huic gratiae, tamen ex tempore elaborare eius causa cui debent aut volunt facile possunt. His hominum generibus sic inserviendum est ut ipsi intellegant te videre quid a quoque expectes, sentire quid accipias, meminisse quid acceperis. Sunt autem alii qui aut nihil possunt aut etiam odio sunt tribulibus suis nec habent tantum animi ac facultatis ut enitantur ex tempore: hos ut internoscas elaborato, ne spe in aliquo maiore posita praesidi parum comparetur.

VII. 25. Et quamquam partis ac fundatis amicitiiis fretum ac munitum esse oportet, tamen in ipsa petitione amicitiae permultae

non intellegant] 'much less should men whom you have saved fail to understand'; *non intellegant* forms one idea.

se probatos nemini umquam fore] 'that no one will ever think well of them.'

23. *Illud* and *studiorum* are bracketed by Bährens. The latter was already condemned by Bücheler owing to the position of the copula and also to the fact that the classes referred to in the previous sections are of men and not of interests (*studiorum*). Inasmuch as H reads *id* for *illud*, it would appear, says Bährens, that a gloss, '*id est studiorum*,' has crept into the text. Koch suggests *studiosorum* for *studiorum* (cp. § 57).

accommodandis] 'by making one's expressed views coincide with those principles which may seem to have been the source of the good-will.'

amicitia in spem familiaritatis] Here *familiaritas* and *consuetudo* indicate a closer degree of friendship than *amicitia*: 'by inducing a hope that the friendship may be strengthened into a close intimacy.'

24. *copiosi*] 'wealthy.' Cp. *copiosa* . . . *mulier*, Div. in Caec. 55. *ex tempore*] 'on the spur of the moment.'

elaborato] See Adn. Crit.

ac perutiles comparantur. Nam in ceteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi: potes honeste, quod in cetera vita non queas, quoscumque velis adiungere ad amicitiam, quibuscum si alio tempore agas [ut te utantur], absurde facere videare, in petitione autem nisi id agas et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare. 26. Ego autem tibi hoc confirmo, esse neminem, nisi aliqua necessitudine competitorum alicui tuorum sit adiunctus, a quo non facile, si contenderis, impetrare possis ut suo beneficio promereatur se ut ames et sibi ut debeas, modo ut intellegat te magni aestimare, ex animo agere, bene se ponere, fore ex eo non brevem et suffragatoriam sed firmam et perpetuam amicitiam.

27. Nemo erit, mihi crede, in quo modo aliquid sit, qui hoc tempus sibi oblatum amicitiae tecum constituendae praetermittat, praesertim cum tibi hoc casus adferat ut ii tecum petant quorum amicitia aut contemnenda aut fugienda sit et qui hoc quod ego te hortor non modo adsequi sed ne incipere quidem possint.

28. Nam qui incipiat Antonius homines adiungere atque invitare ad amicitiam quos per se suo nomine appellare non possit? Mihi quidem nihil stultius videtur quam existimare esse eum studiosum tui quem non noris. Eximiam quamdam gloriam et dignitatem ac rerum gestarum magnitudinem esse oportet in eo quem homines ignoti, nullis suffragantibus, honore adficient: ut quidem homo nequam, iners, sine officio, sine ingenio, cum infamia, nullis amicis, hominem plurimorum studio atque omnium bona

25. *potes honeste*] 'you can, without loss of dignity, form friendships with anyone you please; whom if at any other time you sought to make your friends, you would be thought guilty of unbecoming conduct; whereas when you are a candidate, if you do not make this your object, and an important one, and extend it over a large area, you will be thought a failure as a candidate.' Cp. *nullum argumentum*, 'a wretched argument,' Tusc. ii. 13, and note to Att. vii. 20, 1 (318).

26. *ut suo . . . debeas*] 'to earn by his kind services a feeling of affection and obligation on your part.'

modo ut] 'provided only he understands that you value his services, that you are in earnest, that he is laying out his good offices to advantage, and that the friendship resulting from them will not

be merely a short electioneering friendship, but a firm and lasting one.' We have inserted a comma after *aestimare*. It is very awkward to make *ex animo agere* depend on *aestimare*, and *te* is easily supplied again. *Ponere* is 'to invest,' as in *pecuniam in praedium ponere, positum in faenore nummis*.

28. *qui incipiat . . . quos . . . non possit*] 'how would Antonius begin . . . when he cannot?' *Qui* is due to Gesner. The mss read *quid*.

per se] 'unaided.' He would be compelled to have recourse to his *nomenclator* to learn the names of those whom he desired to address. On the importance of knowing the citizens by name, cp. Muren. 77. Cicero appears to have laid great stress on it, cp. Plut. Cic. 7.

officio] 'readiness to do you a good turn.'

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VIII. 29. Quam ob rem omnis centurias multis et variis amicitiiis cura ut confirmatas habeas. Et primum, id quod ante oculos est, senatores equitesque Romanos, ceterorum ordinum navos homines et gratiosos complectere. Multi homines urbani industrii, multi libertini in foro gratiosi navique versantur, quos per te, quos per communis amicos *quod* poteris, summa cura ut cupidi tui sint elaborato, appetito, adlegato, summo beneficio te adfici ostendito. 30. Deinde habeto rationem urbis totius, collegiorum omnium, pagorum, vicinitatum. Ex iis principes ad amicitiam tuam si adiunxeris, per eos reliquam multitudinem facile tenebis. Postea totam Italiam fac ut in animo ac memoria tributim discriptam comprehensamque habeas, ne quod municipium, coloniam, praefecturam, locum denique Italiae ne quem esse patiari in quo non habeas firmamenti quod satis esse possit; 31. perquiras etiam et investiges homines ex omni regione eosque cognoscas, appetas, confirmes, cures ut in suis vicinitatibus tibi petant et tua causa quasi candidati sint. Volent te amicum, si suam a te amicitiam expeti videbunt. Id ut intellegant, oratione ea quae ad eam rationem pertinet habenda consequere. Homines municipales ac rusticani, si nobis nomine noti sunt, in amicitia esse se arbitrantur: si vero etiam praesidi se aliquid sibi constituere putant, non amittunt occasionem promerendi. Hos ceteri et maxime tui competitores ne norunt quidem: tu et nosti et facile cognoscas, sine quo amicitia esse non potest. 32. Neque id tamen satis est, tametsi magnum est, sed sequitur spes utilitatis atque amicitiae, ne nomenclator solum sed amicus etiam bonus esse videare. Ita cum et hos ipsos propter suam ambitionem qui

29. *quos per te*] The addition of *quod* before *poteris* makes the sentence smoother. *Quos* is governed by *elaborato*, as *hos* in § 18. For *quod poteris* = 'so far as you are able,' see *Fam.* xiv. 4, 6 (62); *Att.* x. 2, 2 (379), &c. This passage has been *varie vexatus* by the edd., some of whom almost rewrite the sentence. See *Adn. Crit.* for an example. Bücheler puts a long stop at *versantur*, and understands after *poteris* something like *facere ut cupidi tui sint*. This is a simple remedy and may well be right.

30. *tributim discriptam*] 'a list in which each town in Italy is entered according to the tribe to which it belonged' (*Marq.* i. 41).

municipium, coloniam, praefecturam] See *Addenda to the Commentary*, note 1.

31. *si vero*] 'if they think they are gaining a protection for themselves.'

32. *sed sequitur*] See *Adn. Crit.* 'But the best thing is a hope of gaining your assistance and friendship, so that you may not be considered a mere remembrancer, but also a good friend.'

propter suam ambitionem qui] Q. Cicero

apud tribulis suos plurimum gratia possunt studiosos in centuriis habebis, et ceteros qui apud aliquam partem tribulium propter municipi aut vicinitatis aut collegi rationem valent cupidos tui constitueris, in optima spe esse debebis. 33. Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri videntur: primum cognosce equites: pauci enim sunt: deinde appete: multo enim facilius illa adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas adiungitur. Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute optimum quemque et studiosissimum humanitatis. Tum autem, quod equester ordo tuus est, sequentur illi auctoritatem ordinis, si abs te adhibebitur ea diligentia, ut non ordinis solum voluntate sed etiam singulorum amicitias eas centurias confirmatas habeas. Iam studia adolescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt.

IX. 34. Et quoniam adsectationis mentio facta est, id quoque curandum est ut cotidiana cuiusque generis et ordinis et aetatis utare. Nam ex ea ipsa copia coniectura fieri poterit quantum sis in ipso campo virium ac facultatis habiturus. Huius autem rei tres partes sunt: una saluatorum cum domum veniunt, altera deductorum, tertia adsectatorum. 35. In saluatoribus qui magis vulgares sunt et hac consuetudine quae nunc est plures veniunt, hoc efficiendum est ut hoc ipsum minimum officium eorum tibi gratissimum esse videatur. Qui domum tuam venient, iis significato te animadvertere: eorum amicis qui illis renuntient ostendito, saepe ipsis dicito. Sic homines saepe, cum obeunt pluris competitores et vident unum esse aliquem qui haec officia maxime animadvertat, ei se dedunt, deserunt ceteros, minutatim ex communibus proprii, ex fucosis firmi suffragatores evadunt. Iam illud

affects the figure *hyperbaton*. See on § 1, and *adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas*, § 33.

propter municipi . . . rationem] 'who from any considerations founded on their municipality, or neighbourhood, or membership of a club, have influence.'

33. *ex iuventute optimum quemque*] Cp. Att. iv. 2, 2 (92), *Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae debere non potest*, 'therefore the speech must not be an unpaid debt to the rising generation, who are anxiously awaiting it.' So Ep. 27, 3, *quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati*.

suffragando . . . adsectando] 'support-

ing, going about, telling news, being (generally) in attendance.'

34. *utare*] After this word Koch adds *frequentia*, cp. §§ 3, 36, 50. But it is hardly necessary: *adsectatione* can be easily supplied from the preceding clause.

campo] cp. De Orat. iii. 167 (*gravis modi orationis haec sunt . . . curiam pro senatu, campum pro comitiis*).

35. *magis vulgares*] 'less select'; *hac consuetudine* means 'according to the present fashion,' cp. § 14.

communibus] 'neutral.'

fucosis] 'treacherous,' 'untrustworthy.'

See Ep. 24, 1. So *fucum facere*, 'to prac-

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teneto diligenter, si eum qui tibi promiserit audieris fucum, ut dicitur, facere aut senseris, ut te id audisse aut scire dissimules; si qui tibi se purgare volet, quod suspectum esse se arbitretur, adfirmes te de illius voluntate numquam dubitasse nec debere dubitare. Is enim qui se non putat satis facere amicus nullo modo potest esse. Scire autem oportet quo quisque animo sit, ut quantum cuique confidas constituere possis. 36. Iam deductorum officium quo maius est quam saluatorum, hoc gratius tibi esse significato atque ostendito et, quod eius fieri poterit, certis temporibus descendito. Magnam adfert opinionem, magnam dignitatem cotidiana in deducendo frequentia. 37. Tertia est ex hoc genere adsidua adsecutorum copia. In ea quos voluntarios habebis, curato ut intellegant te sibi in perpetuum summo beneficio obligari: qui autem tibi debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exigit qui per aetatem ac negotium poterunt ipsi tecum ut adsidui sint, qui ipsi sectari non poterunt suos necessarios in hoc munere constituent. Valde ego te volo et ad rem pertinere arbitror semper cum multitudine esse. 38. Praeterea magnam adfert laudem et summam dignitatem, si ii tecum erunt qui a te defensi et qui per te servati ac iudiciis liberati sunt. Haec tu plane ab iis postulato ut, quoniam nulla impensa per te alii rem, alii honestatem, alii salutem ac fortunas omnis obtinuerint nec aliud ullum tempus futurum sit ubi tibi referre gratiam possint, hoc te officio remunerentur.

X. 39. Et quoniam in amicorum studiis haec omnis oratio versatur, qui locus in hoc genere cavendus sit praetermittendum non videtur. Fraudis atque insidiarum et perfidiae plena sunt omnia. Non est huius temporis perpetua illa de hoc genere disputatio quibus rebus benevolus et simulator diiudicari possit: tantum est huius temporis admonere. Summa tua virtus eosdem homines et simulare tibi se esse amicos et invidere coëgit. Quam ob rem

tise deceit,' 'play tricks.' Cp. Ter. Eun. 589, *fucum factum mulieri*.

36. *quod eius*] Cp. *eius nihil rogatum est*, Ep. 83, 3. The change to *quoad* is therefore unnecessary. This is a legal expression: see Roby 1297.

descendito] sc. in forum.

te . . . obligari] 'that you are under undying obligations to them for their great services.'

38. *honestatem*] Cp. Fam. vii. 29 (677),

where Curius refers to these three heirlooms of a Roman. But *honorem* of Erf. (see Adn. Crit.) may well be right. Gallius (§ 19), for instance, gained by the advocacy of Cicero the enjoyment of the praetorship to which he had been designated.

39. *qui locus*] 'what point under this heading demands special wariness.'

Non est huius temporis] 'it does not befit the present occasion.'

Ἐπιχάρμειον illud teneto, 'nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere.' 40. Et cum tuorum amicorum studia constitueris, tum etiam obtrectatorum atque adversariorum rationes et genera cognoscito. Haec tria sunt: *unum* quos laesisti, alterum qui sine causa non amant, tertium qui competitorum valde amici sunt. Quos laesisti, cum contra eos pro amico diceres, *iis te* plane purgato, necessitudines commemorato, in spem adducito te in eorum rebus, si se in amicitiam *tuam* contulerint, pari studio atque officio futurum. Qui sine causa non amant, eos aut beneficio aut spe aut significando tuo erga illos studio dato operam ut de illa animi pravitate deducas: quorum voluntas erit abs te propter competitorum amicitias alienior, *iis* quoque eadem inservito ratione qua superioribus et, si probare poteris, te in eos ipsos competitores tuos benevolo esse animo ostendito.

XI. 41. Quoniam de amicitiiis constituendis satis dictum est, dicendum est de illa altera parte petitionis quae in populari ratione versatur. Ea desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, assiduitatem, benignitatem, rumorem, spem in re publica. 42. Primum quod facis ut homines noris, significa ut appareat et auge ut cotidie melius fiat. Nihil mihi tam populare neque tam gratum videtur. Deinde id quod natura non habes, induc in animum ita simulandum esse ut natura facere videare. Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere. Nam comitas tibi non deest ea quae bono ac suavi homine digna est. Sed opus est magno opere blanditia quae, etiam si

[Ἐπιχάρμειον illud] See Att. i. 19, 8. (25). *nervos atque artus*, 'bone and sinew.'

40. *rationes*] 'attitude.' This word is very often used by Quintus.

necessitudines] 'the close connexion which constrained you' (to advocate your friend's case). See § 56, *suos magno opere necessarios*.

41. *ea desiderat . . . publica*] 'It requires knowledge of men's names, insinuating manners, constant attendance, graciousness, the creation of report and expectation as to your public action.'

42. *quod facis ut noris*] 'your practice of recognising.' Cp. Fam. i. 7, 1 (114) *alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est; alterum facio lubenter, ut . . . colloquar*. In that passage, *facio*

ut colloquar is a circumlocution for *colloquor*: see Reid on Lael. 4, where *feci ut prodessem* = *profui*. Here, as *quod* goes before, we should perhaps rather compare the usage noted on *ut irascatur*, § 47.

cotidie] 'every day better than before,' not 'than the day before,' which would be *in dies*. Cp. Att. v. 7, 1 (190); but the distinction is not always observed. Mr. A. C. Clarke on Mil. 34 quotes Fin. iv. 65 *hi . . . levantur in dies: valet alter plus cotidie*; cp. also Marc. 11, Att. i. 20, 7 (26), Fam. iii 4, 2 (194). For *in dies*, meaning *in singulos dies*, see Sall. Jug. 44, 5, *panem in dies mercari*, and cp. Hor. Sat. ii 7, 10, *in horas mutare*.

Quamquam . . . vincere] See note to § 1.

vitiosa est et turpis in cetera vita, tamen in petitione est necessaria. Etenim cum deteriore aliquem adsentando facit tum improba est: cum amicioem, non tam vituperanda, petitori vero necessaria est, cuius frons et vultus et sermo ad eorum quoscumque convenit sensum et voluntatem commutandus et accommoandus est. 43. Iam adsiduitatis nullum est praeceptum, verbum ipsum docet quae res sit. Prodest quidem vehementer nusquam discedere, sed tamen hic fructus est adsiduitatis, non solum esse Romae atque in foro sed adsidue petere, saepe eosdem appellare, non committere ut quisquam possit dicere (quod eius consequi possis) se abs te non esse rogatum et valde ac diligenter rogatum. 44. Benignitas autem late patet. Est in re familiari quae, quamquam ad multitudinem pervenire non potest, tamen ab amicis si laudatur, multitudini grata est: est in conviviis quae fac et abs te et ab amicis tuis concelebrentur et passim et tributim: est etiam in opera quam pervulga et communica, curaue ut aditus ad te diurni nocturnique pateant neque solum foribus aedium tuarum sed etiam vultu ac fronte quae est animi ianua: quae si significat voluntatem abditam esse ac retrusam, parvi re fert patere ostium. Homines enim non modo promitti sibi, praesertim quod de candidato petant, sed etiam large atque honorifice promitti volunt. 45. Qua re hoc quidem facile praeceptum est ut, quod factururus sis, id significes te studiose ac libenter esse facturum; illud difficilius et magis ad tempus quam ad naturam accommodatum tuam, quod facere non possis, ut id iucunde neges†: quorum alterum [tamen] est boni viri, alterum boni petitoris. 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

43. *quod eius*] Translate, 'it is a good plan not to let anyone (so far as in you lies) have it to say that he was not canvassed—aye, and well and earnestly canvassed—by you.' See Adn. Crit.

44. *neque solum*] 'let not only the doors of your house be open, but your face and countenance, which is the door of the mind. If your expression shows that your feelings are those of reserve and concealment [so Mr. Shuckburgh well translates], there is little use in your doors being open.'

45. *iucunde neges*] A second clause has probably dropped out. The ms of

Lambinus (Lag. 50) reads, *aut iucunde promittas aut ingenue neges*. It is hardly possible, owing to what follows, to have the clause with *neges* in the second place. Possibly we should read *aut iucunde neges aut ultro (or omnino) non neges*: cp. § 47, *nemini negare*. Perhaps *tamen* should be transposed so as to precede the second *boni*. 'To refuse in a pleasant manner is the part of a good man; not to refuse is, however, the part of a good canvasser.' *quo modo*] 'for instance,' like Greek *οἷον*.

belle] 'courteously,' 'like a gentleman.'

negandum est, ut ostendas necessitudinem, demonstres quam moleste feras, aliis te rebus exsarturum esse persuadeas.

XII. 46. Audivi hoc dicere quemdam de quibusdam oratoribus ad quos causam suam detulisset, 'gratiorem sibi orationem fuisse eius qui negasset quam illius qui recepisset.' Sic homines fronte et oratione magis quam ipso beneficio reque capiuntur. Verum hoc probabile est, illud alterum subdura tibi homini Platonico suadere, sed tamen tempori tuo consulam. Quibus enim te propter aliquod officium necessitudinis adfuturum negaris, tamen ii possunt abs te placati aequique discedere: quibus autem idcirco negaris quod te impeditum esse dixeris aut amiciorum hominum negotiis aut gravioribus causis aut ante susceptis, inimici discedunt omnesque hoc animo sunt ut sibi te mentiri malint quam negare. 47. C. Cotta, in ambitione artifex, dicere solebat se operam suam, quoad non contra officium rogaretur, polliceri solere omnibus, impertire iis apud quos optime poni arbitraretur: ideo se nemini negare, quod saepe accideret causa cur is cui pollicitus esset non uteretur, saepe ut ipse magis esset vacuus quam putasset: neque posse eius domum compleri qui tantum modo reciperet quantum videret se obire posse: casu fieri ut agantur ea quae non putaris, illa quae credideris in manibus esse ut aliqua de causa non agantur: deinde esse extremum ut irascatur is cui mendacium dixeris.

ut ostendas] 'by showing.'
exsarturum] 'make up for' this refusal by some future concession; so in Ter. Heaut. 143, *facile sumptum exerceirent suum* is said of slaves who would repay by their labour the cost of their support. It is a *verbum iucundum*.

46. *Verum hoc*] 'The one course (*ut iucunde neges*) is easily commended to your approval; the other (to promise without intending fulfilment) will be rather difficult to commend to a Platonist like you; yet I will say what the occasion demands.' This clause *verum . . . consulam* should perhaps stand as the last clause in § 46.

amiciorum] 'greater friends,' the correction of Eussner for *amicorum*. See §§ 42, 49.

47. C. Cotta] C. Aurelius Cotta was consul with L. Octavius in 679 (75). He is the exponent of the Academic philosophy in De Nat. Deorum. Translate 'a master of the art of canvassing.'

ut ipse magis esset vacuus] 'that he

had less engagements than he at first thought.' It is best to take *ut esset* as depending on *quod accideret* understood, and the infinitives on *dicere solebat* (*ut aliqua de causa non agantur* depends, like *ut agantur*, on *casu fieri*).

obire] 'to compass.'

esse extremum] 'the last thing to happen is that he should be angry,' &c.

ut irascatur.] This may be called the explanatory or definitive subjunctive; *eum irasci* would have meant quite the same thing. Cp. Ep. 15. 9. So Planc. 5, *vetus est lex . . . ut idem amici semper velint*, where *ut amici velint* might have been *amicos velle*. The same use of the definitive subjunctive, instead of the accusative with infinitive, is exemplified in *illa ratio . . . ut putarem*, Fam. i. 7, 9 (Ep. 114); and *unam rationem . . . ut ager emeretur*, Ep. 25, 4. The best illustration of this usage is found in a comparison of two passages in Cic., *caput . . . esse oratoris . . . ut videretur*, De Or. i. 87, and *caput esse nosse rempublicam*, *ibid.* ii. 337, where

48. Id.
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48. Id, si promittas, et incertum est et in diem et in paucioribus : sin autem [id] neges, et certe abalienes et statim et pluris. Plures enim multo sunt qui rogant ut uti liceat opera alterius quam qui utuntur. Qua re satius est [ut] ex iis aliquos aliquando in foro tibi irasci quam omnis continuo domi, praesertim cum multo magis irascantur iis qui negent quam ei quem videant ea ex causa impeditum ut facere quod promisit cupiat, si ullo modo possit. 49. Ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea, qui haec in hac populari parte petitionis disputem, hoc sequor, haec omnia non tam ad amicorum studia quam ad popularem famam pertinere. Etsi inest aliquid ex illo genere, benigne respondere, studiose inservire negotiis ac periculis amicorum, tamen hoc loco ea dico quibus multitudinem capere possis, ut de nocte domus compleatur, ut multi spe tui praesidi teneantur, ut amiciores abs te discedant quam accesserint, ut quam plurimorum aures optimo sermone compleantur.

XIII. 50. Sequitur enim ut de rumore dicendum sit cui maxime serviendum est. Sed quae dicta sunt omni superiore oratione, eadem ad rumorem concelebrandum valent : dicendi laus, studia publicanorum et equestris ordinis, hominum nobilium voluntas, adolescentulorum frequentia, eorum qui abs te defensi sunt

an explanatory clause after the very same word is expressed in one passage by the subjunctive with *ut*, and in the other by the accusative with infinitive. See Kennedy, § 195.

48. *Id, si promittas.* If you promise, your incurring the resentment of the applicant (i.e. by not fulfilling your promise) is uncertain : secondly, it is deferred for a time (i.e. until you have failed to keep the promise) : thirdly, it extends to fewer cases (because of the reasons given in the previous section ; in some cases the circumstances under which he would make use of your promise may not arise, or the very thing he wants may be brought about by other means, and he may attribute its being effected to you). But a refusal is sure to cost you the support of a large number, and at once (for if you refuse, the applicant will owe you a grudge even though the need of your action may not arise ; and if his object happens to be effected by other means, he cannot attribute his success to you : *plures enim multo*, &c.). For *in diem* cp. Ter. Phorm. 781, *praesens quod fuerat malum in diem*

abiit. Puteanus bracketed the *id* after *autem*.

quem videant ea ex causa] literally, 'whom they perceive to be prevented (from keeping his promise) by such a reason as that he would desire to keep it if he possibly could,' that is, 'whom they perceive to be prevented from keeping his promise by a reason so important that his breach of his promise is quite compatible with a genuine desire on his part to do what he promised, if at all possible.' For this idiomatic use of *ea* . . . *ut*, cp. Fam. ix. 16, 8 (472), *nec tamen eas cenas quaero ut magnae reliquiae fiant*, 'such a dinner as that there should be,' &c. So Ter. Heaut. 359, *in eum iam res rediit locum ut sit necessus*.

49. *hoc sequor*] 'this is my point of view' : cp. such expressions as *quid secutus sim in decernendo*, 'what line I took.' *ex illo genere*] 'which comes under the head of conciliating friends' (*amicorum studia*).

50. *ad rumorem concelebrandum*] 'the vigorous diffusion of good report' : cp. De Inv. i. 4, *studia celebrata*.

adsiduitas: ex municipiis multitudo eorum quos tua causa venisse appareat: bene *te* ut homines nosse *se*, comiter appellare, adsidue ac diligenter petere, benignum ac liberalem esse loquantur et existiment, domus ut multa nocte compleatur, omnium generum frequentia adsit, satis fiat fronte et oratione omnibus, re operaque multis, perficiatur id, quod fieri potest, labore et arte ac diligentia, non ut ad populum ab iis omnibus fama perveniat sed ut in iis studiis populus ipse versetur. 51. Iam urbanam illam multitudinem et eorum studia qui contiones tenent adeptus es in Pompeio ornando, Manili causa recipienda, Cornelio defendendo; excitanda nobis sunt quae adhuc habuit nemo quin idem splendorum hominum voluntates haberet. Efficiendum etiam illud est ut sciant omnes Cn. Pompei summam esse erga te voluntatem et vehementer ad illius rationes te id adsequi quod petis pertinere. 52. Postremo tota petitio cura ut pompae plena sit, ut illustris, ut splendida, ut popularis sit, ut habeat summam speciem ac dignitatem, ut etiam, si qua possit, nova competitoribus tuis exsistat aut sceleris aut libidinis aut largitionis accommodata ad eorum mores infamia. 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 contione.

ut homines nosse se . . . loquantur . . . versetur.] The subjunctives *loquantur* . . . *existiment* . . . *compleatur* . . . *adsit* . . . *satisfiat* . . . *perficiatur* are definitive subjunctives (see § 47). They are co-ordinate with the nominatives which are the subjects of *ad rumorem concelebrandum valent*. The accusative with the infinitive might have been used throughout instead of these subjunctives, and would have been had Latin possessed an article like Greek. The last two subjunctives in the sentence, *ut perveniat* and *ut versetur*, depend on *perficiatur*; 'that no possible means be neglected to bring about this—that the public should not merely hear at second hand of all these popular practices of yours, but should themselves be brought face to face with them' (should themselves be the observers or the objects of your courtesy and kindness). Marcus Cicero would, of course, never have written a sentence like this. We have inserted *se* after *nosse*; cp. *esse se*, § 35.

51. *Manili causa recipienda*] 'undertaking the case of Manilius,' for Cicero

was never called on to fulfil his promise of defending Manilius, as the latter's case did not come to trial. On laying down his tribunate, Manilius was accused by one of the *nobiles*. Plutarch (Cic. 9) says it was a charge of theft (*κλοπή*) that was brought against Manilius. Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 44) is more vague: *δίκης τέ τινος πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευασθείσης*.

Cornelio defendendo] We have scanty fragments of two speeches for C. Cornelius, delivered 689 (65); and valuable notes of Asconius on them.

vehementer] 'and that it would perfectly fall in with his plans that you should gain the office you seek.'

52. *pompae*] 'display.'

si qua possit, nova] See Adn. Crit.

53. *nec tamen in petendo res publica capessenda est*] 'but a definite line of policy is not to be advocated during your canvass by your sentiments expressed to senate or people'; during your canvass you must rather think of offending no class. You will do more harm than good if in that stage of the business you show

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Sed haec tibi sunt retinenda ut senatus te existimet ex eo quod ita vixeris defensorem auctoritatis suae fore, equites Romani et viri boni ac locupletes ex vita acta te studiosum otii ac rerum tranquil-larum, multitudo ex eo quod dumtaxat oratione in contionibus ac iudicio popularis fuisti te a suis commodis non alienum futurum.

XIV. 54. Haec veniebant mihi in mentem de duabus illis commentationibus matutinis, quod tibi cotidie ad forum descen-denti meditandum esse dixeram: 'Novus sum, consulatum peto.' Tertium restat: 'Roma est,' civitas ex nationum conventu con-stituta in qua multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia versantur: multorum adrogantia, multorum contu-macia, multorum malevolentia, multorum superbia, multorum odium ac molestia perferenda est. Video esse magni consili atque artis in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensionem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias, esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum ac vo-luntatum varietatem. 55. Qua re etiam atque etiam perge tenere istam viam quam institisti: excelle dicendo: hoc et tenentur Romae homines et adliciuntur et ab impediendo ac laedendo repelluntur. Et quoniam in hoc vel maxime est vitiosa civitas, quod largitione interposita virtutis ac dignitatis oblivisci solet, in hoc fac ut te bene noris, id est, ut intellegas eum esse te qui iudicii ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus adferre possis. Fac se ut abs te custodiri atque observari sciant: cum diligentiam tuam, cum auctoritatem vimque dicendi, tum profecto equestris ordinis erga te studium pertimescent. 56. Atque haec ita nolo te illis proponere ut videre accusationem iam meditari sed ut

your political sentiments too much; they should appear from your past life.

haec tibi sunt retinenda] 'consilia publica in senatu contioneque reticenda tibi sunt et reservanda.' Bücheler.

54. Haec] 'This is what occurred to me on the subject of the two first morn-ing reflections, which I suggested to you, in saying that every day as you go to the forum you should say to yourself, "I am a novus homo; I am a candidate for the consulate." The third still re-mains, namely, "the scene of my honour is to be Rome;" which he then pro-ceeds to describe.

odium ac molestia] odium is 'tiresome-

ness'; molestia is 'vexation.' Cp. odio-sam non molestam, Att. xiii. 52. 2 (679).

fabulam] 'scandal,' 'gossip.'
esse unum . . . varietatem] 'to be all things to all men, however widely their characters, sentiments, and feelings may differ.'

55. cum . . . tum] 'not only . . . but.'

56. accusationem iam meditari] This is fully explained by a passage in Mur. 43, nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit, simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur. And again in the same speech (44), we have non placet mihi inquisitio candidati, praenuntia repulsae.

hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum quod agis consequare : et plane sic contendere omnibus nervis ac facultatibus ut adipiscamur quod petimus. Video nulla esse comitia tam inquinata largitione quibus non gratis aliqua centuriae renuntient suos magno opere necessarios. 57. Qua re, si advigilamus pro rei dignitate et si nostros ad summum studium benevolos excitamus et si hominibus gratiosis studiosisque nostri suum cuique munus describimus et si competitoribus iudicium proponimus, sequestribus metum iniicimus, divisores ratione aliqua coërcemus, perfici potest ut largitio aut nulla sit aut nihil valeat. 58. 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. Quae tametsi ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnis 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. Volo enim hoc commentariolum petitionis haberi omni ratione perfectum.

Video] 'I am convinced that never is an election so stained by corruption, but that some centuries return without any bribery the candidates to whom they feel themselves morally bound.'

57. *nostros . . . benevolos*] 'our well-wishers,' cp. *suos magno opere necessarios*, above, § 56, and *tui benevolentis*, Plaut. Trin. 46, another coincidence between the diction of the letters and the comic stage.

si competitoribus] 'if we hold up before the eyes of our rivals the prospect of the law courts, and thoroughly inspire their agents with fear' (of detection and punishment). Bribery at Rome was an art. Three different sets of agents were em-

ployed : (1) the *interpretes*, who made the bargain, Verr. i. 36; (2) the *sequestres*, with whom the money to be used as a bribe was deposited, Cluent. 72; (3) the *divisores*, who distributed the money to the persons bribed, Ep. 22, 12.

58. *his tuis occupationibus*] This is a good example of what Roby (§ 1242) calls the ablative of attendant circumstances. He quotes *tabulas in foro summa hominum frequentia exscribo*. This usage will be frequently met in the letters and will afterwards be more fully illustrated.

commentariolum petitionis.] 'handbook of electioneering.'

PART II.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO, FROM ITS RESUMPTION AFTER HIS CONSULSHIP TO HIS EXILE.

EPP. 13-55.

A. U. C.,	692-695
B. C.,	62-59
AET. CIC.,	44-47

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PART II.

AFTER July, 689 (65), we have no letters from Cicero for more than two years, and only one to him—the letter of Quintus (Ep. 12). His correspondence with Atticus does not recommence for three years and a half. Cicero concludes his last letter (Ep. 11), written July, 689 (65), with the words, *qua re Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis*. Atticus seems to have complied with this request, and he may have remained at Rome for three years, after an absence in Athens of twenty-two years, 667–689 (87–65); but it is equally probable that during the period he paid temporary visits to Epirus. He declined to act as legatus to Q. Cicero when the latter obtained the province of Asia. Cicero's next letter to Atticus (Att. i. 12) was written on the Kalends of January, 693 (61), when Atticus had left Rome for Epirus, where he remained until the end of 694 (60). Atticus then returned to Rome for a few months, but went back to Epirus in May, 695 (59), and remained there till November, when he returned to Rome.

The year of Cicero's celebrated consulship, with C. Antonius as colleague, need not be dwelt on here. It was marked by the delivery of the *Orationes Consulares*, of which a list is given (Att. ii. 1, 3, Ep. 27), in a passage not unreasonably suspected of spuriousness, as it omits the speeches *pro Murena* and *pro C. Pisone*, and contains some rather un-Ciceronian expressions. One of the most important of these speeches was the *or. pro Rabirio*, as it turns mainly on the question whether the senatorial decree *videant consules ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat* really invested the consuls with absolute power over the lives of seditious citizens; and this was the question on which depended the legality or illegality of the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices—the act which led to the exile of Cicero.

For a discussion of Cicero's conduct in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and a description of the circumstances which led to his exile and restoration, see Introduction, i. § 1.

LETTERS OF THE SEVENTH* YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 13-16.

A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

COSS. D. JUNIUS SILANUS, L. LICINIUS MURENA.

THIS year the Catilinarian conspiracy was completely crushed, and Catiline himself slain (probably in January) in an engagement with Petreius, the legate of Antonius, Cicero's colleague.

Cicero's correspondence recommences with a letter from Q. Metellus Celer and Cicero's answer to it. There is further a letter to Pompey, and a letter to P. Sestius, in which he mentions the purchase of his house on the Palatine from M. Crassus for a very large sum, apparently about £30,000.

At the beginning of the year, Caesar, who was a praetor, proposed to transfer from Catulus to Pompey the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and in many ways sought to effect a reconciliation with him. In this course he was aided by the tribune Metellus Nepos, who had refused to allow Cicero to address the people on laying down his consulship. They attempted, in the first half of January, to procure for Pompey the command against Catiline. Caesar and Metellus were suspended from their functions (see note to Ep. 14, 9). Metellus fled to the camp of Pompey. Caesar was reinstated in his office. Caesar, however, gained his point in showing Pompey that their interests were the same.

In this year (about July) Cicero defended P. Sulla, and his former colleague Antonius. He also pleaded the cause of the poet Archias before his brother Quintus, who was one of the praetors.

* That is, the seventh from the commencement of the extant correspondence.

13. FROM Q. METELLUS CELER, IN CISALPINE GAUL
(FAM. v. 1).

JANUARY; A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

Queritur Q. Metellus Celer, qui consule M. Cicerone praetor fuerat, ex praetura autem superiori Galliae procos. praecerat, fratrem suum Metellum Nepotem a M. Cicerone in senatu esse oppugnatum.

Q. METELLUS Q. F. CELER PROCOS. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

1. Si vales, bene est. Existimaram pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia nec absentem ludibrio laesum iri nec Metellum fratrem ob dictum capite ac fortunis per te oppugnatum iri. Quem si parum pudor ipsius defendebat, debebat vel familiae nostrae dignitas vel meum studium erga vos remque publicam satis sublevare. Nunc video illum circumventum, me desertum a quibus minime conveniebat. 2. Itaque in luctu et squalore sum, qui provinciae, qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero. Quae quoniam nec ratione nec maiorum nostrorum clementia administrastis, non

Procos.] Cicero had given up his right to a province, conceding Macedonia to his colleague, and Cisalpine Gaul to this Q. Metellus Celer, praetor in 691 (63), who is therefore called proconsul, as governor of a province, though he had never been consul. *Proconsul* is the title of one who is sent to a warlike province with a military force; *propraetor* of one sent to a peaceful province. Marquardt St. V. i. 521.

1. *ludibrio laesum*] Explained in next letter, § 1, as also *ob dictum* in § 8.

capite ac fortunis] 'should have an assault made on his civil existence and his property.' An exaggeration: see next letter, note on § 9.

per te] Cicero does not use *per* of the active agent: hence in the next letter § 6 we have *ob dictum a me oppugnari*: cp. Krebs-Schmalz, 'Antibarbarus' ii., p. 250.

pudor ipsius] Either (1) 'the respect due to him,' *ipsius* being the objective genitive, like *pudor patris*, Ter. And. 262; or (2) 'his own scrupulousness, the sense of propriety displayed by him,

ipsius being the subjective genitive. The last view is the best: cp. Ep. 30, 18, *omnium qui tecum sunt pudor*; besides Cicero does not use the objective genitive in the case of pronouns, but prepositions, as in *eos, erga me*. Cp. Draeger, Hist. Synt. i. 469.

vos] 'you and your party.' *satis sublevare*, 'prove a sufficient support to him.'

2. *squalore*] Another exaggeration. Metellus Nepos was threatened with deprivation by the senate, and this threat was subsequently carried out. Under these circumstances, had Metellus Celer been in Rome, he might have assumed mourning, but certainly not in his absence from Rome. So above, the *infamia* which would have followed this act of the senate is hyperbolically described as *capitis diminutio*.

nec ratione nec] 'unreasonably, and without the courtesy of the old régime,' a sneer at Cicero as a *novus homo*: in the good old times there were no such clever upstarts as Cicero to make the members of the grand old families look ridiculous

erit mirandum si vos paenitebit. Te tam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Me interea nec domesticus dolor nec cuiusquam iniuria ab re publica abducet.

14. TO Q. METELLUS CELER, IN CISALPINE GAUL
(FAM. V. 2).

(IN REPLY TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.)

ROME; JANUARY OR FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

M. Cicero superioribus Q. Metelli litteris respondet eo, quod sua in eum officia commemorat, nec fratrem eius se oppugnasse sed oppugnanti restitisse contendit. Laudat Celeris erga fratrem pietatem suamque fidem pollicetur.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO Q. METELLO Q. F. CELERI
PROCOS. S. D.

1. Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est. Scribis ad me 'te existimasse pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia numquam te a me ludibrio laesum iri.' Quod cuius modi sit satis intellegere non possum, sed tamen suspicor ad te esse adlatum me in senatu, cum disputarem permultos esse qui rem publicam a me conservatam dolerent, dixisse a te propinquos tuos, quibus negare non potuisses, impetrasse ut ea quae statuisses tibi in senatu de mea laude esse dicenda reticeres. Quod cum dicerem, illud adiunxi, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in rei publicae salute retinenda, ut ego urbem a domesticis insidiis et ab intestino scelere, tu Italiam et ab armatis hostibus et ab occulta coniuratione defenderes, atque hanc nostram tanti et tam praeclari muneris societatem a tuis propinquis labefactatam, qui, cum tu a me rebus amplissimis atque honorificentissimis ornatus esses, timuissent ne quae mihi pars abs te voluntatis mutuae tribueretur. 2. Hoc in sermone cum a me exponeretur quae mea expectatio fuisset ora-

when they spoke or acted foolishly. But perhaps Metellus wrote some such words as *nec maiorum nostrorum nec clementiae habita ratione*. The sentence as it stands is somewhat strange. However, we are not to look for the clearness and accuracy of Cicero in the letters of his correspondents. See Introduction, ii. § 2.

mobili] 'fickle, changeable'; generally 'excitable, impressionable.' See note to Ep. 53, 5.

sperabam] Cp. for the use of *sperabam*, = 'I apprehended,' 19, 2, *nihil speres mali*; and for *esse*, cp. 27, 11 *speramus esse otium*. So ἐλπίζειν and ἐλπίς are used of 'foreboding.'

tionis tuae quantoque in errore versatus essem, visa est oratio non iniucunda et mediocris quidam est risus consecutus, non in te, sed magis in errorem meum et quod me abs te cupisse laudari aperte atque ingenue confitebar. Iam hoc non potest in te non honorifice esse dictum, me in clarissimis meis atque amplissimis rebus tamen aliquod testimonium tuae vocis habere voluisse. 3. Quod autem ita scribis, 'pro mutuo inter nos animo,' quid tu existimes esse in amicitia 'mutuum' nescio; equidem hoc arbitror, cum par voluntas accipitur et redditur. Ego, si hoc dicam, me tua causa praetermisisse provinciam, tibi ipse levior videar esse: meae enim rationes ita tulerunt atque eius mei consili maiorem in dies singulos fructum voluptatemque capio. Illud dico, me, ut primum in contione provinciam deposuerim, statim quem ad modum eam tibi traderem cogitare coepisse. Nihil dico de sortitione vestra; tantum te suspicari volo nihil in ea re per collegam meum me insciente esse factum. Recordare cetera: quam cito senatum illo die facta sortitione coegerim, quam multa de te verba fecerim, cum tu ipse mihi dixisti orationem meam non solum in te honorificam, sed etiam in collegas tuos contumeliosam fuisse. 4. Iam illud senatus consultum quod eo die factum est ea praescriptione est ut, dum id exstabit, officium meum in te obscurum esse non possit. Postea vero quam profectus es, velim recordere quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in contionibus dixerim, quas ad te litteras miserim. Quae cum omnia collegeris, tum

2. *Iam hoc non*] 'Surely there was no expression of disrespect towards you in my wishing, at the very summit of my glory, to have in attestation of my deserts an expression of opinion from you.' Metellus had complained that Cicero had made him ridiculous, *ludibrio laesum*; Cicero explains that what raised the laugh in the senate was his own ridiculous position in having been baulked of his expected eulogy, and his artless confession that he had counted on it. *Iam* here introduces the conclusion or immediate consequence of foregoing conditions, as *iam contemni non poteris*, 'surely therefore,' Fin. ii. 84. Below, in § 4, *iam* = 'again, furthermore'; *iam* sometimes = 'for example.'

3. *quid tu existimes*] "I don't know what you conceive 'reciprocity' to be; in

my view it is when there is a mutual interchange of like good feeling."

levior] 'you would take it for a piece of blague'; 'humbug' would convey the meaning exactly, but would, of course, misrepresent the tone.

tibi ipse] Perhaps we should read *tibi ipsi* with Martyni-Laguna, as in 18, 3.

deposuerim] Cp. 27, 3.

nihil] 'that I was privy to all my colleague did.' He hints that his colleague Antonius at his request so managed the *sortitio* (as president of it) that Metellus should be chosen.

4. *praescriptione*] 'preamble.'

Quae cum] "When you have put all these acts of mine together, I will leave you to judge yourself whether your recent approach to the city was an example of 'reciprocity.'" Probably Metellus drew near to Rome in the winter of 691, 692

ipse velim iudices satisne videatur his omnibus rebus tuus adventus, cum proxime Romam venisti, mutue respondisse. 5. Quod scribis de 'reconciliata gratia' nostra, non intellego cur reconciliatam esse dicas quae numquam imminuta est. 6. Quod scribis non oportuisse Metellum fratrem tuum 'ob dictum a me oppugnari,' primum hoc velim existimes, animum mihi istum tuum vehementer probari et fraternam plenam humanitatis ac pietatis voluntatem: deinde, si qua ego in re fratri tuo rei publicae causa restiterim, ut mihi ignoscas: tam enim sum amicus rei publicae quam qui maxime. Si vero meam salutem contra illius impetum in me crudelissimum defenderim, satis habeas nihil me etiam tecum de tui fratris iniuria conqueri. Quem ego cum comperissem omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari, egi cum Claudia uxore tua et cum vestra sorore Mucia, cuius erga me studium pro Cn. Pompei necessitudine multis in rebus perspexeram, ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrent. 7. Atque ille, quod te audisse certo scio, pridie Kal. Ianuarias, qua iniuria nemo umquam in minimo magistratu improbissimus civis adfectus est, ea me consulem adfecit, cum rem publicam conservassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contionis habendae potestate privavit: cuius iniuria mihi tamen honori summo fuit. Nam cum ille mihi nihil nisi ut iurarem permetteret, magna voce iuravi verissimum pulcherrimumque ius iurandum, quod populus idem magna voce me vere iurasse iuravit. 8. Hac accepta tam insigni iniuria, tamen illo ipso die misi ad Metellum communis amicos qui agerent cum eo ut de illa mente

(63, 62), as a demonstration in support of his brother, Q. Metellus Nepos, as Mr. Watson suggests. This was when Metellus Nepos prevented Cicero from addressing the people on laying down his office, on the ground that he had slain Roman citizens without trial.

6. *humanitatis ac pietatis*] 'natural affection.'

quam qui maxime] cf. Fam. xiii. 3 (260), and Reid on Sull. 87.

nihil me etiam] 'not yet.' Cp. *non dico fortasse etiam quod sentio*, Tusc. i. 12.

Claudia] the sister of Clodius. She is identified with the 'Lesbia' of Catullus. She was afterwards suspected of poisoning her husband, Metellus.

sorore] Mucia was half-sister of the two Metelli. She was the wife of Pompey and was afterwards divorced by him. Cp. 17, 2.

pro] 'in virtue of.'

7. *quod populus idem*] Cf. de Rep. i. 7, . . . *salvam esse consulatu abiens in contione P. R. idem iurante iuravissim*. This passage defends the *iurasse iuravit* which offended some editors, and leads us to restore *idem* of the mss for the conjecture *item*; thus *idem* agrees with *quod*, and is governed by *iuravit*, the words *me vere iurasse* being explanatory of *quod idem*, 'which same oath the people took (in swearing) that I had sworn truly.' Plut. Cic. 23 says, ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ τὸν ὕρκον αὐτῷ σῶμας ὁ δῆμος.

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desisteret: quibus ille respondit sibi non esse integrum: etenim paullo ante in contione dixerat ei qui in alios animum advertisset indicta causa dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere. Hominem gravem et civem egregium! qui, qua poena senatus consensu bonorum omnium eos adfecerat qui urbem incendere et magistratus ac senatum trucidare, bellum maximum conflare voluissent, eadem dignum iudicaret eum qui curiam caede, urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberasset. Itaque ego Metello fratri tuo praesenti restiti. Nam in senatu Kal. Ian. sic cum eo de re publica disputavi ut sentiret sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum. A. d. tertium Non. Ianuar. cum agere coepisset, tertio quoque verbo orationis suae me appellabat, mihi minabatur, neque illi quidquam deliberatius fuit quam me, quacumque ratione posset, non iudicio neque disceptatione sed vi atque impressione evertere. Huius ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitidissem, quis esset qui me in consulatu non casu potius existimaret quam consilio fortem fuisse? 9. Haec si tu Metellum cogitare de me nescisti, debes existimare te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum: sin autem aliquid impertivit tibi sui consili, lenis a te et facilis existimari debeo qui nihil tecum de his ipsis rebus expostulem. Et si intellegis non me dicto Metelli, ut scribis, sed consilio eius animoque in me inimicissimo esse commotum, cognosce nunc humanitatem meam, si humanitas appellanda est in acerbissima iniuria remissio animi ac dissolutio. Nulla est a me umquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum: quotienscumque aliquid est actum, sedens iis adsensi qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. Addam illud etiam,

8. *sibi non*] 'that he had already committed himself.' This was perhaps the *dictum* which was supposed to have irritated Cicero, and to which Metellus Celer attributes Cicero's attack on his brother; or possibly it may have been the statement that whoever condemned citizens without giving them a hearing (*indicta causa*) should not get a hearing himself (*dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere*).
praesenti restiti] 'withstood him to his face.'

tertio quoque verbo] Cp. *vix decimus quisque est qui ipse sese noverit*, Plaut. Pseud. 973; *primo quoque tempore*, Cic. Phil. iii. 39.

vi atque impressione] 'violent brow-beating.'

9. *celatum*] 'kept in the dark.'
remissio animi ac dissolutio] 'culpable weakness and laxity.' Cp. 25, 8, where *dissolutum* is opposed to *asperum*.
sententia] 'vote.'

Addam illud etiam] 'I will add, too, another thing, which, after all that had passed, I could not be expected actively to bring about—yet, for all that, I did not object to it, and even supported it to the best of my power—I mean his being relieved by a decree of the senate from the penalties he had incurred' (viz., suspension from the functions of his office).
Ut sublevaretur is the explanatory or definitive subjunctive, and is used like *sublevatum esse*. See on 12, 47. For *sed etiam* resumptive, see on 6, 1.

quod iam ego curare non debui—sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli atque etiam ut ita fieret pro mea parte adiuvi—ut senati consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur. 10. Qua re non ego ‘oppugnavi’ fratrem tuum, sed fratri tuo repugnavi, nec in te, ut scribis, ‘animo fui mobili,’ sed ita stabili ut in mea erga te voluntate etiam desertus ab officiis tuis permanerem. Atque hoc ipso tempore tibi paene minitanti nobis per litteras hoc rescribo atque respondeo: ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo: meus enim me sensus quanta vis fraterni sit amoris admonet. A te peto ut tu quoque aequum te iudicem dolori meo praebeas: si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa sum a tuis oppugnatus, ut statuas mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio in eius modi causa utendum fuisse. Ego te mihi semper amicum esse volui: me ut tibi amicissimum esse intellegeres laboravi. Maneo in voluntate et quoad voles tu permanebo, citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse desinam quam illius odio quidquam de nostra benevolentia detraham.

The penalties referred to are stated by Suetonius, Jul. 16, *donec ambo* (Caesar and Metellus) *administratione reipublicae decreto patrum submoverentur*. This is what Metellus Celer means by the words *capite et fortunis oppugnatum iri*. The punishment was inflicted by the senate in consequence of the rioting which followed the joint attempt of Metellus Nepos as tribune and Caesar as praetor to give to Pompey the charge of the war against Catiline. Metellus fled to the camp of Pompey, but was afterwards reinstated in his office. He appears to have quite forgiven Cicero, and to have taken an active part in bringing about his restoration from exile; see Sest. 72, 130.

10. *oppugnavi*] cf. 13, 1, ‘assumed the offensive’; *repugnavi*, ‘only acted on the defensive.’

desertus ab] ‘though deprived of all marks of attention from you.’ Cp. *a mente non deserar*, 73, 2. *Ab*, in cases

like the present, means ‘on the score of,’ ‘in regard to,’ as *ab ingenio improbus* Plaut. Truc. 833; *copioso a frumento*, Cic. Att. v. 18, 2 (218); *imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia*, Att. vii. 15, 3 (311).

sensus] ‘heart.’

ut statuas] ‘I hope you will come to the conclusion not only that I ought not to apologise, but rather that I should be allowed to employ the aid of yourself and your army (that you speak about) in such a cause.’ He covertly rallies Metellus for talking about ‘his army’ in the last. *Non erit mirandum si vos paenitebit* (13, 2) looked like a threat that he would use his army against Cicero and his party. Cicero says jestingly it should rather be employed on his own behalf against the attacks of Metellus Nepos.

quoad voles tu] ‘as long as you will let me.’

detraham] ‘abate aught of.’

15. TO CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, IN ASIA (FAM. V. 7.).

ROME; ABOUT JUNE; A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

M. Cicero Cn. Pompeio propter Mithridatem victum gratulatur: de rebus suis gestis, quibus coniurationem L. Catilinae oppresserit, sibi Cn. Pompeium non gratulatum esse aegre fert, sperat tamen res gestas suas, si ipse Pompeius in patriam redierit, ab illo agnitionem iri.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO S. D. CN. POMPEIO CN. F. MAGNO
IMPERATORI.

1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. Ex litteris tuis quas publice misisti cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem: tantam enim spem otii ostendisti quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostis, novos amicos, vehementer litteris his percussos atque ex magna spe deturbatos iacere. 2. Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguum significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse: nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia, quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito quin, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. 3. Ac ne ignores quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut

M. TULLIUS] M. Tullius Cicero, Marci filius, salutem dicit Gnaeo Pompeio, Gnaei filio, Magno, Imperatori.

1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E.] *Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est.* This, with other like greetings, we might pronounce to be a formal, stiff manner of address, but that we find that Cicero uses one of these forms in his letters to Terentia; he never employs any such in writing to confidential friends. The form used in some of his letters to Terentia is S. V. B. E. E. V. = *si vales bene est; ego valeo*. It seems then to have been the Roman etiquette to use this deferential form of address towards persons in a very high position, towards strangers, and towards women. See 36, 1, note.

publice] 'officially.'

veteres hostis, novos amicos] He pro-

bably refers to Caesar and the popular party, who seem to have desired to effect a reconciliation with Pompey. Caesar, as praetor, had, at the commencement of this year, proposed to transfer from Catulus to Pompey the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

deturbatos] 'cast down from their towering hopes.'

2. *officiorum conscientia*] 'the consciousness of my services to my friends, for which, if in any instance no fair return is made, I am quite content that the balance of services done should be on my side.' *Si quando* shows that the proposition is general.

conciliatura . . . sit] 'bring about and cement a union between us.'

3. *desiderarim*] Cicero had written to Pompey an account of his consulship,

et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et rei publicae causa gratulationem expectavi: quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror quod vererere ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito ea quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari. Quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces ut tibi multo maiori quam Africanus fuit iam me non multo minorem quam Laelium facile et in re publica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiari.

16. TO P. SESTIUS, IN MACEDONIA (FAM. V. 6.).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

Narrat M. Cicero, quam dederit operam ne P. Sestio proquaestori C. Antoni in Macedonia succederetur: adiungit de domo a se empta, de Sesti aedificatione, de C. Antonio a se in senatu defenso.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SESTIO L. F. PROQ.

1. Cum ad me Decius librarius venisset egissetque mecum ut operam darem ne tibi hoc tempore succederetur, quamquam illum hominem frugi et tibi amicum existimabam, tamen, quod memoria tenebam cuius modi ad me litteras antea misisses, non satis credidi hominis prudentis tuam tam valde esse mutatam volun-

and thought that Pompey in his reply had spoken too coldly of his achievements.

cuius animum] See on 1, 5.

Africanus fuit . . . Laelium] Where the second member of a comparison is in meaning unsuited to the grammatical position of the first, a new sentence is sometimes formed with *quam*. But the accusative is also found: cp. Ter. Phorm. 591. Both forms are found in the same sentence here, as is noticed by Roby, § 1269. Cicero's ideal period of the Roman Republic was the epoch of Scipio and Laelius. It has been remarked that he takes chiefly from that period the interlocutors in his philosophical dialogues.

Proq.] Sestius had been quaestor to

Antonius, Cicero's colleague in his consulship, and was now proquaestor to him as proconsul in Macedonia. Cicero defended him on a charge *de vi* in the speech *pro Sest.* in 698 (56). In the time of Sulla there were twenty quaestors and fifteen provinces; but of these twenty quaestors eight were used otherwise (one quaestor Ostiensis, two consular, three Italian, two urban); therefore only twelve were available for the provinces.—Marquardt St. V. i². 528.

1. *librarius*] 'a copyist.' Fam. xvi. 21, 8 (786).

non satis credidi hominis prudentis] The mss have *non satis credidi homini prudenti*; but this could only mean, 'I did not believe Decius, though a sensible fellow'; now this would be a mere re-

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tatem. Sed postea quam et Cornelia tua Terentiam convenit et ego cum Q. Cornelio locutus sum, adhibui diligentiam, quotienscumque senatus fuit, ut adessem, plurimumque in eo negoti habui ut Q. Fufium tribunum plebis et ceteros ad quos tu scripseras cogere mihi potius credere quam tuis litteris. Omnino res tota in mensem Ianuarium reiecta erat, sed facile obtinebatur. 2. Ego tua gratulatione commotus, quod ad me pridem scripseras velle te bene evenire, quod de Crasso domum emissem, emi eam ipsam domum HS xxxv aliquanto post tuam gratulationem. Itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni ut cupiam coniurare, si quisquam recipiat, sed partim odio inducti me excludunt et aperte vindicem coniurationis oderunt, partim non credunt et a me insidias metuunt nec putant ei nummos deesse posse qui ex obsidione feneratores exemerit. Omnino semissibus magna copia est: ego autem meis

petition, and *prudens* means a man of foresight. Bosius suggested *prudenti* in the sense of *frugi*; but *prudens* means modest. Probably we should read *hominis prudentis*: 'I could not believe that a man of foresight, like you, could have so completely changed your mind'; cf. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 22, *mea . . . scripta . . . timentis*, and especially Cic. Phil. ii. 111, *tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus*. A similar construction should perhaps be introduced at 65, 1. The same usage is found in *solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest*, Att. xi. 15, 2 (430). Cp. also *two unius studio*, Fam. ii. 6, 5 (177); *nomen meum absentis . . . meas praesentis preces*, Planc. 26. This view requires the transposition of *tuam* from after *voluntatem*. It probably fell out before *tam*, and was afterwards inserted in the wrong place.

Cornelia] Cornelia, wife of P. Sestius: Q. Cornelius was her brother; they were children of C. Cornelius Scipio.

Q. Fufium trib.] This Fufius Calenus was tribune in 693 (61). See 17, 1, whence some have supposed that this letter must be of later date; but it was written at the very end of 692 (62), and Fufius entered on his magistracy on December 10th. He was praetor under Caesar and Bibulus, and was afterwards consul in 707 (47). He was ill-disposed to Cicero all his life.

quam tuis litteris] In his letters, Sestius had expressed a wish that a successor to him in his proquaestorship should be

appointed. He now revokes this wish, and Cicero promises to notify this change of mind to the friends of Sestius, and to countermand the purport of his letters.

obtainetur] 'is being easily maintained.' So also Att. v. 20, 5 (228), *ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam* = virtually *recepturus sum*.

2. *emissem*] 'oblique enuntiations,' as Kennedy calls them, are made (1), as here, with *quod*; (2) by accus. with infin.; (3) by *ut* with the *definitive* (called by Kennedy the *consecutive*) subjunctive.

HS xxxv] i.e. quinquies et triciens = 3,500,000 sesterces = about £30,000. See note on 19, 6.

cupiam coniurare] so as to evade payment. See next note.

vindicem coniurationis] Cicero often speaks of the Catilinarian conspiracy as if its only object was to evade the payment of debts. In De Off. ii. 84 he says, *numquam vehementius actum est, quam me consule, ne solveretur; armis et castris tentata res est*; and in 27, 11, he calls himself *vindicem aeris alieni*, as he here calls himself *vindicem coniurationis*. Of course here *vindex* means 'one who puts down,' while in 27, 11, it means 'one who upholds' (the obligation under which a civilised man is to meet his liabilities). In 30, 6, he says that the publicans declared that they owed to him the preservation of their fortunes. So here he says he 'rescued the creditors from a blockade.'

Omnino] 'In fact, there is plenty of

rebus gestis hoc sum adsecutus ut bonum nomen existimer.
 3. Domum tuam atque aedificationem omnem perspexi et vehementer probavi. Antonium, etsi eius in me officia omnes desiderant, tamen in senatu gravissime ac diligentissime defendi senatumque vehementer oratione mea atque auctoritate commovi. Tu ad me velim litteras crebrius mittas.

money to be had at six per cent.; and I, by my consular exploits, have gained one good thing—I am looked on as a good security.' Cicero was in such favour with the money-lenders, whose interests he had saved, that everyone was ready to lend him money. Six per cent. seems a low rate of interest. We find, however, that money was sometimes even cheaper in Rome: see Att. iv. 15, 7 (143), where we are told that money could be got for four per cent., until the extravagant bribery of the candidates doubled the rate of interest. For *bonum nomen* cf. Hor.

Ep. ii. 1, 105, *cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos*, and Att. v. 21, 12 (250). O. E. Schmidt adds *non* before *magna*.

3. *Antonium*] This must have been some minor charge. He afterwards explains why he must decline to defend Antonius on the motion that he should be superseded for extortion, at the same time seeking to leave Antonius under the impression that he possibly might undertake his defence. See Epp. 17, 18.

officia . . . desiderant] 'notice his want of attention.'

L.E.

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LETTERS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 17-23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Teucris illa lentum sane negotium, neque Cornelius ad

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thyillusque] cp. 5, 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

non quo] See on 52, 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

victumeis] This is the archaic form of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

perverso] 'cross-grained.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

seiunctus ab] 'aloof from.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

letter, but here the allusion is certainly to Pompey.

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

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

subtilius] 'more precise information.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

περίοδοι] 'well-rounded periods,' described by Cicero in Orator 204.

καμπαί] a very probable conjecture for *καρποί* of the ms. It means 'easy transitions.' We have some remarkable instances of these in the transitions in the Georgics from the particular subjects of those poems to the general reflections with which Virgil concludes each book. Dr. Reid suggests *τόποι*: perhaps *κοινὸι τόποι*. ἐνθυμήματα] Quintilian, Inst. Or. v. 14, 2, defines this figure as *imperfectus syllogismus*, 'a syllogism without expressed conclusion'; it is of two kinds,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

convicium] This is the reading of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

comperisse] See note on 18, 2.

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

Cornuto] 'In Cornutus we have a

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wiel. Ep. 175

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

senatus auctoritas] ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

inopiam] their neediness and consequent accessibility to bribes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, . . .

ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ἔσπετε] Hom. II. xvi. 112, 113.

Calvum] It is certain that Crassus is referred to. He may have been bald, and have been called Calvus as a nickname. But of the meaning of *ex Nanneianis illum* we have no conception. It is amusing to find the guess of Manutius given by commentators, as if it had any authority: 'He was nicknamed Calvus because he bought the property of one Nanneius (or Nannius, ep. Ep. 12, 9), a Sullan proscrip-
t, and as purchaser gave in his name as Licinius Calvus.' Such is the note of one commentator on this passage, and nearly all the others are to the same effect. We know that Crassus did buy the goods of Sullan proscrip-
t, and that among these proscrip-
t was Nanneius: but why Crassus should therefore be called 'one of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7/14/12
280

or, in Clod?
et Cat., h.
p. 381

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

immissum] 'let loose on the Commonwealth.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Blutigel

Cic. u. Pomp.

L. A. Afranius, cos. 60

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

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

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

crediderunt] 'gave you credit.'

concidit] 'broke down.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

pastoricia fistula] 'cat-calls,' 'hissing.' Muretus quotes Plat. Legg. 700 C. οὐ σῦριγξ ἦν οὐδέ τις ἄμουςοι βοᾷ πλῆθος. Pipes were used to drown the voice of unpopular speakers, as were *sibili* also: see 46, 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

facteon] a verbal on the Greek model.

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

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

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

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

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

18. *τοποθεσία*] see note to 13, 5.

facere] sc. an Amaltheum like yours.

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

consists) of glory': Madv. § 286; Draeg. Hist. Syn. ¹², p. 466.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTERS OF THE NINTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 24-30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

litus atque aër et solitudo mera!

Tu autem qui saepissime curam et angorem animi mei sermone et

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

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

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

and *nihil fingam . . . obtegam* would be Cicero's explanation of *ut mecum loquar*. ἀφελστατος] 'ingenu, open-hearted.' He is thus contrasted with Metellus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

neque ego huic epistulae atque ignoto tabellario committam. Atque hi—nolo enim te permoveri—non sunt permolesti sed tamen insident et urgent et nullius amantis consilio aut sermone requiescunt. In re publica vero quamquam animus est praesens †tamen voluntas etiam atque etiam ipsa medicinam efficit.† Nam, ut ea breviter quae post tuum discessum acta sunt colligam, iam exclames necesse est res Romanas diutius stare non posse. Etenim post profectionem tuam primum, ut opinor, introitus fuit in causam fabulae Clodianae, in qua ego nactus, ut mihi videbar, locum rescandae libidinis et coercendae iuventutis, vehemens fui et omnis profudi viris animi atque ingeni mei, non odio adductus alicuius, sed spe non corrigendae sed sanandae civitatis. 3. Adfficta res

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

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

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

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

rescandae] a vox propria of the medical art; cp. Cat. ii. 11 *quae sanari poterunt . . . sanabo, quae rescandae erunt*, &c. Cp. Soph. Aj. 581 *θρηγείν ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τομῶντι πῆματι*.

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

sed spe non] Here Klotz follows Rom.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. *nummos*] His father was a bribery

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. *dicis causa*] 'Metellus is an excellent consul, and much attached to me, but he has lessened his weight by having made, as a mere matter of form, the same proposal (as Herennius made with deliberate design) about Clodius' (about giving the cognizance of Clodius' claim to the *comitia centuriata*). *Promulgatum habet* is a pregnant circumlocution for the perf.: cp. *inclusum habere*, Att. vi. 2, 8 (256): *cognitum*, Brut. 147; *deportatas*, 2 Verr. iii. 36; *domitas*, de Or. i. 194. *Habuerant leges promulgatas* occurs in Vat. 16. (There is a most elaborate article on *habere* with the perf. part. pass. in the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* ii. 372-343 by Ph. Thielmann.) *Dicis causa* ('for form's sake,' 'for the sake of appearances') is the Greek *δράσις* *ἔκαστι*: *dicis* is a genit. from the root *deik* of *dico*. Metellus did not see the significance of the bill of Herennius. Metellus opposed the bill when he saw its significance, which fact (not to refer to the

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

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

Palicano] cp. 10, 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

quo] = *ad quae*.

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

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

citizen, who did not appear either in person or by his procurator, was rated by the censor's officers, and lost all power of objection to his rating. To prevent this in Atticus' case, Cicero put up placards everywhere (no doubt where Atticus had property or offices), notifying that the latter would not fail to appear for the census: see Mommsen, St. R. iii². 355. It appears to have become a practice for a Roman, if he found it convenient, to return himself at the census in a provincial town; but the practice was condemned in a speech of Scipio Africanus, delivered in 612 (142), and recorded by Gellius v. 19, fin. The force of *nam* is not clear at first sight. Cicero means 'come to see me; your business matters of course I shall look after, so do not think you must come for them.'

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

In sua
publicis et
metu belli
pl. propos
de negotio
scribit, tu
scribendo
litteras dal

1. N
etiam si
te super
Sed ad
nullam
pervenit
quae sim
proximi
arbitran
belli ver
malam p
que in
Gallias

1. solo
for solo
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hoc uno lo
excusari.

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

pugnam nuper malam] See Adn. Crit.

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

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

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφὸν,
ὅταν φακὴν ἐψηγέ μὴ πικρεῖν μύρον,

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

Suidas, however, gives a different

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

ἔπειτα πλουτῶν οὐκέθ' ἤδεται φακῇ,
προτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἅπαντ' ἐπῆσθε.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Volaterranos] See Pro Domo, 79.

rationem] 'section of the act.'

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

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

sentinam urbis exhauriri] In Rull. ii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Νάφε καὶ μέμας' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

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

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

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

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

formam] 'a sketch.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hic] = *in hac re*.

τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει] The whole

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is de quo scribis] Pompey.

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

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

meorum temporum] 'my life.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ὑπόπιον] 'a blot on the fame of

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

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

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

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

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

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

name in the friend of Atticus recalling the old law.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

deposui] 'refused,' 'declined.'

emisi] sc. *ex urbe*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cavillor] 'rally him.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fabio] probably a lover of Clodia.

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

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

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

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

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

ratione] 'policy': cp. *optima causa* above = 'the cause of the *optimates*.'
populari levitate] 'his time-serving abandonment of principle.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Luceius] cp. 23, 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Εἰς οἶκόνδ' ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

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

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

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

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

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

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

rogat] 'invites.'

matrem] sc. tuam.

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

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

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

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

MARCUS Q. FRATRI SAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

vitiosissimam] 'most defective.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fide . . . insusurretur] See Adn. Crit.

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

Accensus] The *accensus* was certainly

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

possumus, te autem, alienum hominem, ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur, praesertim si iidem homines privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnis amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti amantiozem—feri enim potuit—quam temporis, hunc vero ad tuum numerum libenter ascribito: sin autem id non perspicies, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum magis, propterea quod et omnis vias pecuniae norunt et omnia pecuniae causa faciunt et, quicum victuri non sunt, eius existimationi consulere non curant. 16. Atque etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates praeter hominum perpaucorum si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi.* Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaeque coniungi dico oportere: nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt—non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus—et invident non nostris solum verum etiam suis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

fallaces] The whole sentence would

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

illam] 'the following.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fanorum] See Adn. Crit.

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

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

crudele] 'heartless.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nominatimque] διαπρῆδην, 'in so many words.'

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

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

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

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

27. *rationem*] 'policy.'

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

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

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

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

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

studiis et artibus] 'principles and qualities.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

tanti honores] explained in § 31.

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

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

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

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

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

offensive to the Italians than the port dues themselves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

obtinere] 'make good.'

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

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

36. *societates*] sc. publicanorum.

ea quae] See note on § 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lentitudinis] ‘a lymphatic, phlegmatic

temper.’

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

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

ut in malis] ‘as a choice among evils.’

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

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

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

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

totius . . . datum] See Adn. Crit.

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

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

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

Plaut. Capt. 302 *vis hostilis cum istoc fecit meas opes aequabiles*. In Greek the usage is familiar in the Homeric phrase *κῶμαι Χαλκιδέσσι δμοῖαι*, and appears very strongly in the Herodotean *παραυλὶς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάσσω*, 'less than his father's.' See, also, Thuc. i. 71 *ἀρχαιοτρόπα ὁμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐστίν*.

reliqua] 'future.'

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

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

adiuvisti] probably by the *Commentariolum*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

sed etiam] The words *non solum* are

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTERS OF THE TENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EP. 31-55.

A. U. C. 695 ; B. C. 59 ; AET. CIC. 47.

COSS. C. JULIUS CAESAR, M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

THIS is the year of the First Triumvirate, and of Caesar's first Consulship. The seeds of the Civil War were now sown by the Lex Vatinia, which gave to Caesar the government of Cisalpine Gaul with Illyricum and the command of three legions for five years. To these powers the Senate felt themselves obliged to add another legion and Transalpine Gaul, *veritis patribus* (as Suetonius suggests, Jul. 22) *ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret*; though this concession seems to be attributed to Pompey in Att. viii. 3, 3 (333): cp. Plutarch Caes. 14. The Letters of this year have to do chiefly with the measures which Caesar brought forward to carry out his arrangement with the Triumvirs. Cicero seems dissatisfied with his own *rapprochement* towards Pompey, with which Atticus had gently upbraided him. Cicero at this time was far from hopeful about the prospects of the Optimate cause. The 'fish-fanciers' are indifferent, Cato is Quixotic, Pompey is 'vilely fallen away.' We have seen that Cicero ascribes to himself considerable influence over Pompey, and even Caesar (27, 6); and also (29, 3) how the overtures of Balbus proved powerless against his fidelity to his political *idée*. We shall see in the Letters of 695 (59) how strongly he is influenced by fear of the charge of a desertion of his cause, and by an ambition for the favourable verdict of future ages (32, 1).

We have a very unpleasant picture of the disingenuousness of Pompey (43, 2), and (48, 4) a pathetic lamentation over the disfigurement of his idol. He describes the Triumvirs as extremely unpopular.

Clodius was elected to the Tribunate about March, and gave out that his object in seeking the Tribunate was to oppose all the measures of Caesar (ep. 37, 2). Cicero seems at first to have been deceived by this statement. Afterwards he perceived clearly enough the real object of Clodius, but relied on the protection of Pompey (48, 6). See *Introd. i. § 1* for an account of the circumstances which led to the exile of Cicero.

We have in 51 an account of the strange plot revealed by Vettius, the true character, object, and source of which are profoundly uncertain. The second epistle to his brother Quintus, also among the letters of 695 (59), shows that the latter had not been very successful in carrying out his brother's warnings against *iracundia*, conveyed in 30. The only literary product of this year, still surviving, is the successful defence of L. Valerius Flaccus, who was accused of malversation in Asia. But Cicero also defended, in a speech now lost, his former colleague, C. Antonius, on a similar charge with respect to Macedonia. Antonius was, however, condemned. It was in this speech that Cicero criticised the Triumvirs in such a way that within a few hours they sanctioned the passing of the curiate law which made Clodius a plebeian; ep. *De Domo* 39.

31. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 4).

ANTIUM; APRIL; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De libro Serapionis ab Attico ad se misso, de negotio cum Titinio transigendo, de Clodio legationem ad Tigranem cupiente, de geographia scribenda, quaerit quos consules futuros putet, de saltu Terentiae, de aliis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Fecisti mihi pergratum, quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti, ex quo quidem ego, quod inter nos liceat dicere, millesimam partem vix intellego. Pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu expensum muneribus ferres. At quoniam nummorum mentio facta est, amabo te, cura ut cum Titinio quoquo modo poteris transigas. Si in eo quod ostenderat non stat, mihi maxime placet ea quae male empta sunt reddi, si voluntate Pomponiae fieri poterit: si ne id quidem, nummi potius reddantur quam ullus sit scrupulus. Valde hoc velim ante quam proficiscere

1. quod . . . dicere] cp. ὥς γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν εἰρησθαι, Plat. Protag. 1.

ne tu expensum muneribus ferres] 'lest you should put it down under the heading of gifts.' Atticus had sent him a work of Serapion on Geography, on which subject Cicero seems to have now meditated a treatise. Cicero tells Atticus that he had given directions to have him paid at once for it in ready money—*expensum ferre muneribus*, is to 'enter in one's books as paid away under the heading of gifts.' For the dat. cp. Nepos Att. 1, 3 *expensum sumptui ferre*. Though the dat. after *expensum ferre* is not found elsewhere in Cicero, it is a natural construction; so we hesitate to bracket *muneribus* as a gloss, as suggested by Dr. Reid.

nummi potius reddantur] *Reddantur* is the reading of the mss. Manutius suggested *addantur* as a certain correction; and *reddantur* is condemned by all the old edd. and by the modern Boot. Yet it is the one word which throws light on the whole transaction, of which nothing is known except what may be gathered from the present passage. When one man buys something for another, the

latter in paying him is said *reddere nummos*, 'to pay him back what he gave for it': see Ter. Ad. 200-2—

Ob malefacta haec tantidem emptam postulat sibi tradier . . .
Age iam cupio, si modo argentum reddat.

We must therefore infer that Titinius had undertaken to buy something for Atticus, at a certain price, but afterwards found that it would cost more. So Cicero says, 'If he does not keep to his agreement, I think the purchase for which he has made such a bad bargain should be given back on his hands, if Pomponia has no objection; but if she objects to this course, let him be paid what he gave for it, rather than that there should be any hitch in the matter.' Or perhaps here and in the passage from Terence *reddere* means no more than simply 'to pay.' 'Let the money Titinius asks be paid, and there be no more difficulty about the business.' *Male emere* is quite an idiom for 'making a bad bargain': see on 30, 33. *Reddere* often means 'to give as in duty bound': Mayor on Juv. i. 93.

amanter, ut soles, diligenterque conficias. 2. Clodius ergo, ut ais, ad Tigranem? Velim† Syripie condicione, sed facile patior. Accommodatius enim nobis est ad liberam legationem tempus illud, cum et Quintus noster iam, ut speramus, in otio consederit et iste sacerdos Bonae deae cuius modi futurus sit scierimus. Interea quidem cum Musis nos delectabimur animo aequo, immo vero etiam gaudenti ac libenti: neque mihi unquam veniet in mentem Crasso invidere neque paenitere quod a me ipse non desciverim. 3. De geographia dabo operam ut tibi satis faciam, sed nihil certi polliceor. Magnum opus est, sed tamen, ut iubes, curabo ut huius peregrinationis aliquod tibi opus exstet. 4. Tu

2. *Velim† Syripie*] The triumvirs resolved on a temporary removal of Clodius at this time, hoping, perhaps, that they might thus win the unconditional adhesion of Cicero, who, however, does not appear to have as yet conceived those apprehensions of Clodius which would have made his removal seem desirable. They therefore chose Clodius as public ambassador to bear the good wishes of the Roman people to Tigranes, on entering on his new kingdom of Gordiene and Sophene. This is described afterwards (34. 3) as *ieiuna tabellari legatio*, 'a profitless mission which a mere letter-carrier might have executed'; but Cicero seems here to look on it as a distinction in saying 'but I take it easily, for it would not suit me at present.' No attempt worthy of mention has been made to solve the riddle of *velim Syripie condicione*, except by the great Gronovius, whose conjecture seems as probable as it is brilliant. It is *velim SCEPSI condicione*. Metrodorus, a native of Scepsis, was sent by Mithridates to Tigranes to incite the latter to war with Rome. When Tigranes asked Metrodorus his own opinion of the prudence of such a step, Metrodorus replied, 'as the ambassador of Mithridates I advise you; as Metrodorus I advise you not.' This afterwards came to the ears of Mithridates, who, in consequence, put Metrodorus to death (Plut. Lucull. 22). Cicero therefore says, 'So Clodius is going to Tigranes: I hope it will be on the same terms (with the same result) as Metrodorus of Scepsis (who lost his life in consequence)—the honour I don't envy him, for it would not suit my plans at present.' Boot calls this 'ingeniosum sed longius quaesitum.' It

is true that *Scepsi condicione* would more naturally mean 'on the terms offered by the Scepsian' (cp. *Attalici condicionibus*, Hor. Carm. i. 1, 12); but ep. *condicio testium*, 'the circumstances under which deponents are placed,' Rab. Post. 35. Dr. Reid proposes *turpiore condicione*, 'on a less creditable footing' (i.e. on terms of exile); Cicero would have preferred to see Clodius go abroad as exile. *turpie* might, without difficulty, have been corrupted into *surpie*, *syripie*. Possibly we should read *in Syriam* or *in Cyprum* (this latter is suggested by Boot, see Adn. Crit.) *e condicione* ('according to agreement'). There seems to have been some kind of promise or understanding with Clodius in the matter of these Eastern embassies: ep. 34, 3.

liberam legationem] See note to 45, 3. *consederit*] 'shall settle down in private life' after his three years' government of Asia.

sacerdos] of course Clodius. It is strange how Cicero seems to fail to see the real object of Clodius' tribunate. Clodius gave out that it was directed against the measures of Caesar (37, 2), and this Cicero seems at first to have believed.

Crasso invidere] 'to envy Crassus his coalition with Caesar and Pompey.' Above, in 9, 3, Crassus is referred to in a different way, as the proverbial rich man, *Quod si adsequor, Crassum supero divitiis*.

quod a me ipse] 'that I have not been a traitor to myself.'

3. *peregrinationis*] 'this little tour in the country.' Cicero was now travelling about in the neighbourhood of Antium.

quidquid indagaris de re publica et maxime quos consules futuros putes facito ut sciam : tametsi nimis sum curiosus. Statui enim nihil iam de re publica cogitare. 5. Terentiae saltum perspeximus. Quid quaeris? Praeter quercum Dodonaeam nihil desideramus quo minus Epirum ipsam possidere videamur. 6. Nos circiter Kal. aut in Formiano erimus aut in Pompeiano. Tu, si in Formiano non erimus, si nos amas, in Pompeianum venito. Id et nobis erit periucundum et tibi non sane devium. 7. De muro imperavi Philotimo ne impediret quo minus id fieret quod tibi videretur. Tu censeo tamen adhibeas Vettium. His temporibus, tam dubia vita optimi cuiusque, magni aestimo unius aestatis fructum palaestrae Palatinae, sed ita tamen ut nihil minus velim quam Pomponiam et puerum versari in timore ruinae.

32. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 5).

ANTIUM; APRIL; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero significat se iter in Aegyptum in animo habere, sed vereri sermones hominum et iudicium posteritatis; de rebus urbanis, de quibus Attici litteras expectare se dicit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cupio equidem et iam pridem cupio Alexandream reliquamque Aegyptum visere et simul ab hac hominum satietate nostri

5. *saltum*] an estate consisting of woodland and pasture belonging to Terentia, which Cicero now 'thoroughly explored.'

7. *Philotomo*] Terentia's steward, of whose dishonesty we read in Att. vi. vii. See Index.

censeo . . . adhibeas] The omission of *ut* is common in Plautus. Vettius Chrysippus was the freedman of Cyrus, the architect.

unius . . . palaestrae Palatinae] 'I greatly value one more summer's enjoyment of my *palaestra* on the Palatine. But, of course, I would not for the world have my brother's wife and son exposed to the risk of the wall falling.' M. and Q. Cicero had houses beside each other on the Palatine. There was a wall separating Cicero's *palaestra* from the premises of Quintus. This wall was in a dangerous state, at least Pomponia thought so. Cicero

says it must be repaired if it is dangerous; but he sets a high value on the use of his *palaestra*, of which he will be deprived during the summer by the repairs which will be going on. This *palaestra* was probably intended for physical exercise, but there is nothing in the passage inconsistent with the theory that he used it as a sort of school of rhetoric: compare De Or. i. 81; Orat. 42; Brut. 37. Wieland's explanation, adopted by Boot, that from this wall they commanded a view of the exercises in a public *palaestra* in the Palatine is (1) quite unsupported by any evidence that there was such a *palaestra*; (2) there is not a word suggesting a view in the passage; (3) a wall would be a strange place from which to enjoy a view. Observe the favourite use of *ita—ut*, cp. 10, 1.

1. *Cupio*] 'I am eager, and have long been eager, to visit Alexandria and the

discedere et cum aliquo desiderio reverti, sed hoc tempore et his mittentibus,

αἰδέομαι Τρώας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους.

Quid enim nostri optimates, si qui reliqui sunt, loquentur? an me aliquo praemio de sententia esse deductum?

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρώτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,

Cato ille noster qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus. Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicabunt? quas quidem ego multo magis vereor quam eorum hominum qui hodie vivunt rumuseulos. Sed, opinor, excipiamus et exspectemus. Si enim deferetur, erit quaedam nostra potestas et tum deliberabimus. Etiam hercule est in non accipiendo non nulla gloria. Qua re si quid Θεοφάνης tecum forte contulerit, ne omnino repudiariis. 2. De istis rebus exspecto tuas litteras: quid Arrius narret et quo animo se destitutum ferat et qui consules parentur, utrum, ut populi sermo, Pompeius et Crassus, an, ut mihi scribitur, cum

rest of Egypt, and to get away from here, where the public is tired of me, and return only when they have begun to feel my loss.' It was contemplated by the triumvirs to send Cicero on a mission to Ptolemy Auletes, who was embroiled with his subjects.

αἰδέομαι Τρώας] Hector's words to Andromache, II. vi. 442, often quoted by Cicero in his letters.

sententia] 'my design of opposing the coalition, and carrying out the old policy of the optimates.'

Πουλυδάμας] Hector's reply to Hecuba when she dissuades him from facing Achilles: II. xxii. 100. Here Cato is Polydamas; afterwards in Att. vii. 1, 4 (284) Polydamas stands for Atticus himself. Persius also had this passage of Homer in his mind when he wrote (Sat. i. 4) *Ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem Praetulerint*. Cicero very constantly thus personifies public opinion. Αἰδέομαι Τρώας is used by him pretty much as a modern writer might use the phrase, 'What will Mrs. Grundy say?'

DC] 'Six hundred' is the number chosen by the Latins to express an indefinite number, as the Greeks said μυριοι, though they indicated indefiniteness by a

difference in accent, 10,000 (a definite number) being μυριοι. However, it may here be questioned whether *sexcentos* is indefinite. Roman history had now extended over more than 600 years; and Cicero asks, what will be the verdict of history on him when a similar period shall have elapsed 'in the course of the next six hundred years'?

rumuseulos] 'chit-chat,' 'gossip,' 'scandal.'

excipiamus] 'let me lie in wait' (as the huntsman does for his quarry) until I see whether the embassy to Egypt will really be offered to me: cp. the Horatian (Carm. iii. 12, 10-12) *fruticeto latitantem excipere aprum*.

deferetur] sc. legatio.

erit quaedam nostra potestas] 'it will to some extent lie in my own hands, and then it will be time to consider the reasons for and against it.'

Θεοφάνης] of Mitylene, a close confidant of Pompey.

2. istis rebus] 'affairs with you.'

quo animo] 'How does he bear being thrown over by Caesar in his suit for the consulship?' Arrius was a creature of Caesar.

Gabinio Servius Sulpicius, et num quae novae leges et num quid novi omnino et, quoniam Nepos proficiscitur, cuinam auguratus deferatur, quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum. Vide levitatem meam! Sed quid ego haec, quae cupio deponere et toto animo atque omni cura φιλοσοφεῖν? Sic, inquam, in animo est; vellem ab initio. Nunc vero, quoniam quae putavi esse praeclara expertus sum quam essent inania, cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito. 3. Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius, et nunc quis in eius locum paretur et quid de P. Clodio fiat, et omnia, quem ad modum polliceris, ἐπὶ σχολῆς scribe, et quo die Roma te exiturum putes velim ad me scribas, ut certiore te faciam quibus in locis futurus sim, epistulamque statim des de iis rebus de quibus ad te scripsi. Valde enim exspecto tuas litteras.

Gabinio] This was the author of the Lex Gabinia, which gave Pompey the command against the pirates in 687 (67). He was consul in the year 696 (58) with L. Piso, and was exiled finally for taking a bribe of 10,000 talents to restore Ptolemy Auletes to Egypt.

Nepos] had set out to a province as pro-praetor, and so would probably not be chosen, though he might have been co-opted in his absence, as Boot observes. He would, if in Rome, naturally have been chosen to succeed his brother, the consul of last year, who was now dead (Cael. 59). Therefore, Cicero says, 'since Nepos is off to his province, to whom will the vacant place in the augural college be given?—it is the only bait by which I could be caught.'

Vide levitatem] So Muretus reads for *videte civitatem* of M (*videte vitam* Z¹). For other suggestions see Adn. Crit. Dr. Reid thinks that we should retain *civitatem*, and understand it as a jocular reference to Cicero's treatise, *De Republica*. Where there is a question of Cicero's political conduct, we often find references to the ideal he had sketched in that treatise. In Tusc. ii. 27, he speaks of Plato's ideal commonwealth as *civitate quam Plato finxit*. The emendation of Klotz (in ed. 1) *caritatem*, 'see at what a high price I estimate myself,' which was adopted in our previous edition, seems hardly satisfactory, and is given up by Klotz himself. Writing to Cato early in 704 (50), Cicero says of the augurate, Fam. xv. 4, 13 (238) *sacerdotium denique, cum—quemadmodum te existimare arbitror—non difficillime con-*

sequi possem, non appetivi. Cicero might perhaps have taken the augurate in 695 (59) if it had been offered to him, but he did not ask for it.

rationem habere] 'to carry on transactions with,' *cum hac aliquid adolescentem habuisse rationis*, Cael. 50.

3. *Tu tamen de Curtio*] 'Yet (though I have just professed my determination to give up politics for philosophy) you must tell me about Curtius.' The *tamen* seems to show that Cicero here recurs to the former inquiries, and that *nunc quis in eius locum paretur* refers to the augurate, *eius* being Metellus Celer. About Curtius nothing is known. Mr. Pretor ingeniously suggests *Curio*, comparing πρῶσις *Curiana* in 44, 2. The character of Curius was notoriously infamous, and his name was erased from the senatorial roll, a disgrace which may have been followed by ejection from some other office. If emendation is required, we do not know any better suggestion for the passage than this. In 72, 3, we find *Curtius* in M for what should probably be *Curius*. In the next words M and Rom give a reading which is quite ignored as an obvious error by the edd., *quid de P. Clodio fratre*. As the passage stands, this would of course give no sense; but by simply transposing two clauses (which is not so violent a course as omitting two words) we have a natural sense. Read *Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius, et quid de P. Clodio et fratre, et nunc quis in eius (sc. fratris) locum paretur, et omnia*, 'answer my question about Curtius, and tell me what is being done about Clodius and his cousin

33. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 6.).

ANTIUM; APRIL; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat quanto opere abhorreat a scribendo animus, sibi difficile iam videri geographiam scribere omninoque se malle Antii cessare quam quidquam gravioris operis suscipere, hunc recessum sibi placere, ἀνέκδοτα se pangere, addit de negotio Q. fratris et de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod tibi superioribus litteris promiseram, fore ut opus exstaret huius peregrinationis, nihil iam magno opere confirmo. Sic enim sum complexus otium ut ab eo divelli non queam. Itaque aut libris me delecto quorum habeo Anti festivam copiam aut fluctus numero: nam ad lacertas captandas tempestates non

Metellus Celer, and who is now likely to fill his place.' Metellus Celer is often called the *frater* of Clodius: see De Har. resp. 45, Cael. 60. He was both cousin and brother-in-law of Clodius; but *frater* means *cousin*, it cannot mean *brother-in-law*. The passage Liv. xxxviii. 35, on which rests the theory that *frater* = *levir*, is far from sufficient to establish it. Metellus and Clodius were certainly *fratres*, 'cousins'; Clodius' mother was the sister of Metellus' father. It is a moot point whether in Cael. 60 the word *patrueli* ought not to be expunged; *fratres patruels* are properly the sons of brothers, while *consobrini* are the sons of sisters. There seems to have been no precise term to designate the cousinship of Clodius and Metellus, the sons of a sister and a brother. Probably the general term *fratres* was used for this case. But it does not seem impossible that *fratres patruels* might describe the sons of a brother and sister on the same principle on which *fratres* is used of two brothers and a sister, *tres fratres Titius et Maevius et Seia*, Dig. 2, 14, 35; and of a brother and sister, *fratrum incestus amor*, Tac. Ann. xii. 4: cp. *filios* in Tac. Ann. xi. 38.

1. *fluctus numero*] 'Nihil agendo delector' is the sense given to this proverb by the old edd., as well as Boot, who re-

fers to Lucian, Hermotimus 84, for the Greek parallel proverb, τὰ κύματα ἀριθμεῖν: cp. Macar. 5. 43 (quoted by Otto) κύματα μετρεῖ: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωφελῶς τι διαπραττομένων, and Theocr. xvi. 60: in this sense of futile and endless labour the phrase *fluctus numerare* is found in Martial vi. 34, 2. A reference to the passage from Lucian would seem to show that the old fable of Aesop had a closer relevance to Cicero's position than is supposed. Here is the passage from Lucian:—καὶ τί δεῖ δακρύων, ὦ χρηστέ; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ μύθοι ἐκείνου πάνυ συνετὸν, οἶμαι, ὃν Αἴσωπος διηγείτο· ἔφη γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν τινα ἐπὶ τῇ ἡϊόνι καθέζομενον ἐπὶ τὴν κυματωγὴν ἀριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα, σφαλέντα δὲ ἔχθεσθαι καὶ ἀνιάσθαι, ἄχρι δὴ τὴν Κερδῶ παραστᾶσαν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, "τί, ὦ γενναῖε, ἀνὰ τῶν παρελθόντων ἕνεκα, δεόν τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρεσάμενον ἀριθμεῖν, ἀμελήσαντα ἐκείνων;" If, therefore, Cicero had in his mind the fable of Aesop, he would mean 'I torture myself by dwelling on the past, which is now irrevocable, instead of addressing myself to the consideration of what my conduct should be in the future.' The next sentence, 'for the weather is not suitable for catching shads,' would be a sudden jocular return to the literal (and not allegorical) meaning of *fluctus numero*. But most probably he had not in his mind the Greek proverb or the Aesopian fable.

sunt idoneae. A scribendo prorsus abhorret animus. Etenim γεωγραφικά quae constitueram magnum opus est: ita valde Eratosthenes quem mihi proposueram a Serapione et ab Hipparcho reprehenditur: quid censes, si Tyrannio accesserit? Et hereule sunt res difficiles ad explicandum et ὁμοειδής nec tam possunt ἀνθηρογραφεῖσθαι quam videbantur et, quod caput est, mihi quaevis satis iusta causa cessandi est: qui etiam dubitem an hic Anti considam et hoc tempus omne consumam, ubi quidem ego malletm duum virum quam Romae me fuisse. 2. Tu vero sapientior Buthroti domum parasti. Sed, mihi crede, proxima est illi municipio haec Antiatum civitas. Esse locum tam prope Romam ubi multi sint qui Vatinius numquam viderint? ubi nemo sit praeter me qui quemquam ex viginti viris vivum et salvum velit? ubi me interpellat nemo, diligant omnes? Hic, hic nimirum πολιτευτέον. Nam istie non solum non licet sed etiam taedet. Itaque ἀνέκδοτα quae tibi uni legamus Theopom-

Tyrannio] He was a native of Amisus, like Strabo. He came to Rome among the captives brought back by Lucullus from the Mithridatic War. He was a friend of Cicero, and afterwards the instructor of Strabo, as well as of the young Ciceros: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4, 2 (105). Cicero says, 'you may imagine what a confused state I shall be in, if to the criticisms of Serapion and Hipparchus on Eratosthenes are added the strictures of Tyrannio on all these.'

ὁμοειδής] 'monotonous.'
ἀνθηρογραφεῖσθαι] 'to be embellished.'

qui] is the necessary correction by Manutius of *quin* of the Med. 'Seeing that I am not sure that I shall not give up my idea of travelling and settle down here, where I would rather have been one of the *duoviri* than at Rome.' The chief magistrates in the colonies were called *duoviri*; in the municipal towns, where the *duoviri iure dicundo* formed a *collegium* with the two aediles, they were called *quattuorviri*, Arnold's Rom. Prov. Adm., p. 221. Cicero says, 'I had rather I had been one of these than one of the Roman *duoviri*' (i.e. the consuls). *Duum virum* is the *gen. plur.*, as Cicero points out in Orat. 156, quoted by Boot. *Quidem* is 'certainly,' Phil. ii. 38 (Mayor). Müller proposes to add *consul* before *fuisse*. See Adn. Crit.

2. *proxima*] 'Antium very nearly approaches the advantages of Buthrotum.' So in Att. iv. 8a, 1 (112), he says, *Hoc scito Antium Buthrotum esse Romae ut Corecyrae illud tuum*, 'that Antium is to Rome what Buthrotum is to Coreyra,' *Romae* and *Corecyrae* being *datives*.

Vatinius] the tribune, Caesar's creature.

viginti viris] The commission of twenty appointed by Caesar's laws for the division of the Campanian land. He afterwards dwells tauntingly on the fact that Clodius had not found a place in so numerous a body (34, 3). 'To think that there should be a place so near Rome, and yet so indifferent to politics, that I am the only one who feels the least interest in the health and welfare of any one of the twenty commissioners.'

Hic, hic nimirum] 'Here, and here only, I must play the statesman.' Then he goes on to mention the way in which he means to play the statesman, to exercise his political faculties, namely, in the form of a private pamphlet to be read to Atticus alone, in defence of his policy, and written with all the bitterness of the historian Theopompus. 'My only policy now,' he says, 'is hatred of the radicals, and that not attended by any feeling of indignation, but rather a feeling of pleasure in committing it to writing.'

ἀνέκδοτα] Malaspina supposes Cicero

pio genere aut etiam asperiore multo pangentur. Neque aliud iam quidquam πολιτεύομαι nisi odisse improbos, et id ipsum nullo cum stomacho sed potius cum aliqua scribendi voluptate. Sed ut ad rem, scripsi ad quaestores urbanos de Quinti fratris negotio. Vide quid narrent, eequae spes sit denari an cistophoro Pompeiano iaceamus. Praeterea de muro statue quid faciendum sit. Aliud quid? Etiam. Quando te proficisci istine putes fac ut sciam.

to refer to the book *De Consiliis suis*, which Dio Cassius (xxxix. 10) says he wrote after his exile: cp. Asconius, p. 83, 21. It is alluded to in Plut. Crass. 13 *ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερός ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος*. Οὗτος μὲν δὲ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν (sc. Crassus and Caesar) τελευτήν. Dio Cassius (loc. cit.) says it contained πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ against Caesar, Crassus, and others: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ κατεσημνητά τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί (probably Tiro) προστάξας οἱ μὴτ' ἀναγνῶναι μὴτε δημοσιεῦσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἢ μεταλλάξῃ. This may have been the *première ébauche* which he afterwards completed: see Att. xiv. 17, 6 (724): it seems to have been directed against Caesar.

ut ad rem] sc. *veniam* or *redeam*: cp. Att. vi. 8, 3 (281) *sed ad rem*.

quaestores urbanos] It was their duty to supply the provincial governors with the money (*vasarium*) necessary for outfit and preliminary expenses.

cistophoro Pompeiano] Pompey, during the Mithridatic War, had laid up a large quantity of money in the Asiatic currency, the *cistophorus* (so called from the device, the sacred *cista* of Dionysus half open, with a serpent creeping out of

it). The quaestors wished to pay Quintus the money due to him from the Roman treasury for the administration of Asia, by a draft on this sum amassed in *cistophori*. Quintus would have preferred being paid in the *denarius*, the Roman currency. The value of the *cistophorus* was probably about three *denarii*. Quintus feared he would lose by being paid in this currency. Manutius and Pompey speak of this money as if it were the private property of Pompey, and talk about reimbursing Pompey in the Roman currency. But the quaestors would not think of drawing on private property. This sum in *cistophori* was doubtless the property of the state, deposited by Pompey in safe keeping in Asia; and it occurred to the quaestors that this would be well utilised by paying with it the money due from the Roman treasury to Quintus. The word *iaceamus* is strangely used, 'must we sit down under a payment in *cistophori*?' Cp. *Brundisi iacere in omnis partis est molestum*, Att. xi. 6, 2 (418), where *iacere* is 'to be kept quiet' (waiting). Possibly, however, *iaceamus* means nothing more than to be 'ruined.'

de muro] see 31, 7.

Aliud quid? Etiam] 'Anything else to say? Yes, one thing more.'

34. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 7).

ANTIUM; APRIL; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De geographia et duabus orationibus quas postulaverat Atticus: de P. Clodio et eius legatione ad Tigranem, de adversariorum inter ipsos dissensione, quibus de rebus vult certior fieri ita ut tamen ad rem publicam administrandam redire nolit, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De geographia etiam atque etiam deliberabimus. Orationes autem a me duas postulas, quarum alteram non libebat mihi scribere, †qui absciram,† alteram, ne laudarem eum quem non amabam. Sed id quoque videbimus. Denique aliquid exstabit, ne tibi plane cessasse videamur. 2. De Publio quae ad me scribis sane mihi iucunda sunt, eaque etiam velim omnibus vestigiis indagata ad me adferas cum venies, et interea scribas si quid intelleges aut suspicabere et maxime de legatione quid sit acturus. Equidem ante quam tuas legi litteras, hominem ire cupiebam, non mehercule ut differrem cum eo vadimonium—nam mira sum

1. *Orationes*] We do not know what these *Orationes* were. Mr. Pretor holds that one was the *Oratio in Curionem et Clodium*; but Cicero wrote that out, for it got into circulation some time later (69, 2). Gronovius is of opinion that one was the speech which Cicero intended to deliver on the last day of his consulship when he was prevented from speaking by Metellus Nepos.

absciram] This is the reading of M. *Abscideram* is the reading of ed. lens. and Ernesti, who explains that it was *after*, not *before*, the delivery that the Roman orators used to commit their speeches to writing (Tusc. iv. 55), and supposes that Cicero there says, 'I did not care to write it out now, for I broke off in the middle (i. e. only partially committed it to writing) after I delivered it.' Boot would explain *abscideram* 'I had torn up my notes' (so I could not write it out now). But *conserpere* is the word Cicero uses in this sense, and he would have expressed his meaning more clearly. Boot, who does not approve of *abscideram*, suggests *abieceram*, meaning 'I had thrown it off hastily,' comparing De Orat. iii. 102, where, however, the word is used of quick

and impassioned utterance, not of hasty composition. It has, however, also the meaning of 'humbling,' 'disparaging' (*ταπεινών*): cp. De Orat. iii. 104 *ad extenuandum (aliquid) atque abiciendum*; Orat. 127 *augendis rebus et contra abiciendis*; Tusc. v. 51; and Seneca Epist. 75, 2 (quoted by Boot) *sensus meos nec exornassem nec abiecissem*. Something similar is Catull. 24, 9 *Hoc tu quamlibet abice elevaque*, and perhaps above 24, 3 *hic annus senatus auctoritatem abiecit*, 'flouted.' By a slight extension of this meaning we might possibly then translate 'I had not done it justice': cp. Pope on Bentley, "made Horace dull and humbled Milton's strains." *Quia ab ea descieram*, 'because I had deserted the principles laid down in it,' would give a good sense. H. A. J. Munro would read *abieci iram*. Madvig *quia obscura erat*; Gurlitt *quia oscitaram. quem non amabam*] Probably Pompey. Tunstall thinks the reference is to Hortensius.

2. *De Publio*] Clodio.

hominem ire] *In hominem* is the reading of the mss. The copyist, no doubt, inserted the *in* as often (see Adn. Crit.). Cicero wishes that Clodius should accept

alacritate ad litigandum—sed videbatur mihi, si quid esset in eo populare quod plebeius factus esset, id amissurus. 'Quid enim ad plebem transisti? ut Tigranem ires salutatum? Narra mihi: reges Armenii patricos resalutare non solent?' Quid quaeris? Acueram me ad exagitantam hanc eius legationem. Quam si ille contemnit et si, ut scribis, bilem id commovet et latoribus et auspici-
 3. Hercule, verum ut loquamur, subcontumeliose tractatur noster Publius: primum qui cum domi Caesaris quondam unus vir fuerit, nunc ne in viginti quidem esse potuerit; deinde alia legatio dicta erat, alia data est. Illa opima ad exigendas pecunias Druso, ut opinor, Pisaurensi (an epuloni Vatinio) reservatur: haec ieiuna tabellari legatio datur ei cuius tribunatus ad istorum tempora reservatur. Incende hominem, amabo te, quod potest. Una spes est salutis istorum inter istos dissensio, cuius ego quaedam initia sensi ex

the embassy to Tigranes, because he thinks he would thus forfeit any popularity he gained by becoming a plebeian, 'not,' he says, 'through any desire to postpone the trial of the issue between us, for I am amazingly eager for the fray.' It was these last words probably which gave rise to the corrupt in hominem.

Narra mihi] See on 22, 10. 'Pray do the kings of Armenia not return the visit of a patrician (is that the reason why you have become a plebeian)?' Thus Cicero proposes to assail Clodius.

Quid quaeris?] 'in a word.'

exagitantam] 'to pull to pieces.'

latoribus et auspiciibus legis curiatae] Caesar is called the lator of the bill which plebeianized Clodius, and Pompey the auspex or 'approving friend.' We learn from 37, 1, that Pompey was at the taking of the auspices at the adrogatio. In Att. viii. 3, 3 (333), Pompey is called ille in adoptando Clodio augur.

curiatae] So his adoption was not in the comitia centuriata, but in the comitia curiata. The comitia curiata seem now to have served hardly any purpose but adrogatio. We learn from 24, 4 that there was some talk of bringing the matter of Clodius' adrogatio before the comitia centuriata; but it was not carried out.

3. subcontumeliose] 'with scant courtesy.'

primum qui cum] 'first in his failure to gain a place even in the twenty, he who

was once the only man in Caesar's house.'

dicta] 'promised,' 'arranged': cp. Flacc. 86, sine tutore auctore est dicta dos. Boot compares Nepos Eum. 2, 2 Hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam tum in hostium potestate erat.

opima] The mission to Egypt is called 'fat,' that to Tigranes a 'poor, profitless mission, which might be as well discharged by a letter-carrier.' The one is 'kept in reserve' for Drusus or Vatinus: the other is given to Clodius, whose tribunate is 'reserved to suit the occasion of those gentlemen.' The repetition of reservatur implies that while the services are done by Clodius, the rewards are given to the others. Drusus is called Drusus of Pisaurum, to hint at his obscurity. Vatinus is probably (as Schütz suggests) called epulo, because in the speech in Vat. 30-32, he is described as having on one occasion gone to a banquet at the house of Q. Arrius in a black toga. He sought to be elected into the place of Metellus Celer in the augural body, cp. Vat. 19. Cicero (36, 2) speaks with indignation of his being a candidate for the augurate, and we know from Vat. 19 that he failed.

an epuloni] see Madv. Fin. ii. 104, and Ep. 8, 2, above, for this use of an.

Incende] 'urge him on against Caesar and Pompey': 'fan the flame of his resentment': cp. φλέγειν in Soph. Aj. 196.

quod potest] See Adv. Crit.

Curione. Iam vero Arrius consulatum sibi ereptum fremit. Megabocchus et haec sanguinaria iuventus inimicissima est. Accedat vero, accedat etiam ista rixa auguratus. Spero me praeclaras de istis rebus epistulas ad te saepe missurum. 4. Sed illud quid sit scire cupio quod iacis obscure iam etiam ex ipsis quinque viris loqui quosdam. Quidnam id est? Si est enim aliquid, plus est boni quam putaram. Atque haec, sic velim existimes, non me abs te κατὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν quaerere, quod gestiat animus aliquid agere in re publica. Iam pridem gubernare me taedebat, etiam cum licebat. Nunc vero cum cogar exire de navi non abiectis sed ereptis gubernaculis, cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri, cupio, ut ait tuus amicus Sophocles,

κἄν ὑπὸ στέγῃ

πυκνῆς ἀκούειν ψακάδος εὐδούσῃ φρενί.

[Curione] See next letter, § 1.

[Arrius] See 32, 2.

[Megabocchus] A Roman of this name appears as having been condemned for extortion in Sardinia (Cic. Saur., 40). Also a Megabacchus perished in the battle of Carrhae. He was said to be distinguished for courage and strength; and he killed himself in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians (Plut. Crassus, 25). He may have been, as Gronovius says, involved in the conspiracy of Catiline. There does not seem any reason to assume with Manutius that Megabocchus was a nickname of Pompey.

[sanguinaria] As this word is neither Ciceronian nor Augustan, Francken has proposed *saginata* (sc. epulis Arrii), referring apparently to the *commissatores coniuurationis* (22, 11). Dr. Reid has improved on this by suggesting *sanguine saginata*, comparing Sest. 78 *eos qui ab illo pestifero ac perdito civi iam pridem reipublicae sanguine saginantur*.

4. *Sed illud* 'I should like to know the meaning of a dark hint which you threw out, that even some of the *quinqueviri* are beginning to talk' (no doubt unfavourably of Caesar and Pompey). Manutius would read *ex ipsis xx viris*, as there is no other mention except in Prov. Cons. 41 (where Manutius would make the same correction) of any commission of *five* constituted by the Julian Law; and it is hardly possible that there can have been (as has been suggested, e. g.

by Lange, iii. 280, who refers to Schol. Bob. 263) five out of the twenty of preponderant influence, who are here spoken of as a distinct body. Mommsen's view (Gromatici veteres ii. 224) is that the *vigintiviri* were divided into four sub-commissions of five; so that one of the *vigintiviri* might be called indifferently *vigintivir* or *quinquevir*. One of these sub-commissions was possibly the source of the celebrated *Lex Manilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, which Rudorff ascribed to Caligula: see Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraph.* ii. 120, for the evidence on this point.

κατὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν] 'with a view to action.'

Iam pridem gubernare] cp. *hic nimirum πολίτευτέον . . . taedet* in last letter, § 2.

κἄν ὑπὸ στέγῃ] 'with drowsy brain | To hear 'neath shelter the thick-falling rain.' So one of our pupils, Mr. Boxwell, once translated in an examination paper. Lucretius' poem was not yet published; otherwise Cicero could better have illustrated his *cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri* by the well-known passage beginning *suave mari magno*; but it may be observed that Cicero never does, in any of his works, quote Lucretius, nor even mention him, except in the well-known passage, Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4 (132). This throws some doubt on the tradition mentioned by St. Jerome, that Cicero edited Lucretius after the death of the

5. De muro quid opus sit videbis. Castricianum mendum nos corrigemus, et tamen ad me Quintus HS CCIOO IOO scripserat, nunc ad sororem tamen HS xxx. Terentia tibi salutem dicit; Cicero tibi mandat ut Aristodemo idem de se respondeas quod de fratre suo, sororis tuae filio, respondisti. De Ἀμαλθείᾳ quod me admones non neglegemus. Cura ut valeas.

35. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 8).

ANTIUM; ABOUT APRIL 18TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De epistula Attici a pueris suis amissa, de Curione adolescente qui ad se venerit salutatum et quid narraverit, se historiae se dare, de itineribus quae in animo habeat facere et quo tempore in quaque villa futurus sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Epistulam cum a te avide expectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo, ecce tibi nuntius pueros venisse Roma. Voco; quaero eequid litterarum? Negant. 'Quid ais?' inquam, 'nihilne a Pomponio?' Perterriti voce et vultu confessi sunt se accepisse sed excidisse in via. Quid quaeris? Permolesti tuli. Nulla enim

poet. However, Cicero seems purposely to refrain from quoting his contemporaries. This passage of Soph. is imitated by Tibullus (i. 1, 45-48), and perhaps by Tennyson, though to a different purport, in *Locksley Hall*—

Drug thy memories, lest thou learn it, lest thy heart be brought to proof,
In the dead unhappy night, and when the rain is on the roof.

Mr. Pretor compares Thomson's *Seasons* (Winter), 92—

Nor reck's the storm that blows
Without and rattles on his humble roof.

This is by no means the only place in which a hackneyed Latin quotation has its Greek analogue in these letters: where we should say *ne sutor ultra* (properly *supra*) *crepidam*, Cicero in Att. v. 10, 3 (198) has ἔρδοι τις, the first words of a verse ἔρδοι τις ἢν ἕκαστος εἰδὲν τέχνην, Ar. Vesp. 1431: see *Introd. II.* § 2 C.

5. *mendum*] Some mistake in his accounts. Castricius was a trader carrying on business (probably) in Asia. He is again mentioned, Att. xii. 28, 3 (564). CCIOO IOO] 'that it amounted to 16,000 sesterces; while in a letter to his sister he has made the sum 30,000.'

nunc . . . xxx] See *Adn. Crit.*

Cicero] The boy whose birth was announced in Ep. 11, written in 689 (65), who therefore was now six years old.

idem de se respondeas] Boot conjectures that Aristodemus may have been a teacher, to whom the young Cicero apologises for his absence, and begs Atticus to make the same excuse for him as for his cousin the son of Quintus and Pomponia.

Ἀμαλθείᾳ] cp. note to 19, 1.

1. ecce tibi] 'lo and behold you, a messenger with the news that slaves of yours have arrived from Rome.' For ecce tibi, cp. 42, 3; xvi. 13a, 2 (802). excidisse] 'had been lost.' This word

abs te per hos dies epistula inanis aliqua re utili et suavi venerat. Nunc, si quid in ea epistula quam ante diem XVI Kal. Mai. dedisti fuit historia dignum, scribe quam primum, ne ignoremus: sin nihil praeter iocationem, redde id ipsum. Et scito Curionem adulescentem venisse ad me salutatum. Valde eius sermo de Publio cum tuis litteris congruebat. Ipse vero mirandum in modum reges odisse superbos.

Peraeque narrabat incensam esse iuventutem neque ferre haec posse. Bene habemus nos, si in his spes est: opinor, aliud agamus. Ego me do historiae. Quamquam, licet me Saufeium putes

also means 'to get wind,' 'become known': see Att. iv. 17 (18), 1 (146), *lepidum quid ne quo excidat*.

inanis] 'devoid of instructive and pleasant reading.' This use of the ablative with *inanis* is very rare.

historia] Ernesti is possibly right in holding that this word should be written in Greek character, and interpreted in the sense of *ιστορία*, 'worth my knowing'; otherwise these words would mean, 'of historical interest,' 'worthy of being introduced into history.' Cicero, in 32, 1, uses the plural in this sense.

redde] 'pay it back.' The word implies that Atticus owes him the letter which miscarried.

ad me salutatum] *me* is governed by *salutatum*: cp. Caes. B. G. v. 26, 2 *magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt*.

vero] 'furthermore' = γὰρ μὲν, Kühner on Tusc. i. 98.

reges odisse superbos] The triumvirs. We have the whole verse in Att. vi. 3, 7 (264)—

Granius autem
Non contemnere se et reges odisse superbos.

The verses are Lucilius' description of Granius the crier, or auctioneer. Granius' motto was 'to respect oneself, and come to no terms with tyrants.'

Bene habemus nos] 'we are doing well if we can indulge hopes that the rising generation are becoming indignant with the triumvirate. We have only to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude': see Att. vii. 2, 3 (293) *quamquam videbatur se non graviter habere*. But *bene habemus* might mean 'we are doing well,' and then *nos* would

be the subject of *agamus*, which indeed seems to require a subject expressed; *bene habet* means 'it is well,' in Mur. 14. Dolabella, in Fam. ix. 9, 1 (409), writes *Terentia minus belle habuit*; and *bene habere* is often thus used by the Comic writers, e.g., Plaut. Aul. 372; Mil. 724; Ter. Ph. 429. This last consideration makes it seem probable that we should punctuate thus, with Boot:—*bene habemus: nos, si, &c.* For *aliud agere*, cp. *aliud nunc agere*, Cluent. 155; *hic aliud agens populus*, Tac. Agr. 43.

historiae] the ἀνέκδοτα Theopompio genere referred to in 33, 2.

Saufeium] 'Yet—though you may suppose I am as indefatigable in writing as Saufeius—I am the laziest man alive': see 8, 1, where Cicero jestingly says that Saufeius will doubtless administer the proper consolation to Atticus for the death of his grandmother; he could not let slip even that opportunity for holding forth. As an Epicurean he would be supplied with arguments to show that death was not an evil, there being no *sensation* after death; see Att. iv. 6, 1 (110). However, the passage may have quite a different meaning. Cicero always speaks of Saufeius and his School as the representatives of self-indulgence, laziness, and the abandonment of a strenuous course of action: see especially Att. xv. 4, 3 (734), where he says he might have become a convert to the principles of Saufeius, and found in Caesar a kind master, if he had been content to give up the struggle for liberty. From this point of view the sentence would mean, 'I confess, at the risk of your calling me a Saufeius, that I am the laziest man alive.'

esse, nihil me est inertius. 2. Sed cognosce itinera nostra, ut statuas ubi nos visurus sis. In Formianum volumus venire Parilibus: inde, quoniam putas praetermittendum nobis esse hoc tempore Cratera illum delicatum, Kal. Mai. de Formiano proficiscemur, ut Anti simus a. d. v. Non. Mai. Ludi enim Anti futuri sunt a iv ad prid. Non. Mai. Eos Tullia spectare vult. Inde cogito in Tusculanum, deinde Arpinum, Romam ad Kal. Iun. Te aut in Formiano aut Anti aut in Tusculano cura ut videamus. Epistolam superiorem restitue nobis et appinge aliquid novi.

36. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 9).

ANTIUM; APRIL (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

Epistula raptim scripta requirit M. Cicero ab Attico sermones quos cum P. Clodio habuerit, de rebus urbanis et statu rei publicae, de consilio suo se defendendi si opus sit, de itineribus suis et quo die in quamque villam venire cogitet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Subito cum mihi dixisset Caecilius quaestor puerum se Romam mittere, haec scripsi raptim, ut tuos elicerem mirificos cum Publio dialogos, cum eos de quibus scribis tum illum quem ab-

2. *Parilibus*] Feast of Pales, the goddess of shepherds, held on April 21st.

Cratera] the bay between the promontories of Misenum and Minerva. Here was Cicero's Pompeianum: 'Since you think that on the present occasion Crater with all its allurements should be passed by.' This is probably the villa referred to by Clodius in his attack on Cicero described in 22, 10, and in the fragmentary orat. in Clod. et. Cur. 20. Still it was not so near but that Cicero could say *falsum, sed quid huic?* when charged with having been at Baiae. It was probably this sally of Clodius, unsuccessful as it was, that induced Cicero to avoid the seductive bay on this occasion.

cogito in Tusculanum] sc. ire; for other examples of very strong ellipse, see Introd. II., § 2 D, and Index, s. v. Ellipse.

Epistolam superiorem] the letter lost by the slaves of Atticus. The use of this very rare word *appinge*, for 'to add,' might be quoted to justify the conjecture

of *incudam* for *includam* in 19, 5, which would be rendered much more probable if *accuderim* were accepted in 10, 2.

1. *Subito*] 'Caecilius having suddenly informed me that he was sending a messenger to Rome, I hastily write this note, to draw from you an account of your "high debates" with Clodius (about me).' *Subito* is the reading of M (as well as of Rom and I). We have not the testimony of Lambinus to the reading of Z; but Bosius quotes from his fictitious X and Y the reading *sube*; wherefore most of the pre-Hauptian editors, beginning with Muretus, read here S. V. B. E., *si vales bene est*. Even supposing that there were real (and not fictitious) ms authority for this reading, we do not see how any editor could possibly get over the difficulty of explaining why this should be the only one of all Cicero's letters to Atticus to which this form of greeting is prefixed. It frequently occurs in the letters of Cicero to public

dis et ais longum esse quae ad ea responderis perscribere; illum vero qui nondum habitus est, quem illa βω̄πις, cum e Solonio redierit, ad te est relatura. Sic velim putes, nihil hoc posse mihi esse iucundius. Si vero quae de me pacta sunt ea non servantur in caelo sum, ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam rettulerit, quarum exspecta divinam παλινωδιαν. Etenim, quantum coniectura auguramur, si erit nebulo iste cum his dynastis in gratis, non modo de cynico consulari sed ne de istis quidem piscinarum Tri-

men, and is found also in his letters to Terentia; so that we may perhaps look on the words as one of those forms prescribed by etiquette in common for women and for friends with whom the writer of a letter was not on close terms of intimacy. It is true that in more than one place in Cicero's letters these initials have been the source of depravation of the text, as in Att. ix. 7 B, 1 (354), where S.V.B.E. *Posteaquam* was corrupted to the barbarous *subposteaquam* in a letter of Balbus to Cicero. But here there can be no doubt that S.V.B.E. is a bad conjecture of Bosius, supported by fictitious ms authority.

illum vero] 'Furthermore (to draw from you) that marvellous 'high debate' which has not yet taken place, which Clodia is to report to you.' Clodia had undertaken to have a talk with her brother on the subject of Cicero. She is probably called βω̄πις in allusion to her intrigue with her brother. Juno was *Iovis coniunxque sororque*. *Vero* is furthermore: see Kühner on Tusc. i. 98. *Dialogos* is something of a mock-heroic expression.

quae de me pacta sunt] Pompey had exacted a promise from Clodius that he would not take any steps against Cicero. 'If this compact is not kept, I am in the seventh heaven of delight, for then this Jerusalemite plebeianizer of Clodius must see what a fine return he has made in that act for all my choicest harangues in his praise, of all of which you may look out for a signal recantation.' *Putus* is not found elsewhere in Cicero, but often in Plautus joined with *purus*—another coincidence between Cicero's letters and the Comic Drama. It is plain that Cicero had at this time no apprehension that the quarrel with Clodius would end in his exile.

putissimis] This superlative does not occur elsewhere; even *putus* does not

occur by itself, except possibly in Varr. R. R. ii. 2, 10 (where Keil after Pontedera reads *potum*); it is elsewhere always joined with *purus*, and *purus putus* may often in Plautus be rendered 'clean and clever.' If we were sure that *putus* could be used by itself, and could bear the sense of '*recherché*,' 'elaborate,' 'superfine,' or the like, it would suit here very well, and might even be introduced (as has been suggested) into the famous line of Catullus, 29, 23 *Eone nomine urbis* † *opulentissime* † *socer generque perdidistis omnia*. Dr. Reid (with Turnebus) prefers *putidissimis*, 'affected,' 'extravagant': cp. 20, 1. But we cannot think that Cicero would have used such a strong word, even supposing he meant to blame himself in some measure: he might say that he was an *asinus germanus*, but hardly that his speeches were 'affected.' Other proposals are *politissimis* (Boot), and *paratissimis* (Spratt).

si erit nebulo iste] Clodius. If Clodius becomes a partisan of the Triumvirs (*dynastis*) he must give up triumphing over me, as well as over Hortensius, Lucullus, Philippus, for the reasons dwelt on more fully in § 2, *video iam . . . censes fore*; but if he remains hostile to them it would be absurd in him to attack us, his natural allies against the Triumvirs.

non modo] = *non modo non*. This is only found where *ne . . . quidem* is in the second clause, and both clauses have the same predicate.

cynico consulari] "'Tear-em," the ex-consul,' a name given to Cicero by Clodius in allusion to his biting repartees. In every other respect Cicero was as unlike a cynic as he could be, so 'the consular cynic' is not a translation at all. Perhaps 'snarling ex-consul' is better. We have borrowed the *sobriquet* given to the late Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons.

tonibus poterit se iactare. Non enim poterimus ulla esse invidia spoliati opibus et illa senatoria potentia. Sin autem ab iis dissentiet, erit absurdum in nos invehi. Verum tamen invehatur. Festive, mihi crede, et minore sonitu quam putaram orbis hic in republica est conversus: citius omnino quam potuit culpa Catonis, sed rursus improbitate istorum qui auspicia, qui Aeliam legem, qui Iuniam et Liciniam, qui Caeciliam et Didiam neglexerunt, qui omnia remedia rei publicae effuderunt, qui regna, qui praedia tetrarchis, qui immanis pecunias paucis dederunt. 2. Video iam quo invidia transeat et ubi sit habitatura. Nihil me existimaris neque usu neque a Theophrasto didicisse, nisi brevi tempore desiderari nostra illa tempora videris. Etenim si fuit invidiosa senatus potentia cum ea non ad populum, sed ad tris homines immode-

ulla esse invidia] So M., probably rightly: cp. v. 14, 2 (204); Rep. vi. 2.

Festive] 'Gaily has the wheel of state performed its revolution; more quickly than it could have done through the obstinacy of Cato; but, on the other hand, through the villainy of those,' &c.: cp. 48, 2, for the figure. We have restored *potuit* of the mss for the *oportuit* of Schütz accepted by Orelli, Klotz, &c. As *potuit* is used thus impersonally often in these letters (see especially 43, 2 *potueritne intercedi*; in 73, 4 *quod meritis meis perfectum potuit*), it is very rash to correct to *oportuit*. See also note on *quoquo modo potest*, 53, 14: and 73, 6 *poteritne nisi de*, &c. For *rursus* Klotz reads *prorsus*; but *rursus* of the mss is thoroughly defended by Att. vii. 6, 2 (297): cp. also Tusc. i. 45 *habitabiles regiones et rursus omni cultu . . . vacantes*, and Kühner on § 40. The sentence would certainly run better thus:—*sed citius omnino quam potuit culpa Catonis, improbitate rursus istorum, qui . . . neglexerunt.*

orbis] Cp. 48, 2; Planc. 93.

auspicia] Clodius' adoption was against the auspices, for Bibulus *semper se de caelo servasse dicebat*, Har. resp. 48. With this passage should be read Har. resp. 58, and Dom. 39.

Aeliam] See 22, 13: *quae leges saepe numero tribunicios furores debilitarunt et represserunt*, Vat. 18.

Iuniam et Liciniam] See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 5.

Caeciliam et Didiam] See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 5.

effuderunt] 'cast to the dogs all the physic for the Commonwealth': see on 24, 2.

qui regna] Manutius, followed by all the editors, refers to Vat. 29 *fecerisne foedera trib. pl. cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis*, and to an expression in Cicero's letter to Lentulus, Fam. i. 9, 7 (153), where Cicero says he questioned Vatinius *de donatione regnorum*. We may also compare Dom. 124, *Tu* (i.e. Clodius), *tu inquam capite velato, contione advocata, foculo posito, bona tui Gabinii, cui regna omnia Syrorum Arabum Persarumque donaras, consecrasti*. The reading of Klotz, *quasi* (ms *qui*) *praedia*, which we adopted previously, is a needless exaggeration. But the whole passage seems really to refer to Pompey and his party. *Istorum*, 'those friends of yours,' refers to the *dynastae*. For the high-handed way in which Pompey dealt with the kingdoms of the East, see Mommsen, R. H. iv. 143. The transaction referred to is very obscure.

2. *a Theophrasto*] Theophrastus was the successor of Aristotle in the Lyceum. Nearly all we know of his political writings is derived from Cicero, with whom he was a favourite as a writer, 43, 3: cp. Legg. iii. 14, and especially Fin. v. 11, which passage should by all means be consulted.

nostra illa tempora] from his own consulship to the consulship of Caesar, one year of public influence—two of private weight with his party. See Fam. i. 9, 12 (153).

ratos redacta sit, quid iam censes fore? Proinde isti licet faciant quos volent consules, tribunos pl., denique etiam Vatini strumam sacerdoti διβάφω vestiant, videbis brevi tempore magnos non modo eos qui nihil titubarunt sed etiam illum ipsum qui peccavit, Catonem. 3. Nam nos quidem, si per istum tuum sodalem Publium licebit, σοφιστεύειν cogitamus: si ille cogit, tum dumtaxat nos defendere, et, quod est proprium artis huius, ἐπαγγέλλομαι

ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνεσθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.

Patria propitia sit: habet a nobis, etiam si non plus quam debitum est, plus certe quam postulatum est. Male vehi malo alio gubernante quam tam ingratis vectoribus bene gubernare. 4. Sed haec coram commodius. Nunc audi quod quaeris. Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai. Antio volo Non. Mai. proficisci in Tusculanum. Sed cum e Formiano rediero—ibi esse usque ad prid. Kalend. Mai. volo—faciam statim te certiore. Terentia tibi salutem, καὶ Κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεται Τιτον τὸν Αθηναῖον.

Vatini strumam] 'let them invest the wen of Vatinius with the double-dyed toga of the augur.' Vatinius failed in his aspiration to fill the place of Metellus in the augural body (Vat. 19). In *Sest.* 135, Cicero calls Vatinius *struma civitatis*, 'the wen of the state': cp. *Plut. Cic.* 9. He is spoken of by Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 17, 3, as having disarmed scurrility by often jesting on his own personal deformities. See vol. V., pp. xlviii ff.

qui nihil titubarunt] sc. nos.

qui peccavit] sc. Cato, who impaired the *ordinum concordia*.

3. σοφιστεύειν] 'to play the sophist'; hence *quod est proprium artis huius* below, for it was the custom of the professional debaters, or *Sophists*, to profess themselves ready to meet all comers; not starting a topic themselves, but challenging any comer to put forward a proposition, which they undertook to combat; hence the Sophists did not *take the initiative*, as Cicero says he will not do here. See *Fin.* ii. 1.

cogit, tum] This is the reading of Orelli for the ms *cogitat tantum*. It no doubt makes a tolerable sense, but is rather bold. It is possible, however, that some word should be added before

cogitat, such as *contendere* (Wesenberg), *male* (Reid, comparing *De Sen.* 18), or some Greek word, e.g. *ἄντα* [sc. *στῆναι*] (Bosius), or *ἀντᾶν* (Kayser). The clause *Patria propitia sit* seems rather bald; we should expect it to be introduced by *modo*. It is just possible that *tantum modo* originally stood in that position, and afterwards got out of place, suffering the loss of *modo* (m^o) in the process.

ἄνδρ'] Hom. II. xxiv. 369.

audi quod quaeris] The codex Faerni reads *audi ad id quod quaeris*, which is, of course, good Latin: cp. *Att.* xiv. 20, 1 (727). But the reading of the mss seems equally good, 'Now listen as regards your question.'

Κικέρων] It is an ingenious conjecture of Wieland that these words are added in Greek by Cicero's son, to show that he had begun to learn Greek. But this conjecture is rendered extremely improbable by the fact that Cicero concludes the very next letter (as well as 42) with a sentence in Greek. It was merely a whim of Cicero to convey his little son's love in Greek, as he does his own in the next letter. Peerlkamp's proposal to read *Τιτὸν* or *Τιτᾶνα* for *Τίτον*, and suppose an ill-mannered, because ironical, anti-

37. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 12).

TRES TABERNAE; WRITTEN, APRIL 19TH; DESPATCHED, APRIL 20TH;

A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De iniusta P. Clodi adoptione et petitione tribunatus pl. et de rebus urbanis, de pigritia in scribendis libris, de laude Dicaearchi, de rebus familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Negent illi Publium plebeium factum esse? Hoc vero regnum est et ferri nullo pacto potest. Emittat ad me Publius qui obsignent: iurabo Gnaeum nostrum, collegam Balbi, Anti mihi narrasse *se* in auspicio fuisse. O suavis epistulas tuas uno tempore mihi datas duas! quibus εὐαγγέλια quae reddam nescio: deberi quidem plane fateor. 2. Sed vide συγκύρημα. Emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, ipsis Ceriali-

thesis between 'the pigmy Cicero and the giant Atticus,' seems to show that he did not observe that Cicero calls Atticus Τίτον in the very next letter. We hold the proper reading here to be Τίτον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, the τὸν having fallen out after -τον of Τίτον.

Negent] The subjunctive mood is used in a reply taking up indignantly a speaker's words as, *audi*. *Ego audiam?* Ter. Andr. 894; *non taces? Taceam?* Phorm. 988; Roby, 1618 *d*. This usage seems to be peculiar to Cicero's letters and the comic stage. Wesenberg is therefore mistaken when he says 'coniunctivi nulla ratio est,' and reads *negant*. Atticus had written *negant*, &c. Cicero indignantly replies *negent*, 'so they deny, do they?' The words seem to mean 'So now they deny the legality of the form of adoption.' We need not read with Orelli < *a se* > *esse*. It is of course impossible that they should deny that Clodius had appeared to be adopted into a plebeian family: but they may have said that there was informality in the process. Cicero has much to say on this point (Dom. 33 ff.).

Emittat] This word is a little strange. Perhaps it means 'send down here,' lit. 'send from the city.'

qui obsignent] 'to set their seal to my sworn testimony.'

Balbi] Balbus, an obscure person, was one of the *xxviri*. Pompey is therefore slightly called the 'colleague of Balbus.' He was probably M. Atius Balbus of Aricia (cp. Suet. Aug. 4), who was maternal grandfather of the Emperor Augustus. He must have already been praetor, as the *vigintiviri* were required to be of praetorian rank. Whether he was governor of Sardinia or not is a doubtful point: see Klebs in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., p. 2253.

in auspicio] See on 34, 2.

εὐαγγέλια] here has its classical meaning of 'reward for good tidings,' or 'a thank-offering for good tidings.' Above, 29, 1, it more probably has its post-classical meaning of 'good tidings.'

2. συγκύρημα] 'a coincidence.'

commodum] 'I had just gone out': cp. Att. xiii. 9. 1 (623): and Plaut. Cas. 593; Merc. 219 *Si istae ibis commodum obviam venies patri*, 'you will just meet your father.'

ipsis Cerialibus] 'on the very day of the Cerealia.' The last day (April 19th) of the Ludi Cereis was called the Cerealia. For *ipsis*, cp. *decem ipsos dies*, Att. v. 11 4 (200); *nunc ipsum*, Att. vii. 3, 2 (294),

bus, cum in me incurrit Roma veniens Curio meus. Ibidem ilico puer abs te cum epistulis. Ille ex me nihilne audissem novi: ego negare. 'Publius,' inquit, 'tribunatum pl. petit.' 'Quid ais?' 'Et inimicissimus quidem Caesaris et ut omnia,' inquit 'ista rescindat.' 'Quid Caesar?' inquam. 'Negat se quidquam de illius adoptione tulisse.' Deinde suum, Memmi, Metelli Nepotis exprompsit odium. Complexus iuvenem dimisi, properans ad epistulas. Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζώσης φωνῆς? Quanto magis vidi ex tuis litteris quam ex illius sermone quid ageretur! de ruminatione cotidiana, de cogitatione Publi, de lituis βρώπιδος, de signifero Athenione, de litteris missis ad Gnaeum, de Theo-

Curio] the younger, called above (20, 5) *filiole Curionis*. He it was who conveyed to Cicero the news of the growing disunion among the triumvirs (34, 3), and his own hostility to them (35, 1).

Ibidem ilico] 'at the very same moment': cp. *deinde ibidem*, 'the moment after,' Fin. i. 19; *Thebis indidem*, Nep. Epam. 5, 2. See Reid on Acad. ii. 44.

ut omnia . . . ista] Clodius, to deceive Cicero, averred that the object of his tribunate was to oppose Caesar. This blind seems to have been for some time successful. We have no clear evidence that Cicero saw plainly the real nature of his designs till about July, when he writes, *Clodius adhuc mihi denuntiat periculum* (47, 2).

tulisse] See on 34, 2.
odium] sc. towards the *triumvirs*. Memmius afterwards, as praetor, brought before the senate the acts of Caesar. Metellus Nepos was probably on bad terms with Pompey since the divorce of his half-sister Mucia, and perhaps expected to have been co-opted into his brother's place in the augural college, even though absent.

Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζώσης φωνῆς] μελίζω την ἐνέργειαν εἶναι ἀφώνων διδασκάλων, Boot, who refers to Plin. Ep. ii. 3, 9; Quintil. ii. 2, 8. They both use the Latin expression, *viva vox*. Cicero often uses Greek to supplement his own language, where we use French to supplement ours (see Introd. II. § 2 C), and also sometimes where we use Latin. The meaning is, 'Your letter is a strong disproof of the theory that there is nothing like *viva voce* communication. I learned far more from it than from my talk with Curio.'

ruminatione] This is certainly a strange word. It and *ruminari* bear the sense of repetition and going over and over again, derived from the original meaning of 'to chew the cud' (cp. Varro Menippean Sat., pp. 106, 218, ed. Riese). But it does not elsewhere, as far as we know, mean 'current talk,' 'prevailing opinions.' Dr. Reid wishes to alter to *criminatione*: and in one of the passages referred to above from Varro the mss give *criminaris*, which Aldus altered to *ruminaris*. Orelli supposes that *ruminatione* (a common mediaeval word) was a gloss on *cogitatione*. A possible correction would be *de rerum mutatione*.

de cogitatione Publi] 'about the designs of Clodius—how his sister sounds the advance; and his client, like a second Athenio, at the head of his roughs, leads the charge.' His sister is said to 'sound the advance,' because she urges her brother into hostility against Caesar; for we know she wished to mitigate his hostility to Cicero. Sex. Clodius (not Vatinius) is certainly referred to under the name of Athenio, the leader of the slaves in the rising in Sicily; but Ernesti is mistaken in supposing that there is any appropriateness in the *sobriquet* arising from the fact that Sex. Clodius (the client of P. Clodius) was a *Sicilian*. He seems to confuse this Sex. Clodius with another, a *rhetor*, who was a *Sicilian* (settled at Leontini), mentioned in Att. iv. 15, 2 (143), and in the second Philippic, § 43. We hear elsewhere (Appian Mithrad., 59) that the name Athenio was applied in contempt to Fimbria by the soldiers of Sulla.

phanis Memmiquae sermone: quantam porro mihi expectationem dedisti convivii istius ἀσελγοῦς! Sum in curiositate ὀξύπνεος, sed tamen facile patior te id ad me συμπόσιον non scribere, praesentem audire malo. 3. Quod me ut scribam aliquid hortaris, crescit mihi quidem materies, ut dicis, sed tota res etiam nunc fluctuat: κατ' ὁπώραν τρύξ. Quae si desederit, magis erunt iam liquata quae scribam: quae si statim a me ferre non potueris, primus habebis, tamen id aliquamdiu solus. 4. Dicaearchum recte amas. Luculentus homo est et civis haud paullo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίεργοι. Litteras scripsi hora decima Cerialibus statim ut tuas legeram, sed eas eram daturus, ut putaram, postridie ei qui mihi primus obviam venisset. Terentia delectata est tuis litteris. Impertit tibi multam salutem, καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολιτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεταιται.

ἀσελγοῦς] This entertainment, at which Atticus expected to gain important information as to the movements of Clodius, &c., is called *delicatum* ('smart') in 41, 1—what we might call a 'fast' entertainment, not necessarily 'wanton,' 'lascivious,' as it is sometimes understood.

3. *Quod me . . . hortaris*] Atticus probably urged him to carry out his project of writing something, *Theopompio genere*. See 33, 2.

τρύξ] 'everything is still fermenting, unsettled, like must in autumn; when the lees settle down, the material on which to employ my pen will be more *clarified*.' Iam *liquata*, the conjecture of Kayser for *indicata*, is very attractive. *Indicata* can hardly be right, though Lehmann defends it in the sense of 'decided,' 'settled' by Fam. vii. 33, 2 (474) *mihi indicatum est . . . deponere illam iam personam*, and by Att. x. 8B, 1 (385) *cum ab illorum consiliis abesse indicasti*. *Indicata* would be better; but it, too, neglects the metaphor. For *liquata*, cp. *defervisse tempore et annis liquata* (dicta), Quintil. xii. 6, 4.

tamen *id*] Such is the reading of the mss, which is unnecessarily altered by the edd., except Klotz, who rightly

explains, 'if you do not get the work from me at once, at all events you will be the first to have it; however, for a while you must keep it to yourself.' Müller, however, points out some cases where *et* and *id* are confused in M, e.g. Att. viii. 9, 4 (340) *et metuo* corr. from *id metuo*: xii. 24 fin. (560). So that a case can be made for *et*.

4. *Luculentus*] 'Dicaearchus is a splendid fellow, and very superior to our rulers, who so little show the quality which *his* name imports'—a play on the meaning of *δικαίεργος*. This is a striking example of the fact which we have already insisted upon at 10, 2, and shall have occasion again to insist on at Att. v. 20, 4 (228), that Cicero cannot resist a pun on a name when it is possible. It is remarkable, too, that in the *De Or. ii.*, a very large majority of the jokes are plays on names.

obviam venisset] For *obviam venire*, meaning 'to meet,' Boot compares Mil. 29 *fit obviam Clodio*.

Κικέρων] He playfully refers to the interchange of parts between Atticus and himself, Atticus being now the politician, and Cicero the philosopher: cp. 43, 3.

38. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 10).

APPI FORUM; APRIL 20TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat se ludos Anti spectare nolle et eum a se usque ad Non. Mai. in Formiano expectatum iri.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Volo ames meam constantiam. Ludos Anti spectare non placet. Est enim ὑποσόλοικον, quom velim vitare omnium deliciarum suspicionem, repente ἀναφαίνεσθαι non solum delicate sed etiam inepte peregrinantem. Qua re usque ad Non. Mai. te in Formiano expectabo. Nunc fac ut sciam quo die te visuri simus. Ab Appi Foro hora quarta. Dederam aliam paullo ante a Tribus Tabernis.

39. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 11).

FORMIAE; APRIL (AFTER 21ST); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se in Formiano nihil fere quid Romae fiat accipere, rogat ut puero quem miserit ponderosam epistulam det, ipsum a se in Formiano usque ad prid. Nonas Mai. expectari, Arpinum non posse invitari.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Narro tibi: plane relegatus mihi videor postea quam in Formiano sum. Dies enim nullus erat, Anti cum essem, quo die non melius scirem Romae quid ageretur quam ii qui erant Romae.

Volo ames meam constantiam] 'I want you to admire my firmness. I am determined not to be a spectator of the games at Antium. It would be rather a *bêtise*, when I desire to avoid all appearance of dissipation, suddenly to appear in the character of one not only travelling for amusement, but for foolish amusement': see on 27, 1. It is a mistake to take the sentence ironically, as Boot does, as if it meant, 'you must admire my consistency' (i. e. inconsistency in changing my plans so soon). Cicero often announces a change of plan in immediately successive

letters, and would not have made so much of it here. Besides *constans* is usually *firm* in Cicero: see 20, 5, 6. Cicero himself carried a bill forbidding gladiatorial shows, *biennio quo quis petat petiturusve sit nisi ex testamento praestituta die*, Vat. 37.

Tribus Tabernis] mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xxviii. 15, on the Appian Way between Aricia and Forum Appii.

1. Narro tibi] See on 22, 10.

die] repeated to show that *quo* does not go with *melius*.

Etenim litterae tuae non solum quid Romae sed etiam quid in re publica, neque solum quid fieret verum etiam quid futurum esset indicabant. Nunc, nisi si quid ex praetereunte viatore exceptum est, scire nihil possumus. Qua re quamquam iam te ipsum exspecto, tamen isti puero quem ad me statim iussi recurrere da ponderosam aliquam epistulam, plenam omnium non modo actorum sed etiam opinionum tuarum, ac diem quo Roma sis exiturus cura ut sciam. 2. Nos in Formiano esse volumus usque ad prid. Nonas Mai. Eo si ante eam diem non veneris, Romae te fortasse videbo. Nam Arpinum quid ego te invitem?

τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, οὗτ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε
ἥς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

Haec igitur. Cura ut valeas.

40. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 13).

FORMIAE; APRIL 23RD (ABOUT); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero dolet suam epistulam a Tribus Tabernis ad suavissimas Attici epistulas rescriptam non esse redditam: in agris atque in regione Formiana maiorem de rebus urbanis rumorem atque indignationem esse quam Romae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Facinus indignum! Epistulam αὐθωρεῖ tibi a Tribus Tabernis rescriptam ad tuas suavissimas epistulas neminem reddidisse! At scito eum fasciculum quo illam conieceram domum eo ipso die latum esse quo ego dederam et ad me in Formianum relatum esse. Itaque tibi tuam epistulam iussi referri ex qua intellegeres quam mihi tum illae gratae fuissent. 2. Romae quod scribis

exceptum] 'snapped up': cp. 32, 1.
ponderosam] Cp. 19, 1 *qui epistulam paullo graviorem ferre possit nisi eam pellectione relevavit*. There there is a play on the two meanings of *gravis*, 'heavy' (physically) and 'weighty,' 'important.' It is to avoid any such ambiguity that Cicero here uses *ponderosam* (a word not found in his other writings); he wants a heavy, bulky packet full of the details of affairs at Rome, with Atticus' comments on them.

2. τρηχεῖ, &c.] Hom. Od. ix. 27, the description of Ithaca. Arpinum is again connected with Ithaca, De Legg. ii. 3.

Haec igitur] Cp. Att. v. 18, 2 (218). See also Adn. Crit.

1. αὐθωρεῖ] *ibidem ilico*, 37, 2.
tuam epistulam] Here *tua ep.* means a letter to you, though *tuas ep.* above means letters from you, and also below, if we were to read, as Ernesti suggests,

sileri, ita putabam. At hercule in agris non siletur nec iam ipsi agri regnum vestrum ferre possunt. Si vero in hanc Τηλέπυλον veneris Δαιστρυγονίην—Formias dico—qui fremitus hominum! quam irati animi! quanto in odio noster amicus Magnus! cuius cognomen una cum Crassi Divitis cognomine consenescit. Credas mihi velim, neminem adhuc offendi qui haec tam lente quam ego fero ferret. Qua re, mihi crede, φιλοσοφῶμεν. Iuratus tibi possum dicere nihil esse tanti. Tu si litteras ad Sicyonios habes, advola in Formianum unde nos pridie Nonas Maias cogitamus.

tuae illae for tum illae. So in Att. vii. 24, 1 (323) *Cassii litterae* of the Med. should not have been changed by Bosius to *Cassio*, for *Cassii litterae* means, 'letter to Cassius.' So Augustus in Suetonius Vit. Horat. speaks of letters to his friends as *amicorum epistolae*; Nonius (83, 25) speaks of Cicero's letter to Paetus (Fam. ix. 20) as *Paeti epistola*.

2. *sileri*] *sc. de actis Caesaris.*

Δαιστρυγονίην] Hom. Od. x. 81, where it is called Δάμου αἰὲν πολλέθρον. Hor. Carm. iii. 17 ascribes the founding of Formiae to Lamus; and Pliny calls Formiae antiqua Laestrygonum sedes, Nat. Hist. iii. 59. Hence Cicero here calls Formiae Laestrygonia.

consenescit] 'grows obsolete.' Some edd. would obelise *Formias dico*, *Magnus*, and *Divitis*, as if Cicero should not be permitted to explain his meaning when he chooses. Would he had done so oftener!

Crassi Divitis] The connexion with *Magnus* requires us to take this as referring to the triumvir, who was certainly called Crassus the Rich (Fin. iii. 75). Pompey used to be 'Pompey the Great'; now he is no longer 'the Great': Crassus used to be 'Crassus the Rich'; his influence is now fading, and he is becoming but plain Crassus. If Cicero referred to the Crassus Dives who became bankrupt, he would have used a stronger word than *consenescit*, something like *evanuit*, *deperit*, or the like. For another Crassus Dives who

was *index quaestionis* in this year, see 51, 4.

qui haec tam lente, . . . ferret] 'I have met no one to compare with myself in the callousness with which I look on it all.'

nihil esse tanti] Boot (in ed. 1), after Madvig, explained this, 'I assure you nothing is of any consequence; it is not worth the trouble of annoying oneself.' So in Att. v. 8, 3 (193), he explains *nihil nobis fuerat tanti* in these words: 'tum cum res acta est totum negotium non curaveram nec animadverteram.' It is quite true that *tanti est*, and *non tanti est*, often mean 'it is worth while' (cp. Cat. i. 22), and 'it is not worth the trouble.' But in these two passages this explanation is extremely forced. In the passage in the fifth book it is hard to see Madvig's meaning, while the natural interpretation is, 'he must not buy Milo's property against his will; I would not have this done for anything.' So here we must, if we accept Madvig's view, supply some such expression as *aegre ferre*, or else make Cicero merely say, 'it is of no consequence.' Is not the meaning rather 'there is nothing like philosophy'? (So Boot explains in ed. 2.) Cp. also 26, 2 *nullam rem tanti existimassem*, 'I should have deemed nothing worth such a price' (as the sacrifice of principle). However, in Hor. A. P. 304, *nil tanti est* probably means 'nothing is worth it' (i.e. worth the loss of one's reason).

litteras ad Sicyonios] Cp. 25, 9.

41. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 14.).

FORMIAE; BETWEEN APRIL 25TH AND 28TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59;
AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero significat Atticum sibi magnam expectationem movisse rerum urbanarum quas nuntiaverit eiusque adventum expectat, de Cn. Pompeio veretur ne ruere incipiat, in Formiano sibi ad scribendum otium non dari, sed commodissime tamen ibi Atticum expectari: spem etiam de scribendo facit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantam tu mihi moves expectationem de sermone Bibuli, quantam de colloquio βοώπιδος, quantam etiam de illo delicato convivio! Proinde ita fac venias ut ad sitientis auris. Quamquam nihil est iam quod magis timendum nobis putem quam ne ille noster Sampsiceramus, quom se omnium sermonibus sentiet vapulare et quom has actiones εὐανατρέπτους videbit, ruere incipiat. Ego autem usque eo sum enervatus ut hoc otio quo nunc tabescimus malim ἐντυραννεῖσθαι quam cum optima spe dimicare. 2. De pangendo, quod me crebro adhortaris, fieri nihil potest. Basilicam

1. *de sermone Bibuli*] If Bibuli is sound, the reference must be to some conversation between Atticus and Bibulus (probably about his obstruction of the comitia by watching the heavens) of which we do not hear elsewhere. The mention of *mirificos cum Publio dialogos* (36, 1) naturally suggested to many editors the correction of *Publi* for *Bibuli*. But such a change would be rash, considering of what πράγματα ὑστέκλωστα the letters are composed.

delicato] See on 37, 2.
[*ut*] added by Udalbinus. Müller reads *quasi*. But, perhaps, Plugers is right in reading *cito* for *ita*.

Sampsiceramus] one of the many nick-names for Pompey, most of which are high-sounding Oriental names coined or applied to travesty his Eastern victories. This Sampsiceramus was a king in Coele-Syria (cp. 50, 2). So we might call a general 'the Mikado' if he made too much of victories in Japan. Pompey appears to have been very boastful about his Eastern conquests: cp. Dolabella, in Fam. ix. 9, 2 (409), *animadvertis Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui nec rerum gestarum gloria neque etiam regum ac*

nationum clientels, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum.

sermonibus sentiet vapulare] Cp. Quintus Cicero, Fam. xvi. 26, 1 (814), *Verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convivio.*

has actiones] sc. of Caesar and Vatinius.
ruere] 'to become violent,' 'to throw off the restraint of the laws': cp. Sest. 133 *cum cotidie rueret*. Cicero fears that Pompey may be the author of a *coup d'état*.

ἐντυραννεῖσθαι] 'to live under a despotism': cp. 36, 3. Mr. W. Headlam, in a communication kindly sent to us, notices that *ἐν*- can be prefixed to any Greek verb, meaning 'exercise . . . upon'; adding that, in Eurip. Bacch. 192, grammar is restored by correcting with Musgrave οὐδ' ἐνσοφιδέμεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσιν. He justly refuses to alter ἐμπολιτεύομαι in Att. vii. 7, 7 (298).

2. *Basilicam*] 'My villa is turned into a Basilica, so thronged is it with my Formian visitors.' The basilica, which was both a court of Justice and an Exchange, had two colonnades, which were the haunt of the Roman men of business, as well as the loungers; hence *subbasilicani* is the Latin term for *flâneurs*.

habeo, non villam, frequentia Formianorum. †At quam partem† basilicae tribum Aemilium! 'Sed—omitto vulgus—post horam quartam molesti ceteri non sunt.' C. Arrius proximus est vicinus, immo ille quidem iam contubernalis, qui etiam se idcirco Romam ire negat ut hic mecum totos dies philosophetur. Ecce ex altera parte Sebosus, ille Catuli familiaris. Quo me vertam? Statim mehercule Arpinum irem, ni te in Formiano commodissime expectari viderem dumtaxat ad prid. Nonas Maias. Vides enim quibus hominibus aures sint deditae meae. O occasionem mirificam, si qui nunc, dum hi apud me sunt, emere de me fundum Formianum velit. Et tamen illud probem 'Magnum quid aggrediamur et multae cogitationis atque otii'? Sed tamen satis fiet a nobis neque parcetur labori.

At quam] *Partem* is the conjecture of Bosius (which is generally accepted) for *partem* of the mss. The Formians were enrolled in the Aemilian tribe. The meaning evidently is 'Basilica, did I say?—what basilica would hold the Aemilian tribe'? But how get this out of the words which are obelised, even introducing the Bosian correction? 'But what Aemilian tribe (do I speak of) equal [only] to a basilica?' Is such a mode of expression possible for Cicero? Boot, feeling, no doubt, that it was not possible, suggests *atque imparem basilicam tribui Aemiliae*; but this is too daring. Man. and Lamb. *at comparem basilicae tribum Aemilium*. We might suggest *at aequiparem basilicae tribum Aemilium*? or, *at cui aequiparem basilicae tribum Aemilium*, or *at quartam basilicae partem tribum Aemilium* (i.e. three-fourths of those who call on me are not Roman citizens at all). Dr. Reid conjectures *at quam partem basilica tribus Aemiliae* (sc. *capiet*), which is rather too harsh an ellipse. Mr. Shuckburgh interprets *basilica* as the visitors at a *basilica*, as we might use the word 'house' for visitors at a theatre; and reads *comparem*. 'But (you'll say) do I really compare the Aemilian tribe to a crowd in a basilica?' If we understand *habeo* as in *Fam. xvi. 17, 1* (653), *Att. xiv. 6, 2* (708), we might translate, without altering the text, 'yet as what portion of the basilica have I the Aemilian

tribe?' i.e. what portion are genuine Roman citizens? All sorts and conditions of dwellers at Formiae called on Cicero, not merely genuine resident Roman citizens.

Sed—omitto . . . sunt] These words are usually attributed to Cicero, but then his excuse for not writing falls to the ground. If he has no serious interruption after the fourth hour, he has abundance of time for composition. We have put inverted commas to show that these are words put into the mouth of Atticus by Cicero. Boot avoids the difficulty by printing a note of interrogation after *sunt*, but *nonne* would then have been used. Perhaps we should read *mitto* for *omitto*; cp. the passage from Ter. *Phormio*, quoted below at 46, 1, where *mitto* means, 'I say nothing of.'

Arrius] This name appears three times in the Formian Inscriptions, C. I. L. x. 6101, 6122, 6136, all three 'in villa Ciceroniana.'

Ecce] See on 35, 1.

dumtaxat ad] 'but only up to the day before the Nones (May 6), for you see what bores I have to listen to': cp. 1, 4, *aures dedissem*.

Magnum quid] Cicero quotes a former promise of his own that he would undertake some great work, and asks how he is to make his promise good under his present circumstances. It is a mistake to assign these words to Atticus.

42. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 15).

FORMIAE; BETWEEN APRIL 25TH AND 28TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59;

AET. CIC. 47.

Attici epistulas laudat ex quibus quae Romae fiant recte se agnoscere ait, et de rebus Romanis, maxime de exspectato tribunatu Clodii, agit, de hominibus urbanis qui se viserint, de Terentiae negotio et rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ut scribis, ita video non minus incerta in re publica quam in epistula tua, sed tamen ista ipsa me varietas sermonum opinionumque delectat. Romae enim videor esse cum tuas litteras lego et, ut fit in tantis rebus, modo hoc, modo illud audire. Illud tamen explicare non possum, quidnam inveniri possit nullo recusante ad facultatem agrariam. 2. Bibuli autem ista magnitudo animi in comitiorum dilatione quid habet nisi ipsius iudicium sine ulla correctione rei publicae? Nimirum in Publio spes est. Fiat, fiat tribunus pl., si nihil aliud, ut eo citius tu ex Epiro revertare. Nam ut illo tu careas non video posse fieri, praesertim si mecum aliquid volet disputare. Sed id quidem non dubium est quin, si quid erit eius modi, sis advolaturus. Verum ut hoc non sit, tamen sive ruet sive eriget rem publicam, praeclarum spectaculum mihi

1. *Ut scribis*] 'I see it is as you say: the shifting condition of public affairs is reflected in your letter.'

inveniri possit] 'what generally acceptable plan can be devised': see 43, 1 *ex familiari te illius audisse prolatum iri aliquid quod nemo improbare*. It is improbable that, if Cicero had written *invenire*, he would not have expressed the subject to *possit*, which must be Caesar.

ad facultatem agrariam] 'for the solution of the agrarian question. *Facultatem* is explained by Cicero's own definition in de Inv. i. 41 *facultates sunt aut quibus facilius fit aut sine quibus aliquid confici non potest*.

2. *Bibuli autem*] 'The firmness of Bibulus in impeding the comitia is only an exposition of his own views, but has no moral influence on public affairs in any way.' But could the sentence mean 'what is the effect of Bibulus' firmness,

but to give us a truer insight into his character? In Fam. i. 7, 5 (114) *facti iudicium* is 'the verdict on one's conduct.'

in Publio spes] Cicero thought he would resist Caesar.

si nihil aliud] Boot compares 2 Verr. i. 152.

ut illo tu careas] This must be said in a playful way, as if Atticus were so charmed with the society of Clodius that he could no longer keep away from him: compare *tuum sodalem*, 36, 3. But is it not possible that a *non* dropped out before *careas*, owing to the immediate consecution of another *non*? *Illo* should then be changed to *illa*, referring to Epiro, 'it is impossible but that you must absent yourself from it' (Epirus); *ut illa* (or *illo loco*) *tu non careas non video posse fieri*.

ruet sive eriget] 'whether he will throw off all restraint or lend a helping hand to the state.' For *sive eriget*, which is the reading of Corradus, cp. Att. viii. 12 c,

propono, modo te consessore spectare liceat. 3. Cum haec maxime scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus! Nondum plane ingemueram, 'Salve,' inquit Arrius. Hoc est Roma decedere! Quos ego homines effugi, cum in hos incidi? Ego vero

in montis patrios et ad incunabula nostra

pergam. Denique, si solus non potuero, cum rusticis potius quam cum his perurbanis, ita tamen ut, quoniam tu certi nihil scribis, in Formiano tibi praestoler usque ad *a. d.* III. Nonas Maias. 4. Terentiae pergrata est adsiduitas tua et diligentia in controversia Mulviana. Nescit omnino te communem causam defendere eorum qui agros publicos possideant. Sed tamen tu aliquid publicanis pendis: haec etiam id recusat. Ea tibi igitur et *Κικέρων, ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς*, salutem dicunt.

43. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 16).

FORMIAE; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De agro Campano viritim dividendo lege Iulia, de quo scripserat Atticus, de otio suo litterario, quod iam rei publicae tractandae anteponat, de Q. fratris mansione in Asia et de iis negotiis de quibus ille in litteris suis egerit: se Atticum in Arpinati exspectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cenato mihi et iam dormitanti prid. K. Maias epistula est

3 (329). CZ have *-get*. The other mss omit the word, M having a lacuna of six letters. Hence perhaps Dr. Reid is right in reading *sive geret*, which is preferable to *sive reget* of Müller.

3. *Cum haec maxime*] 'Just as I had got to this point in my letter, lo and behold you, Sebosus!' *maxime*, like *μάλιστα*, means 'just,' 'precisely.' For *ecce tibi*, see on 35, 1.

in montis] Probably from Cicero's poem on Marius. This poem is referred to by Cicero in *De Legg.* i. 1, and part of it quoted in *De Div.* i. 106.

si solus non potuero] Dr. Reid thinks we must add *esse* after *solus*. Boot proposes *si solus non potuero, ero cum rusticis*, with some probability. But the verb is sometimes strangely omitted in the *apodosis* by Cicero, as in 22, 3 *iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu*.

4. *controversia Mulviana*] Mulvius, a

publicanus, or an agent of the publicani, demanded rent from Terentia for some public land which she held rent-free under the law of 673 (111), probably the *lex Baebia*: see Momm. *Rom. Hist.* iii. 134, and Wordsworth, *Fragments of Early Latin*, p. 441. Mulvius held that this law was no longer in force. Atticus, in espousing the cause of Terentia, was maintaining the common cause of all who held public land, himself among the number; though he was willing to pay some small rent, while Terentia claimed to hold the land rent-free.

ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς] 'a most conservative lad,' 'a true follower of the *optimates*.' The fact that here again he conveys the salutation of his son in Greek shows the baselessness of Wieland's ingenious notion mentioned on 36, 4.

1. *Cenato*] 'As I was taking a sleep

illa reddita in qua de agro Campano scribis. Quid quaeris? Primo ita me pupugit ut somnum mihi ademerit, sed id cogitatione magis quam molestia. Cogitanti autem haec fere succurrebant: primum ex eo quod superioribus litteris scripseras, ex familiari te illius audisse prolatum iri aliquid quod nemo improbare, maius aliquid timueram: hoc mihi eius modi non videbatur. Deinde, ut me egomet consoler, omnis expectatio largitionis agrariae in agrum Campanum videtur esse derivata: qui ager, ut dena iugera sint, non amplius homines quinque milia potest sustinere, reliqua omnis multitudo ab illis abalienetur necesse est. Praeterea, si ulla res est quae bonorum animos quos iam video esse commotos, vehementius possit incendere, haec certe est, et eo magis quod portoriis Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum praeter vicensimam? quae mihi videtur una continua clamore pedisequorum nostrorum esse peritura. 2. Gnaeus quidem noster iam plane quid cogitet nescio;

φυσᾷ γὰρ οὐ μικροῖσιν ἀλίσκοις ἔτι,
ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι, φορβειᾷς ἄτερ·

qui quidem etiam istuc adduci potuerit. Nam adhuc haec ἐσοφίζετο, se leges Caesaris probare: actiones ipsum praestare debere:

after dinner, I received your letter about the free distribution of land in Campania. Briefly to describe its effect, first it startled me so much that it banished all my drowsiness, but this was rather by reason of the train of thought it awakened than any distress it caused me.

eius modi] sc. *maius aliquid*, 'a sweeping measure' (Watson).

in . . . derivata] 'drawn off to.'

ut dena iugera sint] 'supposing the allotments to be 10 iugera a-piece.'

homines] This is the reading of M. In his dissertation (*Ueber die Sprache der Epistolographen Galba und Balbus*, pp. 13-14), Hellmuth quotes many passages where *milia* is joined with a substantive in the same case, especially when the substantive precedes the numeral, e.g. Varro R. R. ii. 1, 14 *sestertiis milibus sexaginta*; Caes. B. C. ii. 18, 4 *tritici modios cxx milia*; Liv. xxxviii. 38, 13 *argenti probi talenta Attica xii milia*; and numerous others: cp. note to Fam. x. 17, 1 (872). The numeral seems to be in apposition.

quinque milia] Suetonius states that

the land was distributed among twenty thousand families (Suet. Caes. 20).

portoriis] The customs-duties had been abolished in Italian ports by Q. Metellus Nepos in his praetorship the year before this letter was written: cp. 30, 33 *nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis*.

domesticum] 'home tax.'

vicensimam] 5 per cent. on manumitted slaves.

pedisequorum] 'lackeys,' the class referred to in 27, 8 *an libertinis atque etiam servis serviamus*.

2. *φυσᾷ γὰρ*] Soph. Frag. (701 ed. Nauck). The wrong accent *φορβείας* was corrected by Koch to *φορβειᾷς*. The *φορβειᾷ* was a mouthband of leather which softened the note; so Pompey is said to 'blow wildly with fierce blasts': cp. Longinus De Subl. 32 *φλοιδῶδης γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ φυσῶν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα 'μικροῖς μὲν ἀλίσκοισι φορβειᾷς ὄ' ἄτερ.'*

qui quidem] 'seeing that he has been induced to go so far (as to allow the distribution of land), I know not where he may stop. For hitherto he used to chop logic about the matter, . . . but now, O mighty

agrariam legem sibi placuisse : potuerit intercedi neque nihil ad se pertinere ; de rege Alexandrino placuisse sibi aliquando confici : Bibulus de caelo tum servasset neque sibi quaerendum non fuisse : de publicanis, voluisse se illi ordini commodare : quid futurum fuerit, si Bibulus tum in forum descendisset, se divinare non potuisse. Nunc vero, Sampsicerame, quid dices ? vectigal te nobis in monte Antilibano constituisse, agri Campani abstulisse ? Quid ? hoc quem ad modum obtinebis ? 'Oppressos vos,' inquit, 'tenebo exercitu Caesaris.' Non mehercule me tu quidem tam isto exercitu quam ingratis animis eorum hominum qui appellantur boni, qui mihi non modo praemiorum sed ne sermonum quidem umquam fructum ullum aut gratiam rettulerunt. 3. Quod si in eam me partem incitarem, profecto iam aliquam reperirem resistendi viam. Nunc prorsus hoc statui ut, quoniam tanta controversia est Dicae-archo, familiari tuo, cum Theophrasto, amico meo, ut ille tuus τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem τὸν θεωρητικόν, utrique a me mos gestus esse videatur. Puto enim me

Pasha, what have you to say ? That you have established a revenue on the Antilibanus (from the conquest of Judæa and Syria), and have sacrificed the revenue from the Campanian domain ? How will you make good this ? 'Mr. Watson justly observes, 'If Pompey did say this, he used a good argument.' *Adhuc* is opposed to *nunc vero*, the intervening clauses setting forth the 'quibbles' of Pompey. *Praestare*, 'to be responsible for.'

agrariam legem] This was the first agrarian law of Caesar, in which he proposed to purchase land other than the *ager publicus*, but to exempt the Campanian ; 'whether it could legally have been vetoed or not was no concern of his.' For *potuerit* used impersonally, see note on 36, 1.

de rege Alexandrino] Ptolemy Auletes, who was made the ally of the Roman people this year.

confici] This is the Ciceronian form. His correspondents Sulpicius and Balbus use *confieri* : cp. note to Fam. iv. 5, 1 (555).

voluisse se illi ordini] 'he was willing to oblige the equestrian order ; he could not have prophesied what would have been the consequence of Bibulus' appearance in the forum' (to impede the measures of Caesar). The consequence was, that Bibulus was assaulted and driven

from the forum (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 6). Pompey showed his willingness to oblige the equites by supporting the law of Caesar, to which Dio refers, xxxviii. 7, 4 : τοὺς δ' ἱππέας [ἀνηρτήσατο] τὸ τρίτημόριον σφίσι τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐμεμίσθωντο ἀφελί· πᾶσαι τε γὰρ αἱ τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις τῆς βουλῆς δεηθέντες ὅπως ἐκδικίας τίνος τύχασιν οὐχ εὗροντο. See 23, 9.

Nunc vero] Now that Caesar has introduced a law which made the Campanian land available for distribution. Caesar's first Agrarian Law, proposed in February, exempted the Ager Campanus and the Campus Stellatis ; but these were incorporated in the land to be distributed by a revised draft of the law proposed in April : cp. Plut. Cat. min. 33 init.

obtainere] 'make good' (vindicate from adverse criticism).

exercitu Caesaris] The army was really Pompey's own (Plut. Pomp. 48, Caes. 14) ; but he wished to put the invidiousness of using force on the consul, who had supreme command of the army.

qui appellantur boni] 'the so-called constitutionalists have not made me any return for my services even in the way of words, much less in substantial rewards' : cp. *fructus auctoritatis*, 'a reward in the way of influence,' De Sen. 62.

3. *Theophrasto*] See 36, 2.

Dicaearcho adfatim satis fecisse: respicio nunc ad hanc familiam quae mihi non modo ut requiescam permittit sed reprehendit quia non semper quierim. Qua re incumbamus, o noster Tite, ad illa praeclara studia et eo unde discedere non oportuit aliquando revertamur. 4. Quod de Quinti fratris epistula scribis ad me quoque fuit πρόσθε λέων ὀπιθεν δὲ . . . quid dicam nescio. Nam ita deplorat primis versibus mansionem suam ut quemvis movere possit: ita rursus remittit ut me roget ut annalis suos emendem et edam. Illud tamen quod scribis animadvertas velim, de portorio circumvectionis: ait se de consili sententia rem ad senatum reiecis-
isse. Nondum videlicet meas litteras legerat quibus ad eum re consulta et explorata perscripseram non deberi. Velim si qui Graeci iam Romam ex Asia de ea causa venerunt videas et, si tibi videbitur, iis demonstres quid ego de ea re sentiam. Si possum discedere, ne causa optima in senatu pereat, ego satis faciam publi-

familiam] 'school' (of philosophy): De Div. ii. 3.

4. πρόσθε λέων, ὀπιθεν δὲ] δράκων μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα, Hom. Il. vi. 181. Not a very apt quotation, for Cicero seems only to mean that the letter showed a marked change of tone: there is no appropriateness even in λέων (though quid dicam nescio would imply that there is), for we see that the beginning of the letter was of anything but a lion-like character. Atticus seems to have received an equally self-contradictory letter, as Cicero says ad me quoque.

mansionem] Quintus Cicero was now in the third year of his government of Asia.

remittit] 'tones down.'

annalis] See note on 30, 44.

scribis] This is the reading of the mss, usually changed to scribit; but we see from the words ad me quoque that Atticus had also received a letter from Quintus, from which, no doubt, he quoted something about the portorium circumvectionis.

de portorio circumvectionis] port-dues on goods being removed from harbour unsold, and therefore transported to another harbour. On goods brought into harbour and there sold the tax would of course be levied (except in Italy). The publicani claimed the right to enforce the tax on goods unsold; the traders maintained they were not liable. Quintus referred the matter to the senate. Cicero, in his letter not yet received by Quintus, had decided

in favour of the traders.

de consili sententia] 'by the advice of his assessors,' an informal sort of privy council which the governor of a Roman province used on occasions to summon to aid his decisions: cp. Sall. Jug. 62.

Si possum discedere] 'If I can, to save the good cause, the *ordinum concordia*, get out of my opinion (expressed in my letter to Quintus, that the traders are in the right), I shall do what the publicani want. But if not (I tell you candidly), I prefer the interests of the whole of Asia, and with it the bankers, for it is a matter of great moment to them.' Manutius explains *si possum consequi ne Graeci causa cadant*, just as Terence, in Phorm. 773, has, *modo ut hoc consilio possiet discedi ut istam ducat*, 'if only we could get out of the thing on the terms that he should marry her.' But *causa optima* certainly means 'the policy of the optimates,' not 'the interests of the Greeks,' as Manutius maintains: cp. 27, 6 *non ut ego de optima illa mea ratione decederem*. It is very doubtful, as Madvig (A. C. iii. 168) says, whether *ne* can be taken for *ita ut non*. The sentence would certainly run better if *ita* were inserted before *discedere* (as Wesenberg suggested), or *ut* were inserted before *ne*. No correction of *discedere* seems necessary, neither *discutere* (Orelli), nor *disceptare* (Wesenberg), nor *dispicere* (Boott), nor even *decidere* in the sense of 'making a compromise,' cp. 5, 1 (Madvig). For

canis, εἰ δὲ μή—vere tecum loquar—in hac re malo universae Asiae et negotiatoribus: nam eorum quoque vehementer interest. Hoc ego sentio valde nobis opus esse. Sed tu id videbis. Quaestores autem, quaeso, num etiam de cistophoro dubitant? Nam si aliud nihil erit, cum erimus omnia experti, ego ne illud quidem contemnam. Quod extremum est: te in Arpinati videbimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus, quoniam maritimum hoc contempsisti.

44. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 17).

FORMIAE; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero de misera condicione rei publicae queritur in adfinitate et coniunctione Cn. Pompeii et C. Caesaris, nec tam εὐελπιστῶς, ut antea, quam ἀδιαφορῶς se consolatur. Vult tamen scire quo animo Cn. Pompeius, quem Arabarchae nomine significat, in se sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Prorsus, ut scribis, ita sentio. Turbat Sampsiceramus. Nihil est quod non timendum sit, ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται. Quid enim ista repentina adfinitatis coniunctio, quid ager Campanus, quid effusio pecuniae significant? Quae si essent

this use of *discedere* in the sense of 'getting out of a difficulty,' cp. 53, 16; 48, 6.

malo . . . Asiae] Cp. *cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi non sunt amici*, Fam. i. 1, 3 (95); *quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum?* 53, 10, and Dr. Holden's excellent note on Planc. 59. So also Hofmann. But it would be quite possible to understand *satis facere* with *malo*.

Hoc] sc. posse me discedere a sententia mea.

nobis] sc. optimatibus.

num etiam] 'do they still hesitate about the question of paying in Roman or Asiatic currency?'; not as Schütz takes it, 'do they hesitate about paying even in cistophori?'. They could not refuse to supply Quintus with money for his government.

Quod extremum est] 'the last thing I have to say is.'

agresti] sc. Arpinati.

maritimum] sc. Formianum.

1. *Turbat*] This is the probable correction of Pius. The mss have *turbatur*,

which might possibly mean the same thing as *ruit* in 41, 1, but would be ἀπαξ εἰρημέρον in this sense; or it might mean 'has lost his head,' cp. Quintil. v. 7, 11 *turbantur enim* (sc. testes) *et a patris diversae partis inducuntur in laqueos et plus deprenti nocent quam firmi et interriti profuissent*. *Turbat* means 'is fomenting a revolution': in the next sentence he says in Greek (no doubt because the sentiment is a daring one), 'he is undoubtedly plotting a coup d'état.'

adfinitatis] Pompey's marriage with Caesar's daughter Julia.

quid ager Campanus, quid effusio pecuniae] These two questions refer to the two heads of the Julian Law—(1) that the public domain in Campania should be distributed; (2) that the other Italian estates should be purchased by the State and divided; it is to this second head that *effusio pecuniae* refers. The first provision was carried out at once; the second never was, for Clodius, in his tribunate, assigned the money intended for the purchase of the land to Gabinius, when going to Syria, cp. De Dom. 23.

extrema, tamen esset nimium mali, sed ea natura rei est ut haec extrema esse non possint. Quid enim eos haec ipsa per se delectare possunt? Numquam huc venissent, nisi ad res alias pestiferas aditus sibi compararent. Di immortales! Verum, ut scribis, haec in Arpinati a. d. vi. circiter Id. Maias non deflebimus, ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit, sed conferemus tranquillo animo. 2. Neque tam me *ἐνελπιστία* consolatur, ut antea, quam *ἀδιαφορία*, qua nulla in re tam utor quam in hac civili et publica. Quin etiam, quod est subinane in nobis et non *ἀφιλόδοξον*—bellum est enim sua vitia nosse—id adficitur quadam delectatione. Solebat enim me pungere ne Sampsicerami merita in patriam ad annos sescentos maiora viderentur quam nostra; hac quidem cura certe iam vacuus sum. Iacet enim ille sic ut *πτῶσις* Curiana stare videatur. 3. Sed haec coram. Tu tamen videris mihi Romae fore ad nostrum adventum: quod sane facile patiar, si tuo commodo fieri possit. Sin, ut scribis, ita venies, velim ex

Verum, ut scribis] 'But, as you say in your letter, when we meet in my Arpinate villa all these topics may be—I will not say wept over by us, for then we should prove that all the labour and midnight oil spent on our studies had gone for nought—but talked over calmly together.' *Philosophiae* was, of course, at once suggested for *philologiae*. But (1) this is to cut the knot; the easy *philosophiae* would never have given place to the difficult *philologiae* in the mss; (2) *philologiae* may be taken to mean 'literary pursuits' (including, of course, those philosophical works which enjoin fortitude under adversity): cp. Att. xiii. 12, 3 (626) *homines nobiles illi quidem sed nullo modo philologi*; (3) in a very difficult passage, Q. Fr. ii. 8, 3 (123), *nos ita philologi sumus ut cum fabris habitare possimus*, the word *philologi* seems to mean 'immersed in literary pursuits'; and so *philologiae* here would merely mean 'studies' or 'literary pursuits,' with especial reference to his study of Theophrastus, Dicaearchus, &c., whose works he has been recently reading.

2. *ἐνελπιστία*] 'hopefulness,' 'a sanguine temper.'
ἀδιαφορία] 'indifference,' 'nonchalance.'

quod est subinane] 'that little strain of vanity and self-conceit in my nature—it is a good thing to know one's own faults—feels a sensation of pleasure. It used to

annoy me to think that the services of "the Sheikh" to his country might seem greater than mine in the course of the next 600 years. It (my vanity) is now quite free from any such apprehension.' *Id* before *afficitur* (which is usually omitted by the edd., though found in the Med.) is inserted by Cicero expressly to show the construction. For *ad annos* dc, see on 32, 1.

πτῶσις Curiana] This is the Bosian correction of *phocis* of the ms. Strange to say, he does not claim ms authority for it. Probably he thought it good enough to rest on its own merits. So it seems to us. Curius was a man of very bad character, and addicted to gambling. He was one of the associates of Catiline. He had reached quaestorian rank, but was expelled by the censors from the senate (Sall. Cat. 23). 'Pompey,' says Cicero, 'has fallen so low that the fallen Curius seems, in comparison with him, to stand erect.' Cicero is prone to this figurative use of *stare*: cp. Att. vi. 3, 4 (264) *stante vel etiam sedente Pompeio*; Att. v. 18, 2 (218) *stantis animis*. The *πτῶσις Curiana* is the *faux pas* or 'trip' which cost him his place in the senate, and probably led to his general disgrace: cp. note to 32, 3.

3. *tamen*] 'Yet (though I thought you would come to me to Arpinum) you seem likely to be at Rome when I arrive there.'

Theophane expiscere quonam in me animo sit Arabarches. Quaeres scilicet κατὰ τὸ κηδεμονικόν et ad me ab eo quasi ὑποθήκας adferes quem ad modum me geram. Aliquid ex eius sermone poterimus περὶ τῶν ὄλων suspicari.

45. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO EPIRUS (ATT. II. 18).

ROME; JUNE OR JULY; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero scribit Attico nullam in civitate spem esse recuperandae libertatis, unum Curionem adulescentem adversari et laudari a bonis, summum dolorem esse bonorum omnium atque desperationem, liberiozem etiam interdum sermonem: sibi a Caesare legationem offerri, liberam etiam legationem dari: hanc se antepone in qua quum velit adesse possit. De Statio manu misso et optato adventu Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acepi aliquot epistulas tuas: ex quibus intellexi quam suspensio animo et sollicito scire avenes quid esset novi. Tenemur undique neque iam quo minus serviamus recusamus, sed mortem et eiectionem quasi maiora timemus, quae multo sunt minora. Atque hic status qui nunc est una voce omnium gemitur, neque verbo

expiscere] 'I wish you would fish out from Theophanes how "the Sheikh" (Pompey) is disposed towards me.'

Arabarches] was the ἐπιστάτης of Thebais. To his district belonged the land from the Nile to the Red Sea, which in a special sense is called *Arabia*, see Mayor on Juv. i. 130. Here the word is used as a nickname of Pompey. Orelli reads *Alabarches*, which Bosius states he found in Z. The *Alabarches* was a tax officer of Alexandria, a procurator who administered the tolls for goods coming from Lower and Middle Egypt, especially for the transport of cattle. His was a very important and lucrative office, so that he became a title for a rich man, like our 'Nabob,' Marquardt I², pp. 445 ff. Some maintain that *Arabarches* and *Alabarches* are one and the same word, because the interchange of *r* and *l* is, of course, very common, while the etymology of *Alabarches* is otherwise inexplicable; but we find an *Alabarches* in Xanthus in Lycia, and such an official would seem to have no possible connexion with the Egyptian *Arabarches*: cp. Corp. Ins. Gr. 4267; also Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1271; ii. 343.

κατὰ τὸ κηδεμονικόν] 'with your usual solicitude.'

ὑποθήκας] The use of *quasi* shows that the word must be used to modify some unfamiliar expression; didactic poems were called ὑποθήκαι by the Greeks, e.g. 'Ἡσίοδον ὑποθήκαι, Χελωνος ὑποθήκαι. So, perhaps, he means, 'you must bring me a kind of didactic treatise from him on the way I am to act,' i.e. full and precise instructions: see Reid on Sull. 53. Dr. Reid, ib. § 1, mentions another Ciceronian use of *quasi* = almost, as *quasi in extrema pagina Phaedri*, Orat. 41.

Cicero now returned to Rome, where he remained till his exile. Atticus left Rome for Epirus shortly after Cicero's return, when the correspondence recommences.

hic status qui nunc est] We have adopted the addition of Wesenberg, who compares 46, 2 *hunc statum qui nunc est*.

neque verbo] Klotz, in his earlier ed., wished to supply *neque opera* before *neque verbo*. This is a common case of ἀβλεψία in copyists. He might have raised his eyes after writing *gemitur*, and then con-

cuiusquam sublevatur. Σκοπὸς est, ut suspicor, illis qui tenent nullam cuiquam largitionem relinquere. Unus loquitur et palam adversatur adulescens Curio. Huic plausus maximi, consalutatio forensis perhonorifica, signa praeterea benevolentiae permulta a bonis impertiuntur, Fufium clamoribus et conviciis et sibilis consectantur. His ex rebus non spes sed dolor est maior, cum videas civitatis voluntatem solutam, virtutem adligatam. 2. Ac ne forte quaeras κατὰ λεπτόν [de singulis rebus], universa res eo est deducta spes ut nulla sit aliquando non modo privatos verum etiam magistratus liberos fore. Hac tamen in oppressione sermo in circulis dumtaxat et conviviis est liberior quam fuit. Vincere incipit timorem dolor, sed ita ut omnia sint plenissima desperationis. Habet etiam Campana lex execrationem in contione candidatorum, si mentionem fecerint quo aliter ager possideatur atque ut ex legibus Iuliis. Non dubitant iurare ceteri: Laterensis

tinued his writing at the second, instead of the first, *neque*. But if *nunc est* is inserted, as Wesenberg has suggested, there is no need to suppose a *lacuna*.

Σκοπὸς] 'what they are really at, I suspect, is.' For this colloquial use of σκοπὸς (almost 'their game') cp. Att. viii. 11, 2 (342); xv. 29, 2 (768).

qui tenent] sc. omnia: see 49, 6. So *tenemur* above, 'we are held in thralldom.'

nullam cuiquam] 'to leave nothing for anyone else to give away': cp. Suet. Jul. 20 *cetera item quae cuique libuissent dilargitus est, contradicente nullo ac, si conaretur quis, absterrito*. Compare the well-known saying of Livius Drusus in Flor. ii. 5 *nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse nisi si quis aut caenum dividere vellet aut caelum*.

Fufium] See 20, 1, 5.

voluntatem solutam, virtutem adligatam] 'our feelings are unshackled, but all vigorous action fettered': see 47, 3, where the same state of things is more fully expressed.

κατὰ λεπτόν] also expressed by Cicero in the words κατὰ μίτρον, means 'in detail,' 'seriatim.' *De singulis rebus* is probably a marginal explanation of κατὰ λεπτόν (written *catalepton* in Med.) which has crept into the text.

res eo est deducta] 'things have come to such a pass that we can have no hope that the magistrates even, not to speak of private persons, will long preserve their

liberty. Yet, considering the oppression that prevails, speech is freer than it was—in social gatherings at least and dinner-parties: resentment is beginning to prevail over fear, without, however, preventing a general despondency. Moreover, the Agrarian Law prescribes that all candidates in their candidatorial speech to the people (their *oratio in toga candida*) should imprecate a curse on themselves if they should even suggest any other mode of occupation for the land than that laid down by the Julian Laws.' This curse, imprecated on himself by the candidate in his electioneering speech, or, perhaps, merely 'publicly' (in *contione*), binding himself to the Julian Laws, was certainly a signal piece of oppression, but not greater than we might expect from the tone of Cicero's letters of this period. We may mitigate the matter by reading with Schütz *habet Campana lex execrationem candidatorum, in contione si mentionem fecerint*; or by reading with Boot *insolentiozem*, 'of a somewhat unusual character' for in *contione*; but the sense seems to suffer under either regimen. In *coitione* is, of course, wrong. On the oath which Saturninus imposed and Q. Metellus would not take, see Mommsen R. H. iii. 211.

Laterensis] For the notices in Cicero's Epistles of this conscientious man, whom Velleius (63, 2) describes as *vir vita ac morte consentaneus*, see Index, s. v. Iuventius Laterensis.

existimatur laute fecisse quod tribunatum pl. petere destitit, ne iuraret. 3. Sed de re publica non libet plura scribere. Displiceo mihi nec sine summo scribo dolore. Me tueor, ut oppressis omnibus non demisse, ut tantis rebus gestis parum fortiter. A Caesare valde liberaliter invitor in legationem illam sibi ut sim legatus, atque etiam libera legatio voti causa datur. Sed haec et praesidi apud pudorem Pulchelli non habet satis et a fratrīs adventu me ablegat, illa et munitior est et non impedit quo minus adsim cum velim. Hanc ego teneo sed usurum me non puto;

laute] 'is thought to have shown himself a very fine fellow': cp. De Off. ii. 52.

3. *Displiceo mihi*] Orelli, after Dousa, prints these words *displiceo . . . dolore* as a hexameter verse, ascribing it to Lucilius. There are throughout the letters many fortuitous hexameters—for instance, there is a hexameter as good as Dousa's in this very letter: *nec mihi consilium nec consolatio deesset*. But in neither would the *ē* have been possible in the time of Cicero.

ut] 'considering the general despondency': cp. 30, 39 *quae tamen, ut in malis, anteponenda est*.

libera legatio] 'an unofficial embassy'—a legal fiction whereby a senator could leave Rome, and travel with greater comfort. Cicero was also offered the post of legate to Caesar, which, after much hesitation, he finally refused, and thereby seems to have given offence to Caesar. The *legatio libera* was only granted to senators (Cic. Legg. iii. 18) if they wanted to travel to pay a vow (l. c.), or to receive an inheritance (Cic. Leg. Agr. i. 8), or to exact a debt (Cic. Legg. l. c. Flacc. 86). They travelled at state expense, and had the usual honours and distinctions (e.g. lictors) of ambassadors: cp. Fam. xii. 21 (698). Cicero, in his consulship, attempted to check this abuse, but had to content himself with getting it enacted that the privileges of a *libera legatio* should not exist longer than a year, which Caesar re-enacted in another law, Att. xv. 11 (744). Cic. Legg. iii. 18 is the *locus classicus* on this subject. See also Mommsen, St. R. ii². 671, 672, who powerfully denounces these 'free embassies.'

haec] 'This (sc. the *leg. libera*) is not safe enough, resting as it does on the honour of Clodius (who could, if not prevented by *pudor*, then prosecute me as a private person), and entailing absence from

Rome at the time of my brother's return.'

apud] Dr. Reid thinks that we must alter to *ad*, the more general word to signify relation. He refers to Tusc. ii. 2; v. 2, 12, 53, in all of which passages *praesidium* is used with *ad*. But perhaps *apud* may be used as it is after such words as *valere*; here *pudorem Pulchelli* is virtually the same as *pudentem Pulchellum*, while in the passages from the Tusculans, *praesidium ad bene vivendum* (or the like) means 'support or aid to bring about a happy life.'

quo minus adsim cum velim] 'does not prevent me from being on the spot whenever I please': *adsim* seems to refer to 'being at Rome,' cp. *cum velis, introire, exire liceat*, Att. xv. 11, 4 (744); but *habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia, nec facile addi potest, ibid.*

Hanc ego teneo] It seems to me wrong to explain *hanc* as referring to the *legatio* offered by Caesar. *Haec* is the *libera legatio* above; *illa* is Caesar's *legatio*; and it would be very confusing then to apply *hanc* to Caesar's *legatio*. *Hanc* is the *libera legatio*. Cicero says, 'I have already got my *libera legatio*, but I do not think I shall use it. I do not want to fly from Clodius; I long to withstand him to the face. There is great zeal in my behalf. But I do not say what I shall do. You will kindly not say anything about the matter.' If *hanc* be supposed to refer to Caesar's legation, *teneo* must be rendered *praefero*, with Schütz, or 'I cling to this post,' with Mr. Watson, both which renderings seem to me indefensible, and inconsistent with the subsequent words. Cicero's position as legate to Caesar would, he thought, secure him Caesar's protection, and he could join Caesar when he pleased; the other would commit him to a fixed time of departure and return. So he does not think he will avail himself

neque tamen scit quisquam. Non lubet fugere, aveo pugnare. Magna sunt hominum studia. Sed nihil adfirmo, tu hoc silebis. 4. De Statio manu misso et non nullis aliis rebus angor equidem sed iam prorsus occallui. Tu vellem ego vel cuperem adesses: nec mihi consilium nec consolatio deesset. Sed ita te para ut, si inclamaro, advoles.

46. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 19).

ROME; JULY; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De Statio manu misso, de Clodii contentionibus, de misero rei publicae statu, de populi sensu theatro et spectaculis perspecto, de condicione sua, de signis quibus vult uti in litteris, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multa me sollicitant et ex rei publicae tanto motu et ex iis periculis quae mihi ipse intenduntur et sescenta sunt. Sed mihi nihil est molestius quam Statium manu missum:

Nec meum imperium? ac mitto imperium, non simultatem meam Revereri saltem?

of it, but there is no harm in having the libera legatio to fall back on if necessary: cp. for the whole passage next letter, § 5. [I cannot help agreeing with Mr. Pretor that *Hanc ego teneo* refers to the embassy last mentioned, viz. Caesar's, and that *teneo* is to be translated as Mr. Watson suggests. That Cicero either actually accepted, or at least for some time did not refuse, Caesar's legateship may be perhaps gathered from the narrative (otherwise indeed unconfirmed) in Plut. Cic. 30. —L. C. P.]

neque tamen scit quisquam] This is difficult, as the offer of both forms of embassy to Cicero must have been known at all events to a considerable number of people. Mr. Pretor thinks it means 'you never can tell,' 'there is no knowing,' but that I may take it (i.e. whichever form of legatio we suppose *hanc* in the preceding sentence to refer to). Boot conjectures *neque tamen certi quicquam* (cp. 46, 5 *nihil tamen certi*) or acquiesces in Orelli's suggestion *neque tamen scio quid sequar*.

4. *Statio*] Statius was a freedman of Quintus, who was regarded with jealousy and dislike by the province. Cicero fears that this feeling will be increased by

Quintus' manumission of him: see 53, 3. *vellem ego vel cuperem*] So L. Müller, for *vellem egove cuperem* of the Med. He compares Att. x. 16, 1 (402) *ego volebam autem vel cupiebam potius*.

si inclamaro, advoles] Some edd., e.g. Nobbe, print these words as if they formed the end of a comic trochaic verse. They have not observed that, in 47, 5, the words used are *si inclamaro ut accuras*. There is hardly a letter of Cicero out of which one might not pick parts of iambic or trochaic verses, due altogether to chance—for instance, in this letter, § 2, we have a complete senarius in the words, *in circulis dumtaxat et conviviiis*.

1. *Multa*] 'I have many sources of annoyance, both from the disturbed state of the Republic and from the dangers which threaten me and which are innumerable.'

Statium manu missum] sc. esse: see 53, 1. *Nec meum imperium*] Ter. Ph. 232, *revereri* is the interjectional infinitive, 'to think that he should have no regard for': cp. 33, 2 *esse locum tam prope Romam, ubi multi sint qui Vatinius nunquam viderint*.

mitto] 'I pass over.' This word should

nec quid faciam scio neque tantum est in re quantus est sermo. Ego autem ne irasci possum quidem iis quos valde amo: tantum doleo ac mirifice quidem. Cetera in magnis rebus. Minae Clodi, contentionesque quae mihi proponuntur modice me tangunt. Etenim vel subire eas videor mihi summa cum dignitate vel declinare nulla cum molestia posse. Dices fortasse, 'Dignitatis ἄλις, tamquam δρῦός: saluti, si me amas, consule.' Me miserum! cur non ades? nihil profecto te praeteriret: ego fortasse τυφλώττω et nimium τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα. 2. Seito nihil umquam fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peraeque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum quam hunc statum qui nunc est: magis mehercule quam vellem, non modo quam putaram. Populares isti iam etiam modestos homines sibilare docuerunt. Bibulus in caelo est nec qua re scio, sed ita laudatur quasi

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

perhaps replace *omitto* in 41, 2; *omitto*, instead of *mitto*, would have been written by a copyist who did not remember the colloquial use of *mitto*.

neque] 'the matter is not so significant as rumour makes it.' Statius was supposed to have too much influence with Quintus. His manumission, therefore, was looked on as a significant act. Cicero says too much is made of it.

ne . . . possum quidem] *Quidem* qualifies *possum*. 'I cannot (though I ought to) be angry with one to whom I am so attached.' The plural is put instead of the singular to make the statement a little more general; 'I cannot be angry with Quintus, or anyone to whom I am so much attached': it is not a broad statement, 'I cannot be angry with those whom I love.' See *Intro. II. § 2 B*.

Cetera in magnis rebus] 'My other sources of annoyance are to be found in important (public) affairs.' Orelli's conjecture *cetera ἐν αἰνυμοῖς* is needless; and what follows is not at all excessively cryptic. If change was required, the simplest would be Dr. Reid's *cetera, ut in magnis rebus, minae*, &c. 'The other matters, as far as is possible in affairs of great importance, viz. the threats of Clodius and the conflicts that lie before me, affect me but slightly.'

Dignitatis ἄλις] 'To talk about one's position is an anachronism. We have had enough of dignity (as the ancients said of

their acorn diet after corn was discovered): let us now look to self-preservation.' So the proverb ἄλις δρῦός must be explained: 'any thoughts of dignity or political grace of attitude are now obsolete; as well might one have proposed to return to acorns after bread began to be used.' Mr. Jeans quotes from Voltaire (*Lettres à M. de la Chalotais*) a very parallel French proverb, *le siècle du gland est passé*.

ego fortasse τυφλώττω] 'Mayhap I am myope through my passion for dignity—my sense of the requirements of principle.' The words τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα suggest *noblesse oblige*, but the thought is not quite the same. A very close parallel to the thought in *noblesse oblige* is found in Plin. *Ep. iii. 3, 7* *admonebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur, quae nomina et quanta sustineat*: cp. *fama quoque est oneri*, *Or. Her. xvii. 167* (see Mayor's note on Plin. *iii. 3, 7*). Add *leges a sanguine ductas*, *Prop. iv. 11, 47*.

2. *offensum*] 'distasteful.'

magis . . . quam] 'more distasteful than I expected—nay, more than I like to see.'

Populares isti] 'The triumvirs.'

in caelo est] 'is exalted to the skies.'

Above, 37, 1, *in caelo sum*, has a somewhat different sense, viz. 'I am in the seventh heaven.'

Unus . . . rem] The well-known description of Q. Fabius Maximus in the *Annals* of Ennius.

Pompeius, nostri amores, quod mihi summo dolori est, ipse se adfixit. Neminem tenent voluntate, ac ne metu necesse sit iis uti vereor. Ego autem neque pugno cum illa causa propter illam amicitiam neque approbo, ne omnia improbem quae antea gessi: utor via. 3. Populi sensus maxime theatro et spectaculis perspectus est. Nam gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi: ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est,

Nostra miseria tu es Magnus . . .

miliens coactus est dicere,

Eandem virtutem istam veniet tempus cum graviter gemes, totius theatri clamore dixit itemque cetera. Nam et eius modi sunt

nostri amores] 'once my beau idéal.' Observe this use of the plural.

Neminem tenent] 'They (the triumvirs) hold no one by any bonds of good will, and I fear they may find it necessary to try the effect of fear.' Thus Klotz (ed. 2nd), preserving the reading of M intact, but for the change of *an* to *ac*. He fully establishes his reading by comparing 48, 5 *Sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere; eo magis vis nobis est timenda*.

illa causa] that of the triumvirs.

illam amicitiam] 'my friendship for Pompey.'

utor via] To supply in the text *media*, or *mea*, or *nostra*, or *recta*, is to cut the knot which should be untied. None of these words can be understood. We must either, therefore, resort to a violent remedy, like Peerlkamp, who, for *quae antea gessi utor via*, ingeniously, but rashly, reads *qua antea incesi utor via*; or explain *utor via* as meaning, 'I take the high-road—I strike out no line for myself,' or 'I steer right onward': cp. Fin. v. 5 *declinare de via*; Phil. xii. 7 *quodsi erratum est . . . redeamus in viam*.

3. *qua dominus qua advocati*] *Dominus* is taken to mean either (1) Gabinius, who gave a gladiatorial show at this time (51, 3), or (2) Caesar. In both cases Pompey is supposed to be referred to as the chief of the *advocati* or 'supporters.' But it seems to us more in accordance with the rest of this passage, as well as the purport of the preceding letters, to make (3) Pompey the *dominus*, 'our tyrant,' and Caesar the chief of the *advocati*.

Cicero expressly states that one would have thought the verses enclosed were written by an enemy of Pompey to describe his position at this time. It is of Pompey that Cicero says, in 41, 1, *ne ruere incipiat*, and in 44, 1, *turbat Sampsicramus*, and *ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται*. Caesar was at this time presented to the eyes of his contemporaries as the supporter of Pompey, in whose interest the Campanian Law was being brought forward and pushed so strenuously. We now look back on Caesar as the *colossus* of this period; but his contemporaries stood too near the canvas rightly to appreciate the proportions of the figure. Cicero tells us afterwards how Caesar took the reception of Curio, *tulit Caesar graviter*. The first verse is given more rhythmically by Val. Max. vi. 2, 9, who quotes—

miseria nostra Magnus es,

which makes the end of a troch. tetram. cat.; and so, probably, it should be given here, if not

nostra miseria tu Magnus es;

so also below we should perhaps read—

Si leges neque mores cogunt,

the first part of a similar verse. Thus all the verses are of the same metre, as they would naturally be. In *neque . . . neque*, one *neque* is often omitted in verse.

petulanter] 'pertly' (Pretor).

virtutem] The spectator would refer *virtutem* to the victories of Pompey, and *gemes* to himself.

Nam et eius modi] On *nam et*, see

ii versus uti in tempus ab inimico Pompei scripti esse videantur:

Si [neque] leges neque mores cogunt . . .

et cetera magno cum fremitu et clamore sunt dicta. Caesar cum venisset mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus. Huic ita plausum est ut salva re publica Pompeio plaudi solebat. Tulit Caesar graviter. Litterae Capuam ad Pompeium volare dicebantur. Inimici erant equitibus qui Curioni stantes plauserant, hostes omnibus. Rosciae legi, etiam frumentariae, minitabantur. Sane res erat perturbata. Equidem malueram quod erat susceptum ab illis silentio transiri, sed vereor ne non liceat. Non ferunt homines, quod videtur esse tamen ferendum. Sed est iam una vox omnium, magis odio firmata quam praesidio. 4. Noster autem Publius mihi minitatur, inimicus est: impendet negotium,

Madv. Fin., p. 791. *Et* of *M* is obelised by Orelli, Baier, and Wesenberg; but successfully defended by Madvig, as appropriate in an elliptical sentence like this: 'the verses were greatly applauded, for indeed not only were they suitable to the circumstances, but you would have thought they were written by some enemy of Pompey to be applied to this very occasion.'

mortuo plausu] either (1) 'when the applause had died away'; or (2) 'amid feeble applause,' like *intermortuis conurbationis reliquiis*, 20, 4, and Sest. 126 *semivivis mercennariorum vocibus*.

Curio] was applauded on account of his well-known hostility to the triumvirate: *ipse vero mirandum in modum 'reges odisse superbos,'* 35, 1.

Litterae Capuam] Pompey was now in Campania, as one of the *xxviri*. Otherwise, probably, Diphilus would not have dared to refer to him so openly. Valerius Maximus (vi. 2, 9) is in error in stating that Pompey was present in the theatre on this occasion (*directis in Pompeium Magnum manibus*).

dicebantur] 'The report is that despatches are being sent post haste to Pompey. The triumvirs are offended with the knights who stood up to applaud Curio, and are taking hostile measures against the whole community. They are threatening the abrogation of the Roscian and the corn laws. There is a very violent feeling abroad. I used to wish that their acts should be passed over in silence; but I fear it is impossible. The public can-

not brook their government, and yet it seems there is no help for it. There is but one expression of feeling in the mouth of everyone; but it rests rather on the strength of men's hatred for the triumvirs than on the possession of any real force to resist them.' *Dicebantur, erant, plauserant, &c.*, are all *epistolary* tenses: see Madv. § 345. *Inimicus* is 'one who is ill disposed to another'; *hostis*, 'one who has recourse to open acts of hostility': cp. Fin. v. 29 *quotiescunque dicitur male de se quis mereri, sibi quae esse inimicus atque hostis, vitam denique fugere* (Boot). The *Lex Roscia* provided fourteen rows of seats in the theatre for the *Equites*, 687 (67). *Lex Cassia Terentia*, here called *frumentaria*, passed in 681 (73), provided for the sale of corn at certain fixed rates. The first law was acceptable to the knights but not to the people, who might therefore have been gratified but for the threatened abrogation of the second.

stantes] cp. *stantes ei manibus passis gratias agentes et lacrimantes gaudio . . . benevolentiam declararunt*, Sest. 117; *stantiae in plausum tota theatra fremunt*, Prop. iii. 18, 18.

4. *inimicus est*] These words are bracketed by Ernesti as an interpolation from 48, 5. Munro suggests *inimicus et*. There does not, however, appear to be sufficient reason to interfere with the ms reading; *minitatur* refers to special threats, *inimicus est* to general hostility. Cicero elsewhere in the letters of this time uses asyndeton, e.g. 47, 2; 49, 3.

ad quod tu scilicet advolabis. Videor mihi nostrum illum consularum exercitum bonorum omnium, etiam sat bonorum, habere firmissimum. Pompeius significat studium erga me non mediocre. Idem adfirmat verbum de me illum non esse facturum: in quo non me ille fallit sed ipse fallitur. Cosconio mortuo sum in eius locum invitatus. Id erat vocari in locum mortui. Nihil me turpius apud homines fuisset neque vero ad istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν quidquam alienius. Sunt enim illi apud bonos invidiosi, ego apud improbos meam retinuissem invidiam, alienam adsumpsissem. 5. Caesar me sibi vult esse legatum. Honestior declinatio haec periculi. Sed ego hoc non repudio. Quid ergo est? Pugnare malo. Nihil tamen certi. Iterum dico, utinam adesses! Sed tamen, si erit necesse, arcessemus. Quid aliud? quid? Hoc, opinor: certi sumus perisse omnia. Quid enim ἀκκίζόμεθα tam diu? Sed haec scripsi properans et mehercule timide. Posthac ad te aut, si perfi-

sat] We have altered *satis* of the mss to *sat*, on the suggestion of Dr. Reid, as this appears to be the only place where *satis* is used in this connexion: see Landgraf on Rose. Am. 89, and note on Fam. vii. 24, 2 (665).

illum non esse facturum] sc. Clodium. *ipse fallitur*] Cicero now knows that he has to apprehend hostility from Clodius, but does not seem to be at all alarmed by the prospect.

Cosconio] one of the xxviri. *vocari in locum mortui*] These words might be (1) 'to die,' (2) 'to succeed a dead man in his office.' Cicero plays on these two meanings, because to succeed such an obscure person as a member of so large a body would be so humiliating to him that he might look on it as his political death. This is Orelli's explanation. One would have expected *id erat vere vocari in locum mortui*, or some such corroborative particle, e. g. *sane*. Cicero thinks very little of the dignity of the xxviri. But perhaps Cicero meant no more than that his acceptance of the position at this time would seem to show that he wished for it all along, but was not originally deemed good enough to be appointed. He was but a *suppositicius*, an understudy. Dr. Reid punctuates *Id erat, vocari in locum mortui*. 'This is what Pompey's offer comes to, viz. that I should be called on to step into a dead man's shoes.' Cicero, in Att. ix. 2a, 1 (356), represents Caesar as having been

offended at his refusal to become a member of the vigintivirate: cp. also Prov. Cons. 42.

apud homines] 'in the world,' 'on the face of the earth': see note on 25, 10.

istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν] 'that very safety that you recommend to me': see above (§ 1), 'Dignitatis ἀλὶς . . . salutis, si me amas, consule.'

illi] the xxviri.

5. *Caesar me sibi vult*] 'Caesar wishes me to be his lieutenant: this would be a more dignified way of avoiding the danger of a rupture with Clodius than to accept a place among the xxviri. But I do not wish to avoid this danger.' *Refugio* is Wesenberg's correction for *repudio*. But this is quite unnecessary. *Non* of the mss is rashly replaced by *nunc* in many edd. As regards these offers which Caesar made in order to shield Cicero, see Prov. Cons. 41, 42.

ἀκκίζόμεθα] said to be derived from Ἀκκώ, a vain woman who used to converse with her own image in the looking-glass (Suidas). 'To pretend indifference, to be coy,' L. and S.; προσποιῇ μωρὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι, Schol. on Plat. Gorg. 497A. Perhaps we might fuse together all the traditions by rendering, 'What else have I to say? what else? Only this, I believe. I am quite sure all is lost. For why should I coquet with the matter any longer?' Fick, i. 7, says that ἀκκώ was a *Lallcoort* or pet name.

delem habeo cui dem, scribam plane omnia, aut, si obscure scribam, tu tamen intelleges. In iis epistulis me Laelium, te Furium faciam: cetera erunt ἐν ἀνιγμοῖς. Hic Caecilium colimus et observamus diligenter. Edicta Bibuli audio ad te missa. Iis ardet dolore et ira noster Pompeius.

47. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 20).

ROME; JULY; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De hominibus familiaribus, de Cn. Pompeii in se animo, de re publica, de qua non vult scribere nisi admodum caute, prorsus deperdita, de Bibulo, de signis quibus vult uti in litteris, de hereditate Diodoti, de comitiis dilatis, de Vibii libris.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Anicato, ut te velle intellexeram, nullo loco defui. Numesium ex litteris tuis studiose scriptis libenter in amicitiam recepi. Caecilium quibus rebus possum tueor diligenter. Varro satis facit nobis. Pompeius amat nos carosque habet. Credis? inquires. Credo: prorsus mihi persuadet. Sed quia volgo πραγματικοὶ homines

Laelium] See note on 13, 3 above, where Cicero says he would wish to play Laelius to Pompey's Scipio.

Caecilium] Atticus' uncle: 10, 4.

Edicta] issued by Bibulus from his house, declaring the acts of Caesar null and void, also violently inveighing against Pompey: see 48, 4 *Archilochia edicta*. Pompey seems to have been extremely indignant at these edicts, which Caesar, on the other hand, received with supreme indifference.

Iis] ablative, governed by *dolet* implied in *ardet dolore*, though *irascitur* implied in *ardet ira* would govern a dative.

1. *possum*] so the Roman ed. and Ienson's ed. M¹ has *parum*; one of the correctors of M altered to *par est*, which seems a less likely emendation than *possum*.

Varro] Varro appears from subsequent letters to have been engaged in promoting good feeling between Cicero and Pompey.

volgo] is the conjecture of Bücheler for

volo of M. If we retain *volo*, it must go with the preceding clause and mean (as Dr. Reid points out) 'he absolutely persuades me, but that is because I want to be talked over': then put semicolon at *credere*.

πραγματικοὶ] 'practical men,' 'men of the world.' The *pragmatici*, properly so called, were those who acted as a sort of attorneys to the orators, a disreputable class among the Greeks, but highly respectable in Rome: De Or. i. 198. The meaning is 'practical men'; and therefore it is much better to give the Greek word with Orelli, instead of the *pragmatici* of M. The *codices* of the Letters very frequently present Greek words in Latin characters. For φιλοθέων, Fam. vii. 16, 1 (157) *philoteorum* appears in all the mss. For this reason we read λόχον for *locum* in Att. iv. 4b, 2 (107). *Pragmatici* does not mean 'practical men'; πραγματικοὶ means (1) the same as *pragmatici*, as in De Or. i. 198; (2) 'practical men,' as here: but this sense does not belong to *pragmatici*.

omnibus historiis, praeceptis, versibus denique cavere iubent et vetant credere, alterum facio ut caveam, alterum ut non credam facere non possum. 2. Clodius adhuc mihi denuntiat periculum. Pompeius adfirmat non esse periculum: adiurat: addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri. Tractatur res. Simul et quid erit certi, scribam ad te. Si erit pugnandum, arcesam ad societatem laboris: si quies dabitur, ab Amalthea te non commovebo. 3. De re publica breviter ad te scribam. Iam enim charta ipsa ne nos prodat pertimesco. Itaque posthac, si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, ἀλληγορίαις obsecrabo. Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur, ut, cum omnes ea quae sunt acta improbent, querantur, doleant, varietas nulla in re sit, aperteque loquantur et iam clare gemant, tamen medicina nulla adferatur: neque enim resisti sine internecone posse arbitramur nec videmus qui finis cedendi praeter exitium futurus sit. 4. Bibulus hominum admiratione et benevolentia in caelo est. Edicta eius et contiones describunt et legunt. Novo quodam genere in summam gloriam venit. Populare nunc nihil tam est quam odium popularium. 5. Haec quo sint eruptura timeo. Sed, si dispicere quid coepero, scribam ad te apertius. Tu, si me amas tantum quantum profecto amas, expeditus facito ut sis, si inclamaro, ut accurras. Sed do operam et dabo ne sit necesse. Quod scripseram me te Furium scripturum, nihil necesse est tuum nomen mutare. Me faciam Laelium et te Atticum, neque utar meo

versibus] probably an allusion to νῆφε καὶ μένους ἀπιστεῖν, κ.τ.λ., quoted 25, 8, and referred to by Quintus above, 12, 39.

2. *Tractatur res*] 'The negotiations have commenced' (between Pompey and Clodius for the protection of Cicero).

Simul et] This is the reading of the mss. Madvig supposes that Cicero wrote *simul* = 'as soon as,' and that the copyist, not knowing that *simul* could mean 'as soon as,' wrote *simul et*. But surely he would have written the familiar *simul ac*. *Simul et* is found again in these letters in four places: Att. x. 4, 12 (382); 16, 4 (402); xvi. 11, 6 (799); Q. Fr. ii. 5, 3 (106). We believe, therefore, that *simul et* is a correct alternative form for *simul ac*. If that is not assented to, we should read *simul ut* with Lambinus; but we do not think *simul* or *simul ac* should be read.

3. ἀλληγορίαις] 'under covert language.' The classical Greek word for this is ὑπόνοια, Plat. Rep. 378 D.

novo quodam morbo] See 45, 1, where Cicero says that people's feelings are unrestrained, but their action is fettered.

4. *Edicta eius*] When Bibulus posts up his edicts, people at once take copies of them and read them to their friends. Else there is a ὅστερον πρότερον here.

Novo quodam genere] 'he has achieved distinction in a sphere peculiar to himself. Nothing now is so popular as hatred of the populares' (the triumvirs).

5. *quo sint eruptura timeo*] 'I have my fears about the issue of all this': cp. 64, 2 *quid agatur timeo*.

do operam] For the first time Cicero expresses a desire to avoid the struggle with Clodius.

neque utar] 'I shall not employ either

chirographo neque signo, si modo erunt eius modi litterae quas in alienum incidere nolim. 6. Diodotus mortuus est: reliquit nobis HS fortasse centiens. Comitia Bibulus cum Archilochio edicto in ante diem xv. Kal. Novembr. distulit. A Vibio libros accepi: poëta ineptus, et tamen scit nihil et est non inutilis. Describo et remitto.

48. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 21).

ROME; AFTER JULY 25; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De misera rei publicae condicione, de Cn. Pompeio nimio opere adfecto et depresso, de Bibulo nunc quidem gloriae pleno, de Clodio sibi inimico et de spe sua.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De re publica quid ego tibi subtiliter? Tota periit atque hoc est miserior quam reliquisti, quod tum videbatur eius modi dominatio civitatem oppressisse quae iucunda esset multitudini, bonis autem ita molesta ut tamen sine pernicie; nunc repente tanto in odio est omnibus, ut quorsus eruptura sit horreamus. Nam iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti

my own handwriting or seal, that is, if my letters are of such a sort that I should be sorry that they came into wrong hands.

6. *Diodotus*] When writing of the death of this man some thirteen years later, Cicero (*Brut.* 309) speaks of him as having died *nuper*. But *nuper* is a very relative and elastic word: cp. note to 12, 11.

HS fortasse centiens] 10,000,000 sesterces, about £85,000. It is very unlikely that he should thus announce *ὀδοῦ πέραν* (*en passant*) such a very large bequest, or that Diodotus, a Stoic who was for a long time an inmate of Cicero's house, should have possessed such a sum. We should probably read *centum*, with Malaspina, understanding *sestertia centum*, about £850: see *Introd.* I, § 2.

Archilochio] *Ἀρχιλοχέει*—'a scathing edict.'

libros] the works of Alexander of Ephesus (who wrote a *Cosmographia*), as appears from 49, 7. Cicero is therefore still engaged on his *Geographia*. Wessenberg would read *Alexandri*, which he supposes to have dropped out after *accepi*.

poëta ineptus] We retain *et* of the mss, and interpret 'he is a poor poet, and yet for all that quite ignorant too.' What Cicero expected in these metaphrastae or scientific poets was poetical talent and knowledge of the subjects of which they treated. Alexander was a poor poet, and ignorant besides; though in a poor poet of that class you might at least expect much learning. For *tamen* cp. Lehmann 'De Epp. ad Att. recens,' p. 195 and notes to 78, 3; *Fam.* i. 7, 10 (114); and *Q. Fr.* ii. 9 (11), 3 (132).

1. *subtiliter*] 'in detail': he uses also the expressions *κατὰ μέτρον*, *κατὰ λεπτόν*. The first of these expressions is a parallel to the etymological meaning of *subtiliter*.

quam reliquisti] Cp. 22, 11.

eruptura sit] Bosius would read *eruptura sint*, comparing 49, 6 *videntur haec aliquo eruptura*.

illorum] the triumvirs, who, if not driven to violence by the obstinate and unintelligent conservatism of Cato, might have kept within the limits of the constitution.

qui Catoni irati omnia perdiderunt. Sed ita lenibus uti videbantur venenis ut posse videremur sine dolore interire. Nunc vero sibilis vulgi, sermonibus honestorum, fremitu Italiae vereor ne exarserint. 2. Equidem sperabam, ut saepe etiam loqui tecum solebam, sic orbem rei publicae esse conversum ut vix sonitum audire, vix impressam orbitam videre possemus, et fuisset ita, si homines transitum tempestatis expectare potuissent, sed cum diu occulte suspirassent, postea iam gemere, ad extremum vero loqui omnes et clamare coeperunt. 3. Itaque ille noster amicus insolens infamiae, semper in laude versatus, circumfluens gloria, deformatus corpore, fractus animo, quo se conferat nescit: progressum praecipitem, inconstantem reditum videt: bonos inimicos habet, improbos ipsos non amicos. Ac vide mollitiem animi. Non tenui lacrimas, cum illum a. d. viii. Kal. Sext. vidi de edictis Bibuli contionantem. Qui antea solitus esset iactare se magnificentissime illo in loco, summo cum amore populi, cunctis faventibus, ut ille tum humilis, ut demissus erat, ut ipse etiam sibi, non iis solum qui aderant, displicebat! 4. O spectaculum

ita . . . ut 'poisons so slow that'; this consecutive use of *ita . . . ut* is to be distinguished from the cases in which the consecution is much less plainly marked, as above in *ita molesta ut tamen sine perniciē*, 'while galling, yet not fatal,' with which *ep. ita* non sola virtute finem bonorum contineri putant ut rebus tamen omnibus virtutem anteponant, Fin. iv. 49.

2. *Equidem sperabam* 'I hoped—as I used to say to you—that the wheel of state had turned so gently (that the political revolution had been so gradual) that we could hardly hear its sound as it moved—could hardly see the track which it made': see 36, 1.

3. *Itaque ille noster amicus* 'Therefore our friend (Pompey), unused to disrepute, having always lived in an atmosphere of eulogy and triumph, now, disfigured in person, broken in spirit, knows not what to do; he sees that to advance is dangerous; to retreat, weak.' *Reditum*, i.e. *ad optimates a Caesare*. *Infamiae* is the genitive; so also in *insuetudo contumeliae*, § 4, *contumeliae* is the genitive; as in the phrases *insolens libertatis*, *insolens malarum artium*. *Deformatus* perhaps refers to the ulcer in his leg, to conceal which he wore the *fasciae*, which Cicero, above, says he does not like (29, 1). However, he

afterwards remarks that Pompey's distress had told on his appearance, *tabescat dolore*, § 4.

mollitiem 'you observe how easily moved I am': *ep. 23*, 2 *quam mollis animus et ad accipiendam et ad deponendam offensionem*, where *mollis* is used in a slightly different sense.

4. *O spectaculum* In order to import a proper sequence of thought, we must suppose that *nam* marks an ellipse, as in 46, 3. For, after *ceteris non item*, Cicero does not assign any reason why *others*, but only why he himself, felt distressed at seeing Pompey in such a position. If, therefore, the text is sound, we must suppose some such ellipse as *mihī minime*. Crassus, though now in coalition with Pompey, was formerly on bad terms with him. Cicero says, 'O what a sight! pleasing to Crassus alone, but not so to others [least of all to me]; for, falling as he did from the very zenith of glory, he seemed to me rather to have slipped by chance into his coalition with Caesar, than to have entered it of set purpose, and, as Apelles, if he saw his Venus smeared with mud (or Protogenes his Ialysus), would doubtless feel deep chagrin, so I could not, without bitter distress, look on the disfigurement of him

uni Crasso iucundum, ceteris non item! nam, quia deciderat ex astris, lapsus potius quam progressus videbatur, et, ut Apelles si Venerem aut Protogenes si Ialysum illum suum caeno oblitum videret magnum, credo, acciperet dolorem, sic ego hunc omnibus a me pictum et politum artis coloribus subito deformatum non sine magno dolore vidi. Quamquam nemo putabat propter Clodianum negotium me illi amicum esse debere, tamen tantus fuit amor ut exhauriri nulla posset iniuria. Itaque Archilochia in illum edicta Bibuli populo ita sunt iucunda ut eum locum ubi proponuntur prae multitudine eorum qui legunt transire nequeamus, ipsi ita acerba ut tabescat dolore, mihi mehercule molesta, quod et eum quem semper dilexi nimis excruciant et timeo tam vehemens vir tamque acer in ferro et tam insuetus contumeliae ne omni animi impetu dolori et iracundiae pareat. 5. Bibuli qui sit exitus futurus nescio. Ut nunc res se habet, admirabili gloria est: qui cum comitia in mensem Octobrem distulisset, quod solet ea res populi voluntatem offendere, putarat Caesar oratione sua posse impelli contionem ut iret ad Bibulum: multa cum seditiosissime diceret, vocem exprimere non potuit. Quid quaeris? Sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere: eo magis vis nobis est timenda. 6. Clodius inimicus est nobis. Pompeius confirmat eum nihil esse facturum contra me. Mihi periculosum est credere: ad resistendum me paro. Studia spero me summa habiturum omnium ordinum. Te cum ego desidero, tum vero res ad tempus illud vocat. Plurimum consili, animi, praesidi denique mihi, si te ad tempus videro, accesserit. Varro mihi satis facit: Pompeius loquitur divinitus. Spero nos aut cum summa

on whose adornment and embellishment I had lavished all the resources of my art.' If it be preferred to take *videbatur* as referring to the impressions of the public in general, then we may suppose that Cicero includes himself among the *ceteri* in the clause ending with *videbatur*, and in the succeeding clause states more particularly the emotions which he himself felt at Pompey's downfall. For the phrase *lapsus potius quam progressus* Boot aptly compares Deiot. 10, *neque ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est*.

Venerem] Probably the Coan Venus to which Cicero often refers, e.g. in a

letter to Lentulus (153, 15). Boot thinks he refers to the Venus Anadyomene, because the Coan Venus was unfinished. But this is to refine too much. Ialysus, the eponym of Ialysus in Rhodes, was grandson of Helios.

propter Clodianum negotium] because Pompey was *auspex* at the adoption.

5. *iret ad Bibulum*] 'to go (in a menacing way) to the house of Bibulus,' to endeavour to induce him not to postpone the comitia: cp. *euntem ad hostem*, Liv. xlii. 49, 2.

vocem] sc. against Bibulus, or in assent to himself.

6. *divinitus*] cp. 22, 9.

gloria aut certe sine molestia discessuros. Tu quid agas, quem ad modum te oblectes, quid cum Sicyoniis egeris ut sciam cura.

49. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 22).

ROME; AFTER JULY 25TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero maximo opere cupere se scribit Atticum Romae adesse. Nam se nescire quid P. Clodius acturus sit. Pompeium quidem cum isto vehementer de se egisse, et ita egisse ut iste denique concessisse dicatur, se tamen omnia parare: rem publicam se nulla ex parte attingere, in causis et in illa sua opera forensi versari et gratia multorum florere: si Atticus adveniat, sibi omnia expedita fore et in eo adventu se omnem spem suam ponere, de rei publicae statu desperato, de rebus domesticis ac familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quam vellem Romae mansisses! *Mansisses* profecto si haec fore putassemus. Nam Pulchellum nostrum facillime teneremus aut certe quid esset factururus scire possemus. Nunc se res sic habet: volitat, furit, nihil habet certi: multis denuntiat: quod fors obtulerit, id acturus videtur. Cum videt quo sit in odio

discessuros] 'get out of the business.' This verb is used impersonally in the same sense, *ut possiet discedi ut*, Ter. Phorm. 773: cp. above 43. 4. The mss have *spero nos aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros*. The correction of Man. given in the text is generally accepted, and is certainly in accordance with Cicero's habitual use of *aut certe* (cp. 49, 5); however, Hofmann, preserving the ms reading, gives a possible interpretation:—'I hope that either on the one hand, if it should come to a struggle, I shall be certain of a glorious victory; or that, on the other, there may be no struggle, and so I may even remain unmolested.' For this sense of *certe*, he compares Verr. iii. 104, *cum se certe decessurum videret*. In defence of the ms reading, it should be remembered that Cicero might well look on the avoidance of the struggle altogether as the more desirable of the two alternatives; but the reading of Man. implies that a victorious issue of that struggle is the one which most commends itself to Cicero. The reading of Wesenberg, adopted by Sternkopf, is ingenious, *aut certaturos cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros*; but rather too bold.

1. *Mansisses*] The second *mansisses*, which is not in the mss, was supplied by Bosius—an excellent correction. But perhaps Malaspina's reading may be defended—*Quam vellem Romae!* (understanding either *mansisses* or perhaps *fores*: cp. Att. xiv. 11, 1 (714) and Heidemann 'De Ciceronis in epp. verborum ellipsis usu,' p. 33) *Mansisses profecto*. Violent ellipses are very characteristic of Cicero's letters: see Index s. v. Ellipse. We have one in §2 *aciebat illum primo sane diu multa contra* (sc. dixisse), and another in §5 *si ante* (sc. te videro) *quam ille ineat magistratum*.

teneremus] 'we should hold in control': cp. 45, 1, and *tenent* at §6 of this letter.

denuntiat] This word used absolutely ought to mean, 'to subpoena as witness' (the words *alicui testimonium* being understood); see Flacc. 35 *non denuntiavi*. This meaning seems to be out of place here; we should therefore, perhaps, read *multa denuntiat* or *vim multis denuntiat*: cp. 50, 3, *terrores iacit atque denuntiat* (Boot).

Cum videt] This should make us reconsider the question whether the object of Clodius in seeking the tribunate was

status hic rerum, in eos qui haec egerunt impetum facturus videntur: cum autem rursus opes eorum et exercitus recordatur, convertit se in bonos. Nobis autem ipsis tum vim tum iudicium minatur. 2. Cum hoc Pompeius egit et, ut ad me ipse referebat—alium enim habeo neminem testem,—vehementer egit, cum diceret in summa se perfidiae et sceleris infamia fore, si mihi periculum crearetur ab eo quem ipse armasset cum plebeium fieri passus esset: fidem recepisse sibi et ipsum et Appium de me: hanc si ille non servaret, ita laturum ut omnes intellegerent nihil sibi antiquius amicitia nostra fuisse. Haec et in eam sententiam cum multa dixisset, aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus dedisse et adfirmasse nihil se contra eius voluntatem esse facturum. Sed postea tamen ille non destitit de nobis asperrime loqui. Quod si non faceret, tamen ei nihil crederemus atque omnia, sicut facimus, pararemus. 3. Nunc ita nos gerimus ut in dies singulos et studia in nos hominum et opes nostrae augeantur. Rem publicam nulla ex parte attingimus, in causis atque in illa opera nostra forensi summa industria versamur. Quod egregie non modo iis qui utuntur [opera] sed etiam in vulgus gratum esse sentimus. Domus celebratur, occurritur, renovatur memoria consulatus, studia significantur, in eam spem adducimur ut nobis ea contentio quae impendit interdum non fugienda

altogether the persecution of Cicero, and whether his professed purpose of resisting Caesar was not to some extent sincere. Or is he now elaborately playing a part, still to deceive Cicero?

eorum et exercitus] 'The strength and the armies of Caesar and Pompey.'

2. *fidem recepisse*] 'had pledged themselves with respect to me.' The mss have *sed fidem*, which was first expelled by Lambinus; it arose from a dittography, *passus esset set*. For the phrase, cp. 153, 9 *quid sibi is de me recepisset in memoriam redegit*, and Cat. iii. 10 *quae sibi legati eorum recepissent*. Dr. Reid has kindly written to us as follows:—'The phrase *fidem recepisse sibi* for *fidem dedisse* is unusual Latin. I am not sure, however, that it is wrong. *Recipere* is ordinarily used with an accusative indicating something to be done: it is as if we were to speak of "undertaking a promise." I suppose the expression may be regarded as a loose extension of

officium recipere and the like, and the dative may depend on the general idea of promising. But the suspicion comes back that Cicero wrote *dedisse*, and that the corruption is an example of the endless interchange of *d* and *p* (cp. 19, 2, *peraeque* C: *de reque* M) and a consequent attempt to make sense.'

ita laturum] sc. *tam aegre*, 'he would be so annoyed that.' Mr. Pretor takes it 'would make a formal statement in such a way that.'

antiquius] 'more important,' so *πρεσβύτερον* in Greek.

3. *Rem publicam nulla ex parte*] 'I take no part whatever in politics': cp. 19, 2 *nihil agens cum republica*.

opera . . . forensi] the speeches for Antonius (his old colleague), for Thermus, and for Flaccus are the only speeches of this year of which we have any record. The two first-mentioned are lost. We should probably transpose *nostra* to follow *utuntur opera*.

videatur. 4. Nunc mihi et consiliis opus est tuis et amore et fide. Qua re advola. Expedita mihi erunt omnia, si te habebō. Multa per Varronem nostrum agi possunt quae te urgente erunt firmiora, multa ab ipso Publio elici, multa cognosci quae tibi occulta esse non poterunt: multa etiam—sed absurdum est singula explicare, cum ego requiram te ad omnia. 5. Unum illud tibi persuadeas velim, omnia mihi fore explicata, si te videro: sed totum est in eo si ante quam ille ineat magistratum. Puto Pompeium Crasso urgente, si tu aderis qui per $\beta\omicron\omega\pi\iota\nu$ ex ipso intellegere possis qua fide ab illis agatur, nos aut sine molestia aut certe sine errore futuros. Precibus nostris et cohortatione non indiges. Quid mea voluntas, quid tempus, quid rei magnitudo postulet intellegis. 6. De re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere nisi summum odium

4. Varronem] M. Terentius Varro, cp. 52, 1.

Publio elici] See § 1 *quid esset facturus scire possemus . . . nihil habet certi . . . videtur.*

5. *sed totum est in eo si*] 'but everything depends on your coming before he enters on his tribunate': cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 1 (148) *totum in eo est ut tectorium concinnum sit.*

Puto Pompeium] 'I think if you are here while Crassus is egging on Pompey against me, you, who by means of Clodia, could discover from Clodius himself how far the professions of the Triumvirs are sincere—then, I think, I shall be free from annoyance, or at least from any misapprehension about my real position.' So this must be translated, if the text be preserved. The meaning seems to be that, while Crassus is influencing Pompey, Cicero cannot expect to obtain from him any hint as to the real feelings of Pompey, nor of Varro, Appius, and others who professed good will to Cicero: he must find them out indirectly from Clodius himself, who seems to have been as outspoken as Pompey was reserved: cp. § 2 for Cicero's mistrust of Pompey. We feel sure that *ipso* cannot refer to Crassus. If this were possible, the sentence would be easy. 'As it is Crassus who is the real instigator of Pompey against me, you will be able to find out from him, through Clodia, how far they are sincere in their promises of protection of me.' But what has Clodia to do with Crassus? *Ipsa* must be Clodius, 'my open foe,' as op-

posed to his covert instigators. Even if Clodia had any secret intrigue or influence with Crassus, it would be absurd to employ her to sound Crassus, when she might go to her own brother, as Cicero frequently suggests in his other letters. This is the first time that he mentions that Crassus is taking part against him. He might have written something like this, *puto Pompeium a Crasso urgeri, at, si tu, &c.* Schütz suggests *puto Pompeio Crassum urgente*; but explains as if Clodia had some influence with Crassus. This reading might, however, bear a better sense than Schütz himself gives to it: 'I think, what with the good offices of Pompey with Crassus, that if you were present—who, by means of Clodia, could get information from the fountain-head—(Clodius himself)—I should be free from persecution, or at least from misapprehension of my real position.' For *ipso*, referring to the chief person, cp. Juv. v. 114, where *ipsum* refers to the host; and the well-known *ipse dixit* = $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\alpha$, Quintil. xi. 1, 27. So $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is Socrates, Aristoph. Nub. 219.

6. habeo] 'I can' = $\epsilon\chi\omega$ in such phrases as $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ = $\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$: cp. Fam. i. 5a, 3 (99) *habeo polliceri*; Nat. Deor. iii. 93 *dicere habui*. 'I have nothing to write' would of course be *nihil habeo quod scribam*; and *non habeo scribere*, 'I cannot write anything.' *Non habeo quid scribam* is 'I don't know what to write': cp. *quid agam non habeo*, Att. vii. 19 (317), where we also find *nihil habeo quod scribam*.

omnium hominum in eos qui tenent omnia. Mutationis tamen spes nulla. Sed, quod facile sentias, taedet ipsum Pompeium vehementerque paenitet. Non provideo satis quem exitum futurum putem. Sed certe videntur haec aliquo eruptura. 7. Libros Alexandri, neglegentis hominis et non boni poëtae sed tamen non inutilis, tibi remisi. Numerium Numestium libenter accepi in amicitiam et hominem gravem et prudentem et dignum tua commendatione cognovi.

50. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 23).

ROME; AFTER JULY 25TH; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De epistula propter summam occupationem in ambulando dictata, de Cn. Pompeii illiusque partis misera condicione, de ratione sua vivendi quam iam superiore epistula exposuerat, de P. Clodio sibi minante, de adventu Attici ardentissime a se exspectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Numquam ante arbitror te epistulam meam legisse nisi mea manu scriptam. Ex eo colligere poteris quanta occupatione distinear. Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem et cum recreandae voculae causa necesse esset mihi ambulare, haec dictavi ambulans. 2. Primum igitur illud te scire volo, Sampsiceramum, nostrum amicum, vehementer sui status paenitere restituique in eum locum cupere ex quo decidit, doloremque suum impertire nobis et medicinam interdum aperte quaerere: quam ego posse inveniri nullam puto: deinde omnis illius partis auctores ac socios, nullo adversario, consenescere, consensionem universorum nec

tenent omnia] 'are masters of the situation.' See 45, 1.

eruptura] See last letter, § 1.

7. *prudentem*] often rashly corrected to *pudentem*, as if *prudencia* and *gravitas* were not fitly predicated together. They are coupled in De Or. i. 38, *Gracchorum pater homo prudens et gravis*. Conversely (in 'Hermathena,' vol. ii. p. 109), *pudentius* of the mss has been vindicated from a change to *prudentialius* on Att. vii. 2, 4 (293).

1. *Numquam ante*] See 47, 5 *neque utar meo chirographo, neque signo*.

recreandae voculae] 'my poor voice,' tried by the *opera forensis* to which he referred in last letter: cp. *muliercula*, 'a wretched woman.' See also on 27, 8, where we have suggested that *Romulae* might mean 'our poor degenerate Rome.' Cp. *nepotulus*, Plaut. Mil. 1413.

2. *Sampsiceramum*] The name of an Emir in Coele Syria, often applied to Pompey. Vogüé translates the word *Solis robur*. Sampsiceramus was the ruler of Arethusa and Emesa.

decidit] See 48, 4.

nullo adversario, consenescere] 'the cause (of the triumvirs) is dying a natural

voluntatis nec sermonis maiorem umquam fuisse. 3. Nos autem—nam id te scire cupere certo scio—publicis consiliis nullis intersumus totosque nos ad forensem operam laboremque contulimus. Ex quo, quod facile intellegi possit, in multa commemoratione earum rerum quas gessimus desiderioque versamur. Sed *βοώπιδος* nostrae consanguineus non mediocris terrores iacit atque denuntiat, et Sampsiceramo negat, ceteris prae se fert et ostentat. Quam ob rem, si me amas tantum quantum profecto amas; si dormis, expergiscere: si stas, ingredi: si ingrederis, curre: si curris, advola. Credibile non est quantum ego in consiliis et prudentia tua, quodque maximum est, quantum in amore et fide ponam. Magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat, coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est. Permagni nostra interest te, si comitiis non potueris, at declarato illo esse Romae. Cura ut valeas.

51. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 24).

ROME; OCTOBER (ABOUT); A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De summo desiderio Attici, de Vettii indicio falso in Curionem aliosque adulescentes et de senatus consulto in Vettium facto, ut is, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula coniceretur, de Vettio a C. Caesare in contionem producto eiusque indicio non paullum immutato et in alios homines, Lucullum, C. Domitium, in se quoque converso, de eodem Vettio reo apud Crassum de vi, de condicione vitae suae, de desiderio Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quas Numestio litteras dedi, sic te iis evocabam ut nihil acrius neque incitatus fieri posset. Ad illam celeritatem adde

death. Never was such a unanimity both of feeling and expression against any party.'

3. *Ex quo . . . versamur* 'which (sc. the labor forensis) entails much recounting of my old glories, and painful remembrance of the same.'

terrores 'is giving expression to the most alarming announcements and threats': cp. Att. vi. 8, 2 (281) *miros terrores Caesarianos*, 'alarming news about Caesar.' See on 30, 19.

Sampsiceramo negat, ceteris prae se fert 'He denies to the Emir, but openly avows

to others' (that he is about to take any steps against me).

quodque maximum is to be taken with the subsequent words.

comitiis for the tribunate which Clodius was seeking.

declarato when he is declared elected, but before he enters on his office. The election took place in the summer, but the tribunes did not enter on their office till December 10.

1. *illam celeritatem* 'the speed I then enjoined.'

etiam si quid potes. Ac ne sis perturbatus: novi enim te et non ignoro

quam sit amor omnis sollicitus atque anxius,

sed res est, ut spero, non tam exitu molesta quam aditu. 2. Vettius ille, ille noster index, Caesari, ut perspicimus, pollicitus est sese

quam sit amor] This is probably a verse from some drama: Mr. Jeans very happily renders, 'I cannot forget that to love is to be all made of sighs and tears.'

aditu] 'it is turning out in its issue not so distressing as it seemed likely to be at its beginning.'

2. *Vettius ille, ille noster index*] He had distinguished himself as a spy and informer after the Catiline conspiracy (Dio Cass. xxxvii. 41, 2; Suet. Caes. 17). The true nature of this plot has been variously conceived by different historians, and much obscurity hung round it from the very beginning. It is to be observed that Cicero puts forward the account which he gives only as his own theory, *ut perspicimus, ut res indicat*. Mr. Watson thus sums up the divergent opinions: 'Mommson (4, 206) accepts Cicero's account of the affair. The Emperor Napoleon III. (César i. 399, foll.) suggests, not improbably, that the plot was devised by some adherents of the triumvirs without the knowledge of their chiefs. Merivale (i. 196) thinks there was a real plot against the triumvirs among some of the violent young nobles.' Merivale holds that if it had been prompted by the triumvirs, Vettius would not have included Brutus in his charge (§ 2), since his mother, Servilia, was a favourite of Caesar. Abeken holds the same view as Mommson. Mr. Watson seems to look on the theory of the Emperor Napoleon as the most plausible; and it is (it will be observed) broadly consistent with Cicero's account. Merivale's objection overlooks the fact that Caesar had quite sufficient *finesse* to direct Vettius to include Brutus, so as to deceive the public as to the true source of the move. Brutus was afterwards, as we see (§ 3), struck off the list of the accused. Lange virtually takes Napoleon's view, in spite of Suet. Jul. 20, where it is stated that Vatinius concocted the plot, and that it was he who murdered Vettius. Plutarch (Lucullus 42) says that the nobles having become indignant at the coalition of Pompey with Caesar and Crassus, the party of Pompey (of

Πομπηϊανῶν) produced one Vettius, whom they stated they had detected as plotting against Pompey. Vettius accused several men when examined before the senate, and when produced before the people he accused Lucullus of having suborned him. 'But nobody believed his story, and it straightway became manifest that the man was suborned by them (ἐπ' αὐτῶν, that is τῶν Πομπηϊανῶν) to make false and incriminating charges'; and this was confirmed when later on Vettius was stated to have committed suicide, but, from the marks of violence on his body, was obviously murdered by his suborners. But the most absurd of all the theories is one deservedly passed over in silence by Mr. Watson. It is that of Dio Cassius, who boldly names Cicero and Lucullus as the authors of the plot, xxxviii. 9. This and other judgments of Dio go far to show that he can never have read the letters of Cicero. A more theatrical account incriminating Cicero is given in Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 12). Mr. Shuckburgh (translation, vol. i., pp. 382-3) has an admirable excursus on the subject of this letter, from which we take the liberty of making the following extracts:—'L. Vettius, a kind of Titus Oates, was, like the witness in *Great Expectations*, prepared to swear 'mostly anything' . . . If the principle of *cui bono* is applied, it is evident that the gainers were the party of the triumvirs, whose popularity would be increased by a belief being created that their opponents the Optimates were prepared to adopt extreme measures to get rid of them. It would give them just the advantage which the Rye House Plot gave Charles II. This is Cicero's view, it seems, of the matter, as insinuated in this letter and in his speech against Vatinius (§§ 24-6, cp. Sest. 132). In the letter, however, his insinuations seem directed against Caesar; in the speech Vatinius is the scapegoat . . . The conclusions seem to be (though in such a tangled skein of lies it is impossible to be sure), (1) that there was no plot properly so called, though many of the

curaturum ut in aliquam suspicionem facinoris Curio filius adduceretur. Itaque insinuatus in familiaritatem adolescentis et cum eo, ut res indicat, saepe congressus rem in eum locum deduxit ut diceret sibi certum esse cum suis servis in Pompeium impetum facere eumque occidere. Hoc Curio ad patrem detulit, ille ad Pompeium. Res delata ad senatum est. Introductus Vettius primo negabat se umquam cum Curione constitisse: neque id sane diu: nam statim fidem publicam postulavit. Reclamatum est. Tum exposuit manum fuisse iuventutis duce Curione in qua Paullus initio fuisse et Q. Caepio hic Brutus et Lentulus, flaminis filius, conscio patre: postea C. Septimium, scribam Bibuli, pugionem sibi a Bibulo attulisse: quod totum irrisum est, Vettio pugionem defuisse nisi ei consul dedisset, eoque magis id eiectum est quod a. d. III. Id. Mai. Bibulus Pompeium fecerat certiorum ut caveret insidias: in quo ei Pompeius gratias egerat. 3. Introductus Curio filius dixit ad ea quae Vettius dixerat, maximeque in eo tum quidem Vettius est reprehensus quod dixerat adolescen-

Optimates, and Cicero among them, had used incautious language: (2) that Vettius was suborned by some person or party of persons to make the people believe that there was one: (3) that Caesar—though there is not sufficient evidence to show that he had been the instigator—was willing to take advantage of the prejudice created by the suspicions thus aroused: (4) that though Vettius had served Cicero in his capacity of spy in the days of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and was able to report words of his sufficiently characteristic [cp. note to § 3], yet this letter to Atticus exonerates Cicero from suspicion, even if there were a plot, and even if we could believe that he could have brought himself to plot the death of Pompey."

rem in eum locum] 'Vettius went so far as to confess to Curio that he had resolved to attack and slay Pompey' (hoping by this confession to elicit from Curio some responsive confidence which he might use against him).

constitisse] 'stopped to talk with'; cp. 1 Verr. 19 *cum hoc consistit*; Plaut. Cure. 502 *nec vobiscum quisquam in foro frugis consistere audet*, Cist. 699, Aul. 116. The reading of M *restitisse* can hardly be defended by such passages as Terence Andr. 344, Eun. 337, where *resistere* is used for 'to stop' without *cum*. But it is quite possible that *constituisse* 'had an

appointment with,' or *rem constituisse* 'arranged the matter with,' may be the right reading in our passage.

fidem publicam] 'he demanded that protection which the State guarantees to those who give evidence.' Below, the same thing is expressed in the words *erat indicium postulaturus*.

Reclamatum est] 'amid cries of No' (Mr. Jeans): cp. Fam. i. 2, 2 (96); Sest. 126.

Paullus] L. Aemilius Paullus, afterwards consul with Marcellus in 704 (50). He was now in Macedonia as quaestor.

Q. Caepio] M. Junius Brutus, who afterwards murdered Caesar. He was adopted by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio: hence he is here called Q. Caepio, *hic Brutus*, 'Brutus I mean,' being added to make it clear to Atticus who was meant: cp. Fam. vii. 21 (760).

quod totum irrisum] 'the whole thing, the idea that Vettius could not get a dagger unless the consul found him one, was scoffed at; and the charge was scouted the more because Bibulus had warned Pompey to be on his guard against a plot to murder him.' *Eiectum* is properly 'driven off the stage': cp. ἐκβάλλειν, ἐκπίπτειν of actors: *explosum* is 'hissed off.' In or. pro Quinct. 62, *eiectum* is 'an outcast,' in the most general sense.

tium consilium ut in foro [cum] gladiatoribus Gabini Pompeium adorirentur: in eo principem Paullum fuisse, quem constabat eo tempore in Macedonia fuisse. Fit senatus consultum ut Vettius, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula coniceretur: qui emisisset, eum contra rem publicam esse facturum. Res erat in ea opinione ut putarent id esse actum ut Vettius in foro cum pugione et item servi eius comprehenderentur cum telis, deinde ille se diceret indicaturum, idque ita factum esset, nisi Curiones rem ante ad Pompeium detulissent. Tum senatus consultum in contione recitatum est. Postero autem die Caesar, is qui olim praetor cum esset Q. Catulum ex inferiore loco iusserat dicere, Vettium in rostra produxit eumque in eo loco constituit quo Bibulo consuli aspirare non liceret. Hic ille omnia quae voluit de re publica dixit, ut qui illuc factus institutusque venisset, primum Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit quem in senatu acerrime nominarat, ut appareret noctem et nocturnam deprecationem intercessisse: deinde, quos in senatu ne tenuissima quidem suspicione attigerat, eos nominavit: L. Lucullum, a quo solitum esse ad se mitti C. Fannium, illum qui in P. Clodium subscripserat: L. Domitium, cuius domum

3. *gladiatoribus*] 'at the gladiatorial show given by Gabinius.'

Res erat in ea opinione] Cicero here gives the general impression about the origin of the plot. It would be very rash to refuse credence to his account, especially as he has nothing to gain by falsifying the matter. For the pleonasm in *in ea opinione ut putarent*, see *Madv.* 481b. This pleonasm generally involves the use of some part of *facere*, e.g. *Fam.* iii. 8, 1 (222) *faciendum mihi putavi, ut . . . responderem*: *De Sen.* 42 *invitus feci ut e senatu eicerem*. We have a very similar pleonasm to the present in *Leg. Man.* 38 *tum facilius statuetis quid apud exterarum nationes fieri existimetis*. A still stronger case is in the fragmentary or. *pro Tull.* 47 *Lex permittit ut furem noctu liceat occidere*.

Q. Catulum] Caesar, in his praetorship, 692 (62), had forbidden Catulus to ascend the *rostra* when Catulus was opposing the proposal to transfer to Pompey from himself the task of dedicating the rebuilt temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Hic ille] 'Here he said whatever he (Vettius) pleased.' But possibly Boot is right in reading, on the suggestion of Orelli, *Hic omnia, ille* (sc. Caesar) *quae*

voluit, 'he said everything that Caesar wished,' &c.; but if so, we would explain *hic* 'here' (on the Rostra), not as referring to Vettius.

ut qui illuc] 'as having come there primed and tutored merely (to carry out the instructions of Caesar), he removed the name of Caepio from the list of suspects.'

noctem] a hint that the influence of Servilia, Brutus' mother, had prevailed with Caesar: cp. for *noctem*, 22, 5.

a quo] 'and that by him.' The infinitive can be used in a relative clause in *oratio obliqua* only when the relative can be resolved into the demonstrative with *et*; it is the informer who says that Fannius used to be sent to him; it is Cicero who says *qui in P. Clodium subscripserat*, which would necessarily be *subscripsisset*, if it were part of the report of the informer.

Fannius] was tr. pl. in 695 (59), pontifex in 697 (57), praetor in 699 (55), governor of Sicily and afterwards of Asia in 705 (49), and appears to have met his death about the same time as Pompey, Att. xi. 6, 6 (418).

subscripserat] 'to prosecute,' said either of the chief prosecutor or his associates.

constitutam fuisse unde eruptio fieret: me non nominavit sed dixit consularem disertum, vicinum consulis, sibi dixisse Ahalam Servilium aliquem aut Brutum opus esse reperiri. Addidit ad extremum, cum iam dimissa contione revocatus a Vatinio fuisset, se audisse a Curione his de rebus conscium esse Pisonem generum meum et M. Laterensem. 4. Nunc reus erat apud Crassum Divitem Vettius de vi et, cum esset damnatus, erat indicium postulaturus: quod si impetrasset, iudicia fore videbantur. Ea nos, utpote qui nihil contemnere soleremus, *non contemnebamus sed non pertimescebamus*. Hominum quidem summa erga nos studia significabantur, sed prorsus vitae taedet: ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima. Modo caedem timueramus, quam oratio fortissimi senis Q. Considi discusserat: ea quam cotidie timere

vicinum consulis] Cicero lived on the Palatine; Caesar in the Via Sacra, as Pontifex Maximus: Suet. Jul. 46 *habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus; post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra Via domo publica* ('where his official residence was'). Cp. *sufficit una domus*, Juv. xiii. 160, where the satirist says that to one who seeks to know the character of the people a single *public office* will be enough. Demosthenes (Meid. 542) uses *oikia* in this sense.

Ahala Servilium . . . Brutum] Mr. Shuckburgh well remarks, "If Vettius did say this, he at any rate successfully imitated Cicero's manner. These names are always in his mouth: Phil. ii. 26, 87, 114, Mil. 8, 83, &c."

Brutus] who expelled Tarquinius Superbus.

audisse a Curione] This is a somewhat rare construction. The usual preposition is *e* or *de*, see Madvig on Fin. i. 39. He notices the strange collocation in Fam. x. 28, 3 (819) *illa cognoscas ex aliis, a me pauca*. Other instances of *audire a* are Tusc. iii. 30, De Sen. 43.

generum meum] See 8, 3.

Laterensem] mentioned 45, 2, as giving up his candidature for the tribunate rather than take the oath prescribed to the magistrates about the Campanian land.

4. *Nunc erat*] 'Now he is on his trial; . . . and when he is condemned, he will offer to turn evidence.' This is a very good example of epistolary tenses.

Crassum Divitem] Dives was a common agnomen of the Licinii Crassi: cp. note to 40, 2. Mr. Graves, in the

'Dict. of Biography' mentions a dozen Licinii Crassi who bore it. The Crassus Dives referred to here was probably aedile in 694 (60), and was certainly praetor in 697 (57); cp. Red. in Sen. 23. The *iudices quaestionis* were generally selected from men who had held the aedileship and not yet held the praetorship; see the learned discussion of Willems, *Le Sénat* ii. 293-4.

indicium postulaturus] 'to demand the right (impunity) guaranteed to an informer': cp. § 2 *fidem publicam*.

non contemnebamus] These words were inserted by Wessenberg. This is a case of *parablepsy*. The copyist raised his eyes after writing *soleremus*, and then resumed his task at the second *non*, instead of the first. *Soleremus* is the correction of Klotz for *solemus*. We find cases of *quippe qui*, *utpote qui*, with the indic. in Plautus, Sallust, and Livy; and *quippe qui . . . revocat* is the reading of the mss. in Cic. N. D. i. 28. But, if it is to be corrected, *soleremus* is better than *soleamus* of Or. and Wes. Roby does not mention the passage in the De Natura Deorum while referring to the others, § 1711.

caedem] 'a massacre,' *discusserat*, 'dispelled.'

oratio fortissimi] Plutarch (Caes. 14) tells us that Considius accounted for the small attendance of senators by their fear of violence; on Caesar's asking him, why, then, he had not stayed at home himself, Considius replied, *ὅτι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας* 'ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς, ὀλίγος ἔν, δέεται προνοίας.

ea, quam cotidie] that is, 'a judicial

potueramus subito exorta est. Quid quaeris? nihil me *infortunatius*, nihil fortunatius est Catulo cum splendore vitae tum hoc tempore. Nos tamen in his miseriis erecto animo et minime perturbato sumus, honestissimeque et dignitatem nostram magna cura tuemur. 5. Pompeius de Clodio iubet nos esse sine cura et summam in nos benevolentiam omni oratione significat. Te habere consiliorum auctorem, sollicitudinum socium, omni in cogitatione coniunctum cupio. Qua re, ut Numestio mandavi tecum ut ageret, item atque eo, si potest, acrius te rogo ut plane ad nos advoles. Respiraro si te videro.

52. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 25).

ROME; OCTOBER (ABOUT); A.U.C. 695; B.C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat se velle, si apud eum aliquem ex eius familiaribus laudarit, id eum ad illos scribere, quo magis illi sibi gratificentur: se iam Attici adventum expectare: eo enim sibi in misera rei publicae condicione maxime opus esse videri.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum aliquem apud te laudaro tuorum familiarium, volam illum scire ex te me id fecisse, ut nuper me scis scripsisse ad te de Varronis erga me officio, te ad me rescripsisse eam rem summae

massacre,' consequent on the informations of Vettius: see above, *iudicia fore videbantur*. See Adn. Crit. for another view as to the right reading here.

nihil] Another case of ἀβλεψία, precisely similar to the one just quoted; the words *infortunatius nihil*, omitted in the mss, were added by Lambinus.

Catulo] This man was one of the bulwarks of the Optimate party, a constant opponent of all unconstitutional innovations. Cicero gives him noble praise in his speech for Sestius (§ 101). He was a man *quem neque periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit unquam de suo cursu aut spe aut metu demovere*. He was the first to hail Cicero as *pater patriae* (Pis. 6).

† *hoc tempore*] *Mortis tempore* is suggested by Lambinus; *quod tempore* by Orelli. The latter is the more likely to have been corrupted into *hoc tempore*, but

then some words like *mortuus est* must be supplied, which can hardly be found in the context. Boot prefers *mortis tempore*, quoting from De Or. iii. 12 the very similar passage, *eo vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ortum et extinctum esse arbitror*.

honestissimeque] See Adn. Crit.

5. *item*] 'as eagerly.'

si potest] See on 43, 2.

1. *Cum aliquem . . . sed ut faceret*] 'Whenever I write in praise of any of your friends in my letters to you, I should like that friend to be informed by you that I have done so; for instance, you remember that I mentioned in a letter to you how well Varro had behaved to me, and you replied that you were delighted to hear it. Now, I would rather you had written to him that his conduct met my

tibi voluptati esse. Sed ego mallet ad illum scripsisses mihi illum satis facere, non quo faceret sed ut faceret. Mirabiliter enim moratus est, sicut nosti, ἐλικτὰ καὶ οὐδέν . . . Sed nos tenemus praeceptum illud, τὰς τῶν κρατούντων. At hercule alter tuus familiaris, Hortalus, quam plena manu, quam ingenue, quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit, cum de Flacci praetura et de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret! Sic habeto, nec amantius nec honorificentius nec copiosius potuisse dici. Ei te hoc scribere a me tibi esse missum sane volo. 2. Sed quid tu scribas? quem iam ego venire atque adesse arbitror. Ita enim egi tecum superioribus litteris. Valde te exspecto, valde desidero, neque ego magis quam ipsa res et tempus poseit. His de negotiis quid scribam ad te nisi idem quod saepe? Re publica nihil desperatius, iis, quorum opera, nihil maiore odio. Nos, ut opinio et spes et coniectura nostra fert, firmissima benevolentia hominum muniti sumus. Quare advola: aut expedies nos omni molestia aut eris particeps. Ideo sum brevior quod, ut spero, coram brevi tempore conferre quae volumus licebit. Cura ut valeas.

approval, not that it really did, but so that he might make it do so.' This Varro, the great antiquarian, historian, and didactic poet of the Republic, does not appear here in a very favourable light. He is shifty and cunning; but he must be treated with consideration, for he is a close friend of Pompey.

non quo faceret] sc. *satis*, 'not that he (really) did act to my satisfaction, but in order that he might do so in future.' For *non quo* cp. Kühner on Tusc. ii. 64. *Non quin* is also used as well as *non quo* to exclude a possible inference from something already said, as in De Or. ii. 295, *non tam ut proxim causis elaborare soleo, quam ne obsim: non quin enitendum sit in utroque*. Of course *non quin* is negative.

moratus] 'he has a very strange disposition, as you know; a tortuous mind, and no—you know the rest. I, however, know too well the proverb, needs must.'

ἐλικτὰ κοῦδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίξ φρονούντες are the words in which Andromache inveighs against the Spartans (Eur. Andr. 448).

τὰς τῶν κρατούντων] ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών, Eur. Phoen. 393.

de Flacci praetura] L. Valerius Flaccus, the subject of the *or. pro Flacco* delivered this year, had assisted Cicero in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sall. Cat. 45), and now was defended by Cicero and Hortensius (Hortalus) on a charge of embezzlement in the government of Asia.

missum] = *nuntiatum*, 'that this was the account I gave you of his speech': cp. 28, 3; Fam. v. 20, 1 (302).

2. *scribas*] the *dubitative subjunctive* used in questions: a negative answer is generally expected. Roby, 1610.

quorum opera] sc. *desperata est resp.*

53. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN ASIA (Q. FR. I. 2).

ROME; BETWEEN OCTOBER 25 AND DECEMBER 10; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59;

AET. CIC. 47.

De adventu Statii unius de Quinti libertis hominumque de eo sermonibus scribit. Deinde et Graecorum provincialium et negotiatorum Romanorum de Quinto querelas memorat. Ipse orationis acerbiter et litterarum ad alios missarum indiligentiam fugiendam censet. L. Flavii, praetoris des., querelas exponit et suas obiurgationes excusat. Attali Hypaepeni et Aesopi tragoedi negotium commendat. De rei publicae condicione et de sua Clodii vincendi spe addit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI.

I. 1. Statius ad me venit a. d. viii. Kalend. Novembr. Eius adventus, quod ita scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis, dum is abesset, molestus mihi fuit. Quod autem expectationem tui concursusque eum qui erat futurus, si una tecum decederet neque antea visus esset, sustulit, id mihi non incommode visum est accidisse. Exhaustus est enim sermo hominum et multae emissae iam eius modi voces ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα φῶτα μέγαν, quae te absente confecta esse laetor. 2. Quod autem idcirco a te missus est mihi ut se purgaret, id necesse minime fuit. Primum enim numquam ille mihi fuit suspectus, neque ego, quae ad te de illo scripsi, scripsi meo iudicio, sed cum ratio salusque omnium nostrum qui ad rem publicam accedimus non veritate solum sed etiam fama niteretur, sermones ad te aliorum semper, non mea iudicia perscripsi. Qui quidem quam frequentes essent et quam graves adventu suo Statius

1. *Eius adventus*] 'His arrival gave me some concern, because you said in your letter that you would be plundered by your household during his absence. But there was one fortunate circumstance connected with his sudden arrival: it balked the expectant crowds which would have attended you if he had left the province with you, and had not been seen in Rome before your return; the gossip on the subject is now over.' There is no need to alter *tui* to *sui* with Schütz. Cicero says that, if Quintus had returned with Statius, his return would have caused much public attention, owing to the desire of everyone to see Statius and notice the extent and character of his influence with Quintus; and thereby Quintus would have

met with considerable criticism. Now that Statius has come by himself, the curiosity of the public has been satisfied, and Quintus has escaped the criticism in person: Lehmann, 'Quaest.', p. 36.

decederet] cp. *deducere*, above, 30, 30.

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ] τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν ἐδέγμην ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον ἀλκὴν. These are the words of Polyphemus about Odysseus, Hom. Od. 9, 513. People had heard so much of Statius and his influence with Quintus, that they were disappointed at the insignificance of his appearance.

quae . . . confecta] 'I am glad that all this is over before your return.'

2. *ratio*] 'interest.'

ipse cognovit. Etenim intervenit non nullorum querelis quae apud me de illo ipso habebantur, et sentire potuit sermones iniquorum in suum potissimum nomen erumpere. 3. Quod autem me maxime movere solebat, cum audiebam illum plus apud te posse quam gravitas istius aetatis, imperi, prudentiae postularet—quam multos enim mecum egisse putas ut se Statio commendarem? quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita posuisse: 'Id mihi non placuit: monui, suasi, deterui'? quibus in rebus etiam si fidelitas summa est, quod prorsus credo quoniam tu ita iudicas, tamen species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest—atque hoc sic habeto (nihil enim nec temere dicere nec astute reticere debeo), materiam omnem sermonum eorum qui de te detrahare vellent Statium dedisse: antea tantum intellegi potuisse, iratos tuae severitati esse non nullos: hoc manu misso, iratis quod loquerentur non defuisse.

II. 4. Nunc respondebo ad eas epistulas quas mihi reddidit L. Caesius, quoui, quoniam ita te velle intellego, nullo loco deero, quarum altera est de Blaundenō Zeuxide quem scribis certissimum matricidam tibi a me intime commendari. Qua de re et de hoc

intervenit] 'was present at,'
erumpere] 'were vented on.'

3. *Quod autem me*] The meaning of this sentence, which is interrupted by a very awkward anacoluthon, is this—'What most of all annoyed me was this: that (the manumission of) Statius should have supplied a basis for the gossip of all those who desired to slander you—that formerly it could merely be perceived that some were annoyed by your severity, but that after his manumission, those who were annoyed were no longer without a subject for their strictures.' The long parenthesis from *quam multos* to *potest* intervening between *quod autem me movere solebat* and *Statium dedisse*, moved Cicero to change his construction, and apply *atque hoc sic habeto*, 'the long and the short of it is,' to the support of *Statium dedisse*. Billerbeck looks for the apodosis in the words *quibus in rebus . . . potest*; but this would be very weak, and the parenthesis would not be long enough to justify the anacoluthon. For *atque*, introducing the apodosis, cp. Plaut. Bacch. 279; Epid. 217; Most. 1050; Merc. 256; so Virg. Georg. i. 203.

ἀφελῶς] This word, which seems to

us a certain conjecture for ἀσφαλῶς of the mss, has suffered from the fact that it was at first supposed to be the actual reading of the Med. It is stated by Wesenberg to be found in Ienson's edition; and it was recognized as a variant for ἀσφαλῶς at the time of Junius. Klotz, Baiter, and Wesenberg, however, revert to the reading of M, in the sense, we presume, of 'confidently,' 'with assurance.' But even supposing that the word can have this signification, it is much less appropriate than ἀφελῶς: 'how often did Statius in all naïveté use such expressions as "I did not approve of this,"' &c., thus unconsciously betraying his excessive influence with Quintus. For ἀφελῶς, cp. 24, 1, and Att. vi. 1, 8 (252).

posuisse] See Adn. Crit.

dignitatem habere nullam potest] 'puts you in quite an undignified light.'

4. *Blaundenō*] a native of Blaundus, a town in Phrygia. See note on *nobiliorē quam civitatem suam* below, § 5.

de hoc genere toto] 'on the whole subject of my relations with the Greeks' (Watson): cp. Mahaffy, 'Greek World under Roman Sway,' chap. vi.

genere toto, ne forte me in Graecos tam ambitiosum factum esse mirere, pauca cognosce. Ego cum Graecorum querelas nimium valere sentirem propter hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata, quoscumque de te queri audivi quacumque potui ratione placavi. Primum Dionysopolitas qui erant inimicissimi [mei] lenivi: quorum principem Hermippum non solum sermone meo sed etiam familiaritate devinxi. Ego Apamensem Hephaestium, ego levissimum hominem, Megaristum Antandrium, ego Niciam Smyrnaeum, ego nugas maximas omni mea comitate complexus sum, Nymphontem etiam Colophonium. Quae feci omnia, non quo me aut hi homines aut tota natio delectaret: pertaesum est levitatis, adsentationis, animorum non officiis sed temporibus servientium. 5. Sed ut ad Zeuxim revertar, cum is de M. Cascelli sermone secum habito, quae tu scribis, ea ipse loqueretur, obstiti eius sermoni et hominem in familiaritatem recepi. Tua autem quae fuerit cupiditas tanta nescio, quod scribis cupisse te, quoniam Smyrnae duos Mysos insuisses in culleum, simile in superiore parte provinciae edere exemplum severitatis tuae et idecirco Zeuxim elicere omni ratione voluisse: ultro quem adductum in iudicium fortasse dimitti non oportuerat, conquiri vero et elici blanditiis, ut tu scribis, ad iudicium necesse non fuit, eum praesertim hominem quem ego et ex suis civibus et ex multis aliis cotidie magis cognosco nobiliorem esse

ambitiosum] 'time-serving'; *devinxi*, 'I won him over.'

nugas maximas] 'mere nobodies': cp. Att. vi. 3, 2 (264) *nugarum aliquid*, 'some nobody.'

non quo] See on 52, 1.

animorum] 'whose regard is given, not to one's good conduct towards them, but to one's position.'

5. *Cascelli sermone*] The conversation of Cascellius with Zeuxis was, no doubt, unfavourable to Quintus. *Obstiti*, 'I stopped his narration.'

quae tu scribis] Quintus had told his brother in a letter that he was desirous of making an example of Zeuxis, who was *certissimus matricida*, as in the lower part of his province he had inflicted on two Mysians the traditional punishment of parricides, who were sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a serpent, and a monkey, and thrown into the sea. This was the very threat which Cascellius had reported to Zeuxis. Cp. Iuv. viii. 213 *cuius supplicio non debuit una*

parari Simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.

elicere] 'to tempt out of' (some place of safety).

nobiliorem esse prope quam civitatem suam] This strange expression is not at first sight easy to explain. Mr. Watson, indeed, seeming to feel the difficulty, has the note, "'than his native town," perhaps ironical.' But surely Cicero would not apply such a term to this Greek; and if he did, he would not couple with it a sneer at his town, nor add *prope*. There must be something unsound in the sentence. Mr. Shuckburgh proposes to read *nobiliorem quam pro civitate sua*, 'a man of higher character than you would expect from such an obscure town as his.' But there does not seem to be any need for emendation beyond altering the reading of C *Planindeno* into *Blaundeno*. The town is certainly *Blaundus* (not *Blandus*), as is proved from coins and inscriptions; see the evidence in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 560. It was evidently a town of some

prope quam civitatem suam.—6. At enim Graecis solis indulgeo. —Quid? L. Caecilium nonne omni ratione placavi? quem hominem! qua ira! quo spiritu! Quem denique praeter Tuscenium, cuius causa sanari non potest, non mitigavi? Ecce supra caput homo levis ac sordidus sed tamen equestri censu Catienus: etiam is lenietur. Cuius tu in patrem quod fuisti asperior non reprehendo: certo enim scio te fecisse cum causa. Sed quid opus fuit eius modi litteris quas ad ipsum misisti? 'illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses: te curaturum fumo ut combureretur, plaudente tota provincia.' Quid vero ad C. Fabium nescio quem?—nam eam quoque epistolam T. Catienus circumgestat: 'renuntiari tibi Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo miluino tributa exigere.' Deinde rogas Fabium, 'ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat, si possit: si minus, ad te mittat, uti iudicio comburantur.' Eae litterae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium, si modo sunt tuae, cum leguntur, invidiosam atrocitatem verborum habent. 7. Ac si omnium mearum praecepta litterarum repetes, intelleges esse nihil a me nisi orationis acerbicatem et iracundiam et, si forte, raro litterarum missarum indiligentiam reprehensam. Quibus quidem in rebus si apud te plus auctoritas mea quam tua sive natura paullo acrior sive quaedam dulcedo iracundiae sive dicendi sal facetiaeque valuissent, nihil sane esset quod nos paeniteret. Et mediocri me dolore putas

importance. Zeuxis, Cicero says, was almost more distinguished and famous as a man than Blaundus was as a town, important though that town was; and so he was deserving of greater consideration than a mere ordinary citizen of Blaundus would be; and in any case an inhabitant of Blaundus should not be treated with despotism.

6. *At enim*] 'But it may be said I show this kindness only to the Greeks.'

Tuscenium] See 30, 19.

supra caput] 'impends over us,' as a danger. This phrase is so used by Livy and Sallust, but not elsewhere by Cicero.

ante detraxisses] Quintus had already condoned some offence of Catienus.

fumo ut combureretur] 'smoked to death.' Ursinus suggested *fuerno*, but this would require the further addition of *in*, which Wesenberg supplies.

plagiarium] 'a kidnapper' of children

for the slave-market. This word has its modern sense, 'a plagiarist' in Mart. i. 52, 9.

pullo miluino] His son, whom he calls 'a young kite.'

invidiosam] 'a violence of expression very injurious to your character.'

7. *raro litterarum missarum*] 'and, it may be, occasionally a want of caution in the letters you write'; but perhaps we should transpose *litterarum* and *missarum*, and render, 'your carelessness shown in neglecting to write often enough (the irregularity of your correspondence).' Indeed, perhaps, the transposition is hardly requisite.

dulcedo iracundiae] cp. Hom. II. xviii. 109 (χόλος) ὅστε πολλὸν γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο.

dicendi sal facetiaeque] One of the influences which hurried Quintus into intemperateness of expression was a certain

adfici, cum audiam qua sit existimatione C. Vergilius, qua tuus vicinus C. Octavius? Nam si te interioribus vicinis tuis, Ciliciensi et Syriaco, anteponis, valde magni facis! Atque is dolor est, quod cum ii quos nominavi te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentiae colligendae, qui neque Cyrum Xenophontis neque Agesilaum noverint: quorum regum summo imperio nemo umquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Sed haec a principio tibi praecipiens quantum profecerim non ignoro.

III. 8. Nunc tamen decedens—id quod mihi iam facere videris—relinque, quaeso, quam iucundissimam memoriam tui. Successorem habes perblandum: cetera valde illius adventu tua requiruntur. In litteris mittendis, ut saepe ad te scripsi, nimium te exorabilem praebuisti. Tolle omnis, si potes, iniquas, tolle inusitatas, tolle contrarias. Statius mihi narravit scriptas ad te

'aptitude for clothing an opprobrious message in pointed language,' of which we have instances in § 6.

Vergilius] governor of Sicily as propraetor.

Octavius] governor of Macedonia as propraetor.

interioribus] 'further up the country.' The governor of Syria at this time was Lentulus Marcellinus. It is not known who the governor of Cilicia was; not T. Ampius Balbus, who did not hold the praetorship until 696 (58): *magni* is ironical.

is dolor] 'here is the sting of it' (Jeans).

Cyrum] see 30, 23.

summo imperio] 'though invested with absolute power.' This is what Draeger calls an *ablativus modi*. Such ablatives are not to be explained as ablatives absolute with an ellipse of the deficient participle of *esse*: cp. *summo dolore meo ac desiderio*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148); *cuius dubia fortuna* ('and as his position was insecure'), Fam. xiii. 19, 2 (514); *omni statu omnique populo* ('whatever my position or the public feeling may be'), Att. xi. 24, 1 (441); *praesertim hoc genero* ('with such a son-in-law'), Att. xi. 14, 2 (429); *cavillator genere illo moroso*, 19, 2.

quantum] Possibly *quantum* is here 'how little,' as Mr. Watson suggests; but more probably Cicero here accredits his brother with those many good qualities which he attributes to his own precepts. He had so many qualities, justice,

integrity, &c., in common with Cyrus and Agesilaus, that it was a pity he had not their self-control.

8. *Successorem*] 'Your successor is a very mild-mannered man. Your other qualities will be greatly missed in him.' This would lead one to take *quantum* above in its ordinary sense. Cicero has a high opinion of his brother's character, except for his *iracundia*. His successor appears to have been C. Fabius Adrianus.

litteris] 'requisitionary letters,' of which we have a specimen in § 10. See also Att. v. 21, 7 (250) *sex mensibus imperi mei nullas meas acceperat litteras*. These were letters making certain requisitions, written by Quintus at the request of friends who wished to gain some private end. Of such a nature was the letter which Atticus hoped to obtain from the consuls to induce the Sicyonians to pay their debt to him: cp. above, 40, 2.

Tolle] 'Destroy, if possible, all such letters as are inequitable or eccentric, or run counter to other such letters of yours.' *Tolle* means 'destroy,' not 'rescind,' as is clear from § 9 *vide per homines amantes tui ut haec genera epistularum tollantur*. Besides, if *tolle* meant 'rescind,' or even 'have done with,' 'away with' (as in the phrase *tolle moras*), Cicero would not have added *si potes*. Collections of these letters were being made by the enemies of Quintus; and this was what Cicero desired to check.

Staius mihi] 'Staius told me that such letters were brought before you

solere adferri, ab se legi et, si iniquae sint, fieri te certiore: ante quam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse: ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistularum quae reprehendi solerent. 9. Hoc de genere nihil te nunc quidem moneo: sero est enim: ac scire potes multa me varie diligenterque monuisse. Illud tamen quod Theopompo mandavi, cum essem admonitus ab ipso, vide per homines amantis tui, quod est facile, ut haec genera tollantur epistularum, primum iniquarum, deinde contrariarum, tum absurde et inusitate scriptarum, postremo in aliquem contumeliosarum. Atque ego haec tam esse quam audio non puto, et si sunt occupationibus tuis minus animadversa, nunc perspice et purga. Legi epistulam quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est non probandam: legi non nullas iracundas. 10. Sed tempore ipso de epistulis: nam cum hanc paginam tenerem, L. Flavius, praetor designatus, ad me venit, homo mihi valde familiaris. Is mihi, te ad procuratores suos litteras misisse quae mihi visae sunt iniquissimae, ne quid de bonis quae L. Octavi

already written (by the petitioners themselves); that he used to read them, and apprise you if they contained anything unfair; but that before he joined you, you used to grant them all indiscriminately; and that hence arose the collections of select rescripts of yours which were so severely criticised.' Quintus was in the habit of having all these letters (written by the petitioners themselves) copied and sent to their destination as given under his own hand. Selections from these, comprising such as ran counter to each other, or were unfair or eccentric in any way, were published by his enemies.

9. *Hoc de genere*] that is, the letters in which no *delectus* had been used (which had been indiscriminately granted), which furnished the materials for the published volume. It was too late to obviate their effect; what Cicero now urges on his brother is to destroy all such as might be used for another publication. For this purpose he is to use the services of his friends, which shows that *tolle* and *tollantur* mean 'destroy,' not 'rescind' nor 'discontinue.'

absurde . . . scriptarum] 'written in such an improper and eccentric manner': cp. Att. v. 1, 4 (184) *sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat*. Mr. Jeans

renders, 'written in bad taste, or otherwise startling.'

tam esse quam audio] Kayser marks a lacuna after *tam*, supposing some epithet (perhaps *iniqua*) to have fallen out. But there is no reason to suspect the text here: 'That these faults exist to such a degree as I hear, I do not suppose.' This is a brachylogy not uncommon in Cicero; *tam* and such words stand for attributes easily supplied from what precedes or even from what follows, e.g. *cui corpus bene constitutum sit et exploratum ita semper fore*, Tusc. ii. 17. So 30, 33 *ita fuerunt*, sc. *vectigales*: ep. especially 71, 2.

perspice et purga] 'look through and sift' (Watson).

ipse] Sulla wrote *himself* a letter which purported to come from Quintus.

10. *Sed tempore*] The topic of the letters was seasonable, for just as he had come to that part of his letter, Flavius came in with a complaint about a letter of Quintus, in which he had shown himself a partisan of Fundanius, by sending an order to Flavius not to touch the money of Octavius, whose property he had inherited, until he had paid Fundanius, though the debt was not proved at all. With *tempore ipso* supply *scribebam*, 'most seasonably was I writing.'

Nasonis fuissent, cui L. Flavius heres est, deminuerent ante quam C. Fundanio pecuniam solvissent, itemque misisse ad Apollonidensis, ne de bonis quae Octavi fuissent deminui paterentur prius quam Fundanio debitum solutum esset. Haec mihi veri similia non videntur: sunt enim a prudentia tua remotissima. Ne deminuat heres? Quid si infitatur? Quid si omnino non debet? Quid? praetor solet iudicare deberi? Quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum? non misericordia moveor? Nemo magis: sed via iuris eius modi est quibusdam in rebus ut nihil sit loci gratiae. Atque ita mihi dicebat Flavius scriptum in ea epistula quam tuam esse dicebat, te aut quasi amicis tuis gratias acturum aut quasi inimicis incommodaturum. 11. Quid multa? ferebat graviter, id vehementer mecum querebatur orabatque ut ad te quam diligentissime scriberem: quod facio et te prorsus vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo ut et procuratoribus Flavi remittas de deminuendo et Apollonidensibus ne quid praescribas quod contra Flavium sit amplius. Et Flavi causa et scilicet Pompei facies omnia. Nolo me dius fidius ex tua iniuria

L. Flavius] Probably the tribune who had proposed an agrarian law in 694 (60), and had imprisoned the consul Metellus: see *Addenda to the Commentary*, No. 3.

Apollonidensis] natives of Apollonis (gen., -idis), a town in Lydia, half-way between Pergamum and Sardis.

Quid? praetor solet?] 'What? Is it customary for the governor of a province to decide (on a question of fact) whether a debt is due?' The governor could only pronounce on questions of law; *iudices* appointed by him tried the question of fact—as, whether the money was due or not.

Fundanio non cupio] 'Am not I a well-wisher of Fundanius?' see 43, 4; also Caesar, B. G. i. 18, 8 *cupere Helvetiis*.

via iuris] *via* of M is needlessly changed to *vis* in some editions. 'The method of procedure in some cases does not admit of any private favour.' Klotz compares De Legg. i. 18 *non tam iustitiae quam litigandi tradunt vias*, and Dig. xlii. 8, 22 *ea via iuris occurratur qua creditorum fraudes rescindi solent*, a very close parallel. So often in Cicero, e.g. *docendi viam*, Orat. 114.

ita] 'according as they did or did not accede to your request.' This shows the nature of these letters from governors.

They were not *commands*, but had their sanctions in the power of the governor. He would treat those agents of Flavius as friends if they acceded; as enemies if they did not.

incommodaturum] Med. has *incommoda laturum*; hence Gronovius *incommoda adlaturum*. But the word in the text is found in the margin of Cratander's ed., and Madvig restores it both here and in Fin. v. 50: cp. Gell. i. 25, 15.

11. *remittas de deminuendo*] As Mr. Roby remarks (Class. Rev. i. 69), *de* should be taken as meaning 'concerning,' and not 'from': and the translation should be 'I beg you to make a concession to Flavius' agents in the matter of impairing the estate' (cp. note to 1, 3 *de litterarum missione*). Mr. Roby further notices that *deminuere* is used somewhat technically: cp. Cic. Flacc. 84; Dig. xviii. 1, 26; xxviii. 8, 7.

praescribas] 'dictate.' So Med. rightly. Baiter gives *perscribas*, which would mean 'to make an entry,' or 'to make over,' senses quite alien to the context.

Nolo] 'I would not have you think that I am generous to Flavius and Pompey at the expense of any act of injustice on your part towards Fundanius.'

in illum tibi liberalem me videri, sed [et] te oro ut tu ipse auctoritatem et monumentum aliquod decreti aut litterarum tuarum relinquo quod sit ad Flavi rem et ad causam accommodatum. Fert enim graviter homo et mei observantissimus et sui iuris dignitatisque retinens se apud te neque amicitia nec iure valuisse, et, ut opinor, Flavi aliquando rem et Pompeius et Caesar tibi commendarunt et ipse ad te scripserat Flavius et ego certe. Quare si ulla res est quam tibi me petente faciendam putes, haec ea sit. Si me amas, cura, elabora, perfice ut Flavius et tibi et mihi quam maximas gratias agat. Hoc te ita rogo ut maiore studio rogare non possim.

IV. 12. Quod ad me de Hermia scribis, mihi mehercule valde molestum fuit. Litteras ad te parum fraterne scripseram: quas oratione Diodoti, Luculli liberti, commotus de pactione statim quod audieram iracundius scripseram et revocare cupiebam. Huic tu epistolae non fraterne scriptae fraterne debes ignoscere. 13. De Censorino, Antonio, Cassiis, Scaevola, te ab iis diligi, ut scribis, vehementer gaudeo. Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistula graviora quam vellem, ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν et

auctoritatem] 'an official declaration or record in the form of a decree, or some letter framed to promote the cause and interest of Flavius' (Watson).

quod sit] 'adapted to the interests of Flavius and the justice of the case.'

retinens] 'tenacious of.'

12. *Hermia*] Supposed to have been a slave of M. Cicero.

statim quod] 'directly I had heard.' This is another instance of a usage common to Cicero's letters and the comic stage: compare Plaut. Amph. 148 *diuisti quod ventri victum non datis*; also Ter. Heaut. 54 *inde quod*; as well as a passage from another Roman letter-writer, Plin. Ep. iv. 27 *tertius dies est quod audivi*, and Quintilian, x. 3, 14.

13. *graviora quam vellem*] 'more strongly expressed than I could have wished.'

ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν] Victorius tells us that the whole expression was εὖ ἰσθι, Ποσειδᾶν, ὅτι ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδάσω (sic), that is, a daring mariner defies Poseidon, and vaunts that if his ship must go down, she will go down as a good ship should. So Quintus implies that he will give up the reins of office

with credit, in spite of his own violence and the acts of his enemies, whom he defies. Vict. calls these words *sententiam illam vulgarem*, and they appear to be referred to by Sen. Epist. 85, 33 *qui hoc potuit dicere, 'Neptune, nunquam hanc navem nisi reclam,' arti satisfecit; tempestas non opus gubernatoris impedit sed successum*: cp. Cons. ad Marc. 6, 3 *at ille vel in naufragio laudandus, quem obruit mare navem tenentem et obnixum*. They are to be found in the Rhodian Oration ascribed to Aelius Aristides, § 13 (vol. ii., p. 75, ed. Bruno Keil): ἐνθυμηθέντας ὑμῶν τὸν τοῦ κυβερνήτου λόγον ὅς ἐφη χειμαζομένης αὐτῇ τῆς νεῆς καὶ καταδύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον, "ἀλλ' ὃ Ποτειδᾶν ἴσθι ὅτι ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδύσω." Stobaeus, in Serm. cvi., entitled, ὅτι δεῖ γενναίως τὰ προσπίπτοντα φέρειν ὄντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν ὀφείλοντας, quotes (§ 88, vol. iii., 398, Gaisford) from a work of one Teles, περὶ εὐπαθείας, somewhat the same words, namely, καλῶς τὸ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἐκείνου 'ἀλλ' οὖν γε, ὃ Πόσειδον, ὁρθήν.' οὕτω καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἴποι πρὸς τὴν Τύχην, 'ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἄνδρα καὶ οὐ βλάκα.' This would

ἄπαξ θανεῖν. *Maiores ista [erunt]: meae obiurgationes fuerunt amoris plenissimae:† quae sunt non nulla sed tamen mediocria et parva potius. Ego te numquam ulla in re dignum minima reprehensione putassem, cum te sanctissime gereres, nisi inimicos multos haberemus. Quae ad te cum aliqua monitione aut obiurgatione scripsi, scripsi propter diligentiam cautionis meae, in qua et maneo et manebo et idem ut facias non desistam rogare.* 14. Attalus Hypaepenus mecum egit ut se ne impedires quo minus quod ad Q. Publici statuam decretum est erogaretur: quod ego te et rogo et admoneo, ne talis viri tamque nostri necessari honorem minui per te aut impediri velis. Praeterea Aesopi tragoedi, nostri familiaris, Licinus servus tibi notus aufugit. Is Athenis apud Patronem Epicureum pro libero fuit. Inde in Asiam venit. Postea Plato quidam Sardinianus, Epicureus, qui Athenis solet esse multum et qui tum Athenis fuerat cum Licinus eo venisset, cum eum fugitivum esse postea ex

make Quintus boast that whatever disasters may await him, he would oppose to them a brave front and stout heart; and will, even if foiled, 'die game,' to use a common phrase.

ἄπαξ θανεῖν] possibly from Aesch. Prom. Vinet. 769:

κρείσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

From the context that follows it appears that Quintus means that he would rather die at once than be constantly harassed.

Maiores ista erunt] If *erunt* be right, the meaning must either be (1) 'such expressions must be reserved for more serious distresses,' or (2) 'you will find (on examining the tone of my letter) that these expressions are not warranted (by it).' For this use of the future, cp. *quiescet*, 'she will be found to be asleep,' Juv. i. 126 (Mayor); *sic erit*, 'you will find it so,' Ter. Phorm. 801. But perhaps we should omit *erunt* with Wesenberg, or *erunt* should be connected with the following words, *et* or *ut* being inserted before *fuerunt*.

meae obiurgationes] 'my reproaches were full of affection; such remarks may be justly called reproaches, but in a very moderate, or rather in a very minute,

degree.' Such would be the only possible way of importing a meaning into these words, which no one could for a moment look on as the words of Cicero. Now the reading of the Med. is *quaesunt*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *quaerunt*. The sentence would then run, *QUAERUNT nonnulla sed tamen mediocria et parva potius*; and the meaning is, 'they (my reproaches) require some changes in your conduct, but slight or rather minute changes.' *Quaerunt* is often used, much as *requirunt*, when the subject is an inanimate thing, e.g. 2 Verr. i. 29 *negotio esse quidquam a testibus dictum quod . . . oratoris eloquentiam quaereret*. Even to read *requirunt* would be no great change. The change of tense in *fuerunt* and *quaerunt* is easily explained. 'My letters have always been conceived in a spirit of the warmest affection; they are expressive (as you may still see by referring to them) only of a sense of the absence of certain qualities in you, but,' &c.: compare above, § 8, *cetera valde illius adventu tua requiruntur*. Mr. Shuckburgh conjectures *queruntur*, 'They mention certain things for complaint.' Possibly *desunt* 'you have a few faults.' If *quae sunt non nulla* be read, cp. note on 30, 23; 12, 13.

14. *Hypaepenus*] of Hypaepa, in Lydia. *Publici*] Vid. Adn. Crit.

Aesopi litteris cognosset, hominem comprehendit et in custodiam Ephesi tradidit, sed in publicam an in pistrinum non satis ex litteris eius intellegere potuimus. Tu, quoquo modo potest, quoniam Ephesi est, hominem investiges velim summaque diligentia . . . vel tecum deducas. Noli spectare quanti homo sit: parvi enim preti est qui tam nihil sit: sed tanto dolore Aesopus est adfectus propter servi scelus et audaciam ut nihil ei gratius facere possis quam si illum per te recuperarit.

V. 15. Nunc ea cognosce quae maxime exoptas. Rem publicam funditus amisimus, adeo ut Cato, adulescens nullius consili sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato, vix vivus effugerit, quod, cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare neque praetores diebus aliquot adiri possent vel potestatem sui facerent, in contionem escendit et Pompeium privatum dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum quam ut occideretur. Ex hoc qui sit status totius rei publicae videre potes. 16. Nostrae tamen causae non videntur homines defuturi. Mirandum in modum profitentur, offerunt se, pollicentur. Equidem cum spe sum maxima tum maiore etiam

Aesopi] the tragic actor mentioned Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 82.

publicam] sc. custodiam.

pistrinum] the mill where slaves were obliged to grind.

quoquo modo potest] 'in whatever way it is possible.' The Med. has *est*, not *potest*. But this is not a Ciceronian use of *est*: *potes* has been conjectured by Bentivolius; but *potest* is the slightest change, and is the most likely word to have been corrupted, as *potest* for *feri* *potest* is an idiomatic phrase, probably unfamiliar to the copyist, but common in Cicero and common to him with the Comic Drama. See Att. v. 1, 3 (184) *nihil potuit dulcius*, and v. 17, 4 (209) *quid possit* (sc. *feri*): *potest* = *potest fieri* is very common in Plautus: Ussing, on Amph. 164, quotes sixteen instances, especially *quantum potest* (which is very similar to this). [I cannot feel that there is need for any change; *quoquo modo est*, 'in whatever way he is,' whether in public or private durance, seems to give fair sense. If change were made, I should prefer *rest*, i.e. *res est*.—L. C. P.]

qui tam nihil sit] 'considering how worthless he is.'

15. *amisimus*] 'we have lost our hold

on,' 'it has slipped from under our feet': cp. 22, 6 *reipublicae statum illum . . . elapsum scito esse de manibus*, 'has slipped through our fingers.'

Cato] C. Porcius Cato, tribune in 698 (56), 'a foolish young man, but yet a Roman citizen and a Cato.'

adiri . . . facerent] 'allowed no access to or communication with them' (Watson).

16. *Equidem cum spe*] Med. has *equidem cum spe summa maxima tum maiore etiam anima sperent superiores fore nos confidunt animo ut in hac republica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescant*. Klotz, whose reading is that given in the text, (1) changes *ut* into *in* in three verbs; (2) inserts *ut* twice: and the sentence gives a very fair sense with these slight changes. But we are not sure that Madvig has not gone nearer to the words of Cicero in arranging the passage thus:—*equidem cum spe sum maxima, tum maiore etiam animo; spe, superiores fore nos; animo, ut in hac rep. ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam*; 'I feel great hope and still greater spirit: hope, which tells me that we shall be the victors in this struggle—spirit, which bids me fear no casualty in the present state of public affairs.'

animo, *ut sperem superiores fore nos, ut confidam* animo, *ut in hac re publica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam.* Sed tamen se res sic habet: si diem nobis dixerit, tota Italia concurret ut multiplicata gloria discedamus: sin autem vi agere conabitur, spero fore studiis non solum amicorum sed etiam alienorum ut vi resistamus. Omnes et se et suos amicos, clientis, libertos, servos, pecunias denique suas pollicentur. Nostra antiqua manus bonorum ardet studio nostri atque amore. Si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant aut languidiores, nunc horum regum odio se cum bonis coniungunt. Pompeius omnia pollicetur et Caesar: quibus ego ita credo ut nihil de mea comparatione deminuum. Tribuni pl. designati sunt nobis amici. Consules se optime ostendunt. Praetores habemus amicissimos et acerrimos civis, Domitium, Nigidium, Memmium, Lentulum, bonos etiam alios singularis. Qua re magnum fac animum habeas et spem bonam. De singulis tamen rebus quae cotidie gerantur faciam te crebro certior.

si diem . . . dixerit] sc. Clodius.
concurrerit] 'rally round me.'
discedamus] sc. ex iudicio.
horum regum] the triumvirs.
ita . . . ut nihil] 'without, however, relaxing.' See 10, 1.
comparatione] 'preparation,' so used in Cicero pro Leg. Man. 9; but usually 'an agreement,' or 'a procuring,' or 'trial

of strength.'

Consules] i.e. the consuls elect, L. Piso and A. Gabinius.

Praetores] sc. designatos.

Nigidium] P. Nigidius Figulus, a senator given to the study of astronomy and Pythagorean philosophy.

Memmium] To whom Lucretius addressed his poem.

54. TO CULLEOLUS (FAM. XIII. 42.)

ROME; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero L. Culleolo procos. Illyrici L. Lucceium commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. CULLEOLO PROCOS.

1. L. Lucceius meus, homo omnium gratissimus, mirificas tibi apud me gratias egit cum diceret omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cum oratio tua tam ei grata fuerit, quam gratam rem ipsam existimas fore, cum, ut spero, quae pollicitus es feceris! Omnino ostenderunt Bulliones sese Lucceio Pompei arbitrato satis facturos. 2. Sed vehementer opus est nobis et voluntatem et auctoritatem et imperium tuum accedere. Quod ut facias te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illudque mihi gratissimum est, quod ita sciunt Luccei procuratores et ita Lucceius ipse ex litteris tuis quas ad eum misisti intellexit, hominis nullius apud te auctoritatem aut gratiam valere plus quam meam. Id ut re experiatur iterum et saepius te rogo.

1. *L. Lucceius*] This is the Lucceius who is spoken of in the early letters to Atticus. He is said to have thought of standing for the consulship (23, 11), but apparently he never did so. The title of proconsul does not necessarily imply that Culleolus had been consul. It was sometimes given to a provincial governor in command of an army, but only as long as he was in his province. This letter must have been written before the termination of Caesar's first consulate, because to him was then assigned the provinces of the Gauls and Illyricum, which he did not relinquish during the life of Pompey: now, this letter was evidently written during the life of Pompey. We have no evidence that Culleolus was governor of Illyricum at all, except the mention in this letter of the inhabitants of Bullis, a town in Illyricum, or perhaps in Epirus nova. If Culleolus was not governor of Illyricum, there are no data for fixing

the date of the letter.

procuratoribus] 'his agents.'

Cum oratio] 'When the expression of your readiness to serve him pleased him so much, how grateful will he be for the performance of your promise, when you keep it, as I hope you will.' *Oratione* and *re* correspond to the Greek λόγος and ἔργον.

Bulliones] The inhabitants of Bullis, no doubt, owed Lucceius money; and Culleolus promised him *litterae* to them, such as we read of in the last letter, §§ 8, 10. The *Bulliones* promised to do all Lucceius wanted, but 'the good will and official countenance' of Culleolus were required to induce them to carry out their undertaking. *Bulliones* (the form of the name given in the mss) is confirmed by Plin. H. N. iii. 145. See Adn. Crit.

2. *auctoritatem aut gratiam*] 'moral or social influence.'

55. TO THE SAME CULLEOLUS (FAM. XIII. 41).

ROME; A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero L. Culleolo procos. Illyrici L. Luceium commendat.

CICERO CULLEOLO S.

1. Quae fecisti L. Lucei causa, scire te plane volo te homini gratissimo commodasse, et cum ipsi quae fecisti pergrata sunt, tum Pompeius, quotienscumque me videt (videt autem saepe), gratias tibi agit singularis. Addo etiam illud, quod tibi iucundissimum esse certo scio, me ipsum ex tua erga Luceium beniginitate maxima voluptate adfici. 2. Quod superest, quamquam mihi non est dubium quin cum antea nostra causa, nunc iam etiam tuae constantiae gratia mansurus sis in eadem ista liberalitate, tamen abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto ut ea quae initio ostendisti, deinceps fecisti, ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te velis. Id et Luceio et Pompeio valde gratum fore teque apud eos praeclare positurum confirmo et spondeo. De re publica deque his negotiis cogitationibusque nostris perscripseram ad te diligenter paucis antea diebus easque litteras dederam pueris tuis. Vale.

1. *Quae fecisti*] 'In what you have done (as to what you have done), let me tell you, you have obliged a most grateful man.' *Commodasse quae fecisti* must not be taken closely together; this would require *feceris*.

2. *tuae constantiae gratia*] 'to preserve your character for consistency.'
ut ea . . . velis] 'that, as regards those services which you first promised

in words, and afterwards rendered in acts, you will now allow them to be brought to a crowning issue and completion.'

praeclare positurum] 'that you will have well invested (laid out) your services in assisting them.' This is often the meaning of *ponere* in Cicero, e.g. in Fam. xiii. 54 (253) *apud gratos homines beneficium ponis*.

PART III.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO: LETTERS WRITTEN DURING HIS EXILE.

EPP. 56-89.

A. U. C.,	696-697
B. C.,	58-57
AET. CIC.,	48-49



PART III.

THE Letters of Cicero's exile begin in April, 696 (58), and end in August, 697 (57). The first is a letter written to Atticus on Cicero's journey to the estate of his friend Sicca, near Vibo, in Bruttium. The enactment forbidding him to live within 500 miles of Italy forced him to leave Vibo. He would have preferred to spend his exile in Athens; but Autronius and other Catilinarian conspirators were there, and he feared their hostility. Athens was also rendered ineligible by the fact that there was some doubt whether it was not less than 500 miles from Italy. This consideration, however, cannot have had much weight with him, for he spent a considerable part of his exile at Thessalonica, which is not so far as Athens from Italy. He was at Thessalonica from June 1 to the beginning of November. He was invited by Atticus to stay at his house at Buthrotum; but he rejected the offer, feeling (among other motives) that the associations of the place would be too painful in the absence of Atticus. It was through the kindness of his friend Plancius, whom he afterwards defended so well, that he was enabled to live in security in Thessalonica. Cicero went to Dyrrachium in the end of November, 696 (58), so that he might be nearer to Italy, and might avoid meeting Piso, who was appointed governor of Macedonia. Cicero appears to have apprehended molestation from him and his soldiery. He left Dyrrachium on the 4th of August, 697 (57), on the day on which the bill for his recall had passed the *comitia centuriata* (1, 4), arriving at Brundisium on the next day. There he was met by Tullia. It happened to be Tullia's birthday (*ibid.*). On

the 8th he heard of the success of the bill for his restoration; and at once set out for Rome, where he arrived on September 4, 697 (57). Cicero's letters from exile are full of complaints about the perfidy of Hortensius and Pompey and the supineness of Atticus; and indeed all his friends do not seem to have stood very staunchly by him (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 6). Again and again he declares that he should never have left Rome, as he did, before he was assailed by name; but should have appealed to force against Clodius, in which case, he says, *aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus*, 73, 4. His leaving Rome he calls *turpissimum consilium*, and, somewhat weakly, upbraids Atticus and his other friends for not dissuading him from such a step. Dio Cassius tells us that Cicero actually endeavoured to raise the mob, but was dissuaded by Cato and Hortensius, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὄπλα ἄρασθαι . . . κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὀρτησίου, μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δὴ καὶ ἄκων μετὰ τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότης ἐθελοντῆς πεφευγῶς, μετέστη (xxxviii. 17, 4). But the whole tone of this extract shows the *animus* of Dio Cassius against Cicero. There is no evidence that Cicero ever seriously sought to appeal to violence before his banishment; though during his absence he often says that it would have been better to have lost his life in opposing Clodius than to languish in exile. His boast in the *Orat. pro Sest.*, § 45, that he was deterred by patriotism from resisting Clodius by arms, *me propter salutem meorum civium, quae mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem caedemque fugisse*, must be looked on as an afterthought; for the whole tenor of his letters in exile shows equally clearly that he never contemplated an appeal to force before his exile; and that after his exile he never ceased to regret that he had not made such an appeal. Indeed, a passage in 83, 5, when rightly understood, seems to show that he suggested, to bring about his restoration, the use of that violence which he might have used to avert his exile; the

multitudo comparata there spoken of is probably the band of bravoes with which Milo did such good service, when μονομάχους τινὰς . . . ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ᾗει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐγίγνοντο (Dio Cass. xxxix. 8, 1). But there can be little doubt that, if he had really sought to raise the mob in his behalf and to bring to the city his numerous supporters among the rural populations, he would have found less difficulty in averting his banishment than he afterwards found in effecting his restoration. This he saw clearly when too late, as may be gathered from two letters to Terentia, 82, 2 *intellego quanto fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire*; and 84, 2 *eicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est*. Next to his *turpissimum consilium* in leaving Rome, he regrets his want of resolution in not having at once destroyed himself when he saw that his exile was an accomplished fact; and he hints that, if the attempts made in the beginning of 697 (57) should fail, no course will remain for him but to take his own life.

Plutarch (Cic. 32) speaks with grave censure of Cicero's faint-heartedness during his exile as unworthy of a man so well educated and cultured. He says ἀθυμῶν καὶ περίλυπος διῆγε τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγρονῶς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ἄνδρα παιδείᾳ συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτῃ προσεδόκησε.

We meet a remarkable statement in 63, 3 *ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset*; and we do find in the letters from exile a carelessness and inaccuracy of expression which contrast strongly with the style of his happier days. See *Introductio*, § 2.

Of the letters in exile, twenty-seven are addressed to Atticus, two to his brother Quintus, four to Terentia and the other members of his family at Rome, and one to the consul Metellus Nepos,

begging him to forget their former misunderstanding and to aid in his restoration. The period of Cicero's exile is (as might be expected) destitute of literary and oratorical remains.

Atticus left Rome in the end of 696 (58), and did not return till the beginning of 698 (56), when he married Pilia, February 5th, 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. Their daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the wife of Tiberius before he was Emperor.

LETTERS OF THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 56-86.

A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

COSS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO, A. GABINIUS.

CLODIUS, after carrying several measures framed to win the support of the various classes at Rome, and having secured the assistance of the consuls by agreeing to assign Syria to Gabinius and Macedonia to Piso, brought in a bill that *qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*. Cicero afterwards saw that his proper course would have been to ignore this bill, or even to support it, for it had in it many elements of popularity. He appealed to Pompey for advice. The triumvirs were all unwilling to oppose Clodius; for his great influence as a tribune might have been exerted to impede their legislation of the preceding year. Caesar, at a meeting held by Clodius outside the walls, condemned Cicero's illegal conduct in executing the conspirators, but deprecated the punishment with which Clodius threatened Cicero for the illegality (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 2). Pompey replied *se contra armatum tribunum pl. sine consilio publico decertare nolle, consulibus ex senatus consulto rem publicam defendentibus se arma sump-turum* (Pis. 77); cp. Sest. 41. This ungenerous reply—or perhaps another reply of Pompey, recorded in Att. x. 4, 3 (382) *se nihil contra Caesaris voluntatem facere posse*—in addition to his adopting every kind of device so as to avoid an interview with Cicero, alarmed Cicero so much that he left Rome at the end of March. On the very day on which Cicero left Rome, Clodius brought in his second bill directed against Cicero expressly. It was brought before the *comitia tributa*, and ran *velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*. On its passing, his villas at Tusculum and Formiae and his house on the Palatine were destroyed, and the site of his house was dedicated to Liberty.

For his movements during his exile, see Introd. to Part III.; and for a discussion on the laws concerned with Cicero's banishment, and his movements until he left Italy, see Addenda to the Commentary Note vi.

Shortly after the departure of Cicero, ill-feeling broke out between Clodius and Pompey. Clodius had connived at the escape of an Eastern prince, Tigranes, who was a hostage at Rome, and, further, proposed measures which assailed some of Pompey's arrangements in the East. Gabinius and Clodius came into actual conflict. The friends of Cicero took heart; and on the 1st of June, 696 (58), L. Ninnius Quadratus brought before the Senate a bill for his recall, which was unanimously accepted by the Senate, but was vetoed by the tribune Aelius Ligus. The Senate, according to Plutarch (Cic. 33), resolved to ratify nothing and to do no public business until Cicero was restored. Quintus Cicero, on his return from Asia about this time, appears to have been enthusiastically received by the optimates (Cic. Sest. 68). Pompey regarded with favour the measures taken for Cicero's recall, and spoke of the introduction of a bill after the elections; and appears to have written to Caesar on the subject (Ep. 76, 1). The elections turned out unfavourably for Clodius; and in August he actually planned an attack on Pompey's life. This was detected; and in consequence the power of Clodius was virtually broken. Sestius and Fadius, who had been quaestors in the year of Cicero's consulship, prepared bills; and Sestius went to Caesar in North Italy to solicit his consent for Cicero's recall (Cic. Sest. 71). Again, on October 29, eight of the tribunes brought in a bill with a similar aim, which Cicero severely criticises in Ep. 83. In Ep. 85, Cicero bitterly regrets the blunder made by his friends in Rome, in allowing the estimates for the provinces to be passed before the new tribunes came into office. He feared that this step would alienate the new tribunes, eight of whom were favourable to his cause. This apprehension, however, proved groundless (see Ep. 85, notes). At the end of this year Atticus left Rome. He had, towards the close of the year, been adopted, and left heir to a large fortune by the will of his uncle, Q. Caecilius, who died at this time.

One of the new tribunes, C. Messius, proposed himself (*separatim*) a bill for the recall of Cicero (Post red. in Sen. 21); and later in December eight of the new tribunes conjointly brought in a bill of the same tenor; and, as the issue of the debates on these measures, some kind of a decree of the Senate favourable to Cicero was passed (cp. Ep. 87).

56. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 3).

BETWEEN SOME VILLA (PERHAPS ARPINUM) AND NARES LUCANAE;
BEFORE APRIL 8; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Vibonem iter suum convertisse et vehementissime Attici eo adventum exspectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Utinam illum diem videam, cum tibi agam gratias, quod me vivere coëgisti! Adhuc equidem valde me paenitet. Sed te oro ut ad me Vibonem statim venias, quo ego multis de causis converti iter meum. Sed eo si veneris, de toto itinere ac fuga mea consilium capere potero. Si id non feceris, mirabor, sed confido te esse facturum.

For a discussion on the dates of Epp. 56-61, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note vi. The order of time in which these letters were written is 59, 56, 57, 60, 58, 61.

[*Adhuc equidem*] In reading *equidem*, with all the mss (see Adn. Crit.), I follow Hofmann, who points out that again in Att. xiii. 26, 1 (591) the Med. gives *equidem id erit primum* (though C gives *et quidem*); again, in the same letter, § 2, we have *equidem credibile non est quantum scribam*, where it is very harsh to join *equidem* with *scribam*. But the most important argument in favour of *equidem* is not mentioned by its defenders. It is the usage of the comic stage, between which and the letters we have already found so many parallels. Ritschl has in vain endeavoured to expunge it from Plautus. Ussing, on Amph. 757, mentions at least five places where *equidem* with the third person is right. He adds a list of the other passages in which *equidem* is found with 2nd or 3rd pers. sing., or with the plural: viz., Sall. Cat. 52, 11, 16; 58, 4; Varro, R. R. i. 5, 1; Liv. v. 51, 4; and in poetry, Verg. Aen. x. 29; Prop. ii. 31, 5; Pers. v. 45;

Lucan viii. 824. So that Priscian seems to have been right when he said, 'potest *equidem* et ad primam et ad secundam et ad tertiam transferri personam'; and Bentley was misled by an erroneous theory that *equidem* was compounded of *ego* and *quidem*, when he said that *equidem* was never used but with the first person before the time of Nero. [But the trifling nature of the change, and the fact that in some cases—e.g. Att. viii. 14, 2 fin. (349), xi. 15, 2 fin. (430)—*equidem* of M can hardly be right, justify the alteration to *quidem* here.—L. C. P.]

[*Vibonem*] A town in Brutii called Hippo by the Greeks, but Vibo after its colonization by the Romans; now Monte Leone.

[*multis de causis*] The chief reason was his intention to cross from hence to Sicily, as appears from Plane. 95.

[*Sed*] Wesenberg (Em. Alt., p. 95) alters to *scilicet*; but, as Lehmann (Quaest. p. 75) points out, there is an opposition between the sentences, 'I have already decided, and for good reasons, to go to Vibo: but if you come there, we shall be able to discuss my whole journey.'

57. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 2.).

NARES LUCANAE; APRIL 8; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se in fundo Siccae prope Nares Lucanas versari et Attici adventum expectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Itineris nostri causa fuit, quod non habebam locum ubi pro meo iure diutius esse possem quam in fundo Siccae, praesertim nondum rogatione correctata, et simul intellegebam ex eo loco, si te haberem, posse me Brundisium referre, sine te autem non esse nobis illas partis tenendas propter Autronium. Nunc, ut ad te antea scripsi, si ad nos veneris, consilium totius rei capiemus. Iter esse molestum scio, sed tota calamitas omnis molestias habet. Plura scribere non possum, ita sum animo perculso et abiecto. Cura ut valeas. Data VI. Id. Apr. Narib. Luc.

pro meo iure] 'independent,' 'unmolested.'

nondum rogatione correctata] 'since the bill is not yet finally amended.' Clodius having passed the law interdicting from fire and water anyone who should have compassed the death of Roman citizens uncondemned, afterwards carried a law in the *comitia tributa* banishing Cicero by name (Sest. 65). This bill had to be posted for three market-days before it passed; in the meantime it could be amended. The nature of the amendment seems to have been the fixing of a limit of distance beyond which Cicero might live unmolested. We see from the next letter that the bill was actually amended. Plutarch (Cic. 32, 1) tells us that this limit of distance from Italy beyond which Cicero was to live was 500 miles. Dio Cass. (xxxviii. 17, 7) gives the distance as 3750 stadia from Rome. If $7\frac{1}{2}$ stadia be reckoned to the mile, that gives exactly 500 miles. See Addenda to the Commentary, Note vi.

si te haberem] sc. *meum*: cp. Att. xiii. 9, 1 (623) *cum haberem Dolabellam*.

illas partis] 'those districts': cp. Fam. xii. 7, 2 (823) *omnes quae in istis partibus essent opes*; and Mur. 89 *ad Orientis partis*.

Autronium] P. Autronius Paetus, one of the Catilinarian conspirators, who would naturally seek to injure Cicero.

tota calamitas] Wesenberg corrects *tota* to *tanta*; but it seems to us that *tota* of the mss is very much better. It is most pertinent to say, 'there is no part of this miserable business that is not full of annoyances,' one of which is the necessity of being troublesome to one's friends.

Narib. Luc.] Between the rivers Sila-rus and Crataeis is a piece of land called *Nares Lucanae*. *Naris Luc.* is the reading of M. The town on this piece of land is now called Monte Nero. Sall. Hist. 3 (Frag. 301), p. 263, ed. Kritz.

Drum. V. 631

58. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 4).

LEAVING VIBO; APRIL 13 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se a Vibone discessisse et Brundisium contendere, quo ut veniat Atticum hortatur.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas quod a Vibone, quo te arcessebamus, subito discessimus. Adlata est enim nobis rogatio de perniciē mea, in qua quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quingenta milia liceret esse. Illo cum pervenire mihi non liceret, statim iter Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis, ne et Sicca, apud quem eram, periret et quod Melitae esse non licebat. Nunc tu propera ut nos consequare, si modo recipiemur. Adhuc invitamur benigne. Sed quod superest timemus. Me, mi Pomponi, valde paenitet vivere: qua in re apud me tu plurimum valuisti. Sed haec coram. Fac modo ut venias.

inconstantiae] 'fickleness,' 'changeableness.'

quingenta] So we read with Boot (Obs. Crit., pp. 45, 46) for *quadringenta*. See Addenda to Commentary, Note vi.

Illo] What is the meaning of *illo*? It means, says Boot (Obs. Crit. 46), 'in Siciliam quae rogatione Clodii erat excepta ut tradit Dio l. c. καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη.' Mr. Clement Smith thinks it strange that Cicero should not have mentioned that Vergilius refused to allow him to enter his province, and conjectures (p. 83) that a clause has dropped out before *illo*, something of this nature, <simul litterae a Vergilio nostro quibus significabat se nolle me in Sicilia esse>. *Illo cum pervenire non liceret*, &c. But M² and s are the only mss which give *illo cum*. The others read *illo*, *illuc*, or *illec*. The forms *illo* or *illuc* are not Ciceronian; but we find *istoc* three times in Caelius, Fam. viii. 4, 1; 8, 10; 9, 4; so perhaps, if we refuse to adopt *illo*, the less elegant form may be tolerated in a letter of

Cicero's, composed hurriedly, when he was in distress of mind. Then *illo* or *illuc* will mean 'to Epirus': cp. 57 *sine te autem non esse nobis illas partis tenendas propter Autronium* (cp. 63, 1). If that view is rejected, we would suggest for *illo* something like *alio quo*. If *illo* be taken, with Manutius, to mean 'the limit of distance prescribed by the bill,' we must, with Boot, insert *mari* before *pervenire*, comparing *Planc. 96 nam maritimos cursus praecludebat hiemis magnitudo*, 'it being impossible to go to the required distance by sea on account of the stormy weather.' Perhaps for *pervenire* should be read *per ventum ire*.

ne et Sicca] *Et ne Sicca* would be the more natural order, but cp. 61, where *et ut in Epiro* stands for *ut et*. The natural order of these particles seems to have been sometimes departed from, perhaps through carelessness.

periret] So Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 7 καὶ προσπεκνήχθη ἵν' εἰ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὕποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

59. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 1).

SOME VILLA (PERHAPS ARPINUM); ^{also var Nr 56-58} END OF MARCH; A. U. C. 696;
B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero rogatione P. Clodii lecta Italia profugit et Epirum petens ut se consequatur Atticum hac epistula vehementer rogat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum antea maxime nostra interesse arbitrabar te esse nobiscum, tum vero, ut legi rogationem, intellexi ad iter id quod constitui nihil mihi optatius cadere posse quam ut tu me quam primum consequerere, ut, cum ex Italia profecti essemus, sive per Epirum iter esset faciendum, tuo tuorumque praesidio uteremur, sive aliud quid agendum esset, certum consilium de tua sententia capere possemus. Quam ob rem te oro des operam ut me statim consequare, quod eo facilius potes quoniam de provincia Macedonia perlata lex est. Pluribus verbis tecum agerem, nisi pro me apud te res ipsa loqueretur.

60. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 5).

THURII; APRIL 10; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit sibi gratum esse, quod Terentia Attico gratias egerit, se in summa miseria sibi constare et amorem ab Attico expectare et ipsum praestare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Terentia tibi et saepe et maximas agit gratias. Id est mihi gratissimum. Ego vivo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior.

de provincia Macedonia perlata lex]
Atticus had business transactions in Macedonia, so it would be for his interest to be in Rome at the appointment of the governor of Macedonia, to bespeak his good offices. The bill had just passed assigning Macedonia to Piso, so Atticus

was free to leave Rome.

vivo] another echo of the comic drama, where *vivere* often nearly stands for *esse*, in phrases like *ecquis me vivit fortunatior*, Ter. Eun. 1031, and in Plautus *passim*.

Ad te quid scribam nescio. Si enim es Romae, iam me adsequi non potes: sin es in via, cum eris me adsecutus, coram agemus quae erunt agenda. Tantum te oro ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, ut eodem amore sis. Ego enim idem sum: inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt. Cura ut valeas. Data III Id. Apr. Thuri.

61. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 6).

NEAR TARENTUM; APRIL 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Dolet M. Cicero Atticum ad se nondum venisse, sibi iter esse in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Non fuerat mihi dubium quin te Tarenti aut Brundisi visurus

ut, quoniam . . . ut] So the mss. This repetition of *ut*, common when several words intervene, is seldom found after such a short parenthesis as this. But we must not desert M needlessly; and Hofmann adduces a parallel from Liv. xxii. 11, 4 *edicto proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta*. So also, but with a somewhat longer parenthesis, in 30, 38. See many more examples in Dr. Reid's note to Acad. ii. 139.

me ipsum] 'since you have loved me for myself' (not for my position, &c.).

Thuri] The mss have *Thuri* or *Thurii*, which Hofmann defends as the genitive of the old form *Thurium* (cp. Mela ii. 4, 68). So M has *Brundisi*, 63, *fin.*, and *Dyrrachii*, 81, *fin.*, which are rashly changed by Klotz to *Brundusio*, *Dyrrachio*; for though the address of the writer is usually put in the ablative, yet sometimes the genitive (or more properly speaking, the locative) is used. *Thessalonicae* is given by the Med. six times in the next few letters, i.e. in last words of 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 78. It is very bold of Klotz to correct all these passages. There is no absolute uniformity of practice as to the address of Cicero's letters. In Att. xvi. 10, *fin.* (801) we have in *Sinuessano*; in Att. v. 3 (186) a *Pontio ex Trebulano*; in 61

de Tarentino. Klotz again rashly corrects *Thessalonicae* in 66, *fin.*, and gives *Placentia* for *Placentiae* in Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 1 (141). Dr. Reid, however, in a most learned discussion on the subject (*Hermathena*, xii. 275-7, No. xxix. 1903), seems to regard the locative in such cases as doubtful. He says, "Of locatives the mss give us *thuri*, *turri*, *Thurii* in Att. iii. 5 (60), *Brundisi* in iii. 7 (63), *Dyrrachi* in iii. 22 (81), *Pergae* in Fam. xii. 14 (883) and 15 (891); while there are seven letters in which *Thessalonicae* occurs, six in Att. iii., and one in Q. Fr. i. 3 (66) (written about the same time). It is not a little curious that the locatives in letters written by Cicero himself all occur in epistles despatched during his exile; while Fam. xii. 14 (883) and 15 (891) are not his. It cannot be said that these locatives are above suspicion. The letters which contain *Thessalonicae* needed no note of origin, and the word may have been attached by copyists. If so, there only remain *Thurii* and *Brundisi* and *Dyrrachi*, for which I should not hesitate to write *Thuriis* and *Brundisio* [cp. 62 *fin.*] and *Dyrrachio*."

Nissen proposes to read *Eburi* for *Thuri*, as *Eburum* is a town not far from Nares Lucanae; but see Addenda to Commentary, Note vi.

essem idque ad multa pertinuit: in eis et ut in Epiro consistere-
mus et de reliquis rebus tuo consilio uteremur. Quoniam id non
contigit, erit hoc quoque in magno numero nostrorum malorum.
Nobis iter est in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum. Tibi meos commendo.
Me vix misereque sustento. Data XIII Kal. Maias de Tarentino.

62. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 4). *Boeck. 16*

BRUNDISIUM; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Tullius uxori Terentiae scribit se Brundisio per Macedoniam Cyzicum proficisci
et sollicitum esse de ipsa et liberis: de servis manu mittendis, de doloris sui solacio, de
libertorum fide.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Ego minus saepe do ad vos litteras quam possum, propterea
quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera tum vero, cum aut
scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic ut ferre non
possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissetus! certe nihil
aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam
alicuius commodi aliquando recipiendi spem fortuna reservavit,
minus est erratum a nobis: si haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te

ad multa pertinuit] 'was important to
me for many reasons,' 'had many bear-
ings on my case.' There is a difference
between *pertinuit* and *pertinebat*. The
latter would mean that when Cicero wrote
the letter it was important; *pertinuit*
means that at the time when Cicero felt
certain that he would meet Atticus, it
was highly important for his interests
that that meeting should take place; but
now he has learned that such a meeting
is impossible. It was inattention to the
modification which the tenses undergo
in letter-writing that induced some copyist
to suggest *pertinuisset* in the margin for
pertinuit. For *ad multa* compare *ad multa*
quadrare, 'to fall in with my plans in
many respects,' Att. iv. 19, 2 (158).

in eis et ut] 'among other things, it
affected my being able to make a stay in
Epirus'; *et ut* for *ut et*: see note on *ne et*
Sicca, 58.

1. *Ego*] 'Yes, I did send'; the *ego* points
to the fact that the clause in which it
stands is an answer to a question.
Terentia must have asked him why he
wrote so seldom, and here we have the
answer. *Vero* is generally added, but not
always. Frey compares *Ego vero, Servi*,
vellem ut scribis, Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574);
ego vero Quinto epistulam ad sororem misi,
Att. xiii. 41, 1 (661); *de Q. fratre nihil*
ego te accusavi, 82, 4; *quod de domo*
scribis . . . ego vero, 79, 3: so 79, 4 *ego*
ad quos scribam nescio is an answer to a
suggestion of Terentia that he should
approach his friends by letter.

Quod utinam] 'Would that I had not
clung so to life. I should then have
seen no sorrow, or at least but little, in
my life.' Cicero often regrets that he
had not destroyed himself, e.g. in 56.
This use of *quod* is the connective use, as
in *quod si*.

quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quando neque di quos tu castissime coluisti neque homines quibus ego semper servivi nobis gratiam rettulerunt. 2. Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est quo minus hospiti et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper. 3. Brundisio profecti sumus a. d. II Kalendas Maias: per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! o ad afflictum!

si] 'if my present bitter fate is unalterably fixed.' Some edd. would read *sin*; but the opposition is not strong enough to require such a change.

neque di neque homines] Cicero often betrays how lightly he wears his religious beliefs; here, for instance, he shows much of the spirit of the modern Parisian: his business was with men; his wife's department was religion. See I², § 1. The *di* are probably here the *Lares*, whose service was largely performed by the women of the household.

2. *M. Laenium Flaccum*] In Att. v. 21, 10 (250), vi. 1, 6 (252), we meet a M. Laenius Flaccus, to whom Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, refused an appointment as praefect, on the ground that he carried on a banking business in the province. But this can hardly be the same man (though identified by Klotz in his Index, and Orelli in his *Onomasticon Tullianum*), for he is invariably mentioned as *Laenius tuus*, as the friend of Atticus, not of Cicero. Now, we must arraign Cicero of great forgetfulness of past favours, if we suppose the Laenius of whom he speaks so coldly afterwards to have been the man of whose kindness he here says he will ever have a grateful recollection. Cicero speaks again most warmly of this Laenius in Fam. xiii. 63 (251), Plane. 97, and Sest. 131. [It seems unlikely that there should be two men in the East in 704 (50) called M. Laenius who made requests of Cicero; and the M. Laenius, recommended to Silius in 251, 1, is certainly Cicero's friend. That he was a friend of Cicero does not preclude his having been a still closer friend of Atticus; and Cicero would hardly have taken such credit to himself for refusing a post to a friend of his own as he would for refusing it to friends of

Atticus or Pompey. To a man of Cicero's temperament, the latter kind of refusal would be the more difficult; hence, in 250, 10, he accentuates the fact that Laenius was a friend of Atticus.—L. O. P.] *periculum fortunarum et capitis*] cp. 58 *ne et Sicca periret*.

prae] 'in comparison with.' H and F read *pro*; but this is not a Ciceronian usage, though found in Vatinius, Fam. v. 9, 1 (639).

3. *profecti sumus*] = *proficiscor*, 'I am setting out,' and *petebamus* = *petiturus sum*. Both are epistolary tenses, and look forward to the time when Terentia will read this letter; so in Att. viii. 3, 7 (333), *reverti Formias*, though he had not yet left Cales, but would have returned to Formiae before Atticus received the letter. So *mihi*, in Att. iv. 2, 5 (92), means 'I send herewith'; in Att. v. 15, 3 (207) *faciebam* = *facturus sum*; in v. 17, 1 (209) *habebam* = *habiturus sum*, and in vii. 23, 2 (321) *remittebam* = *remissurus sum*.

II *Kalendas*] So Rutilius. This is a rare form for *pridie*, but occasionally found: cp. C. I. L. I², 902, 979, and Att. ix. 8, 1 (363). Cicero says explicitly that he arrived at Brundisium on xiv Kal. Maias (63, 1), and remained there thirteen days (§ 2 above): so that *ii* is the most probable correction for *v* of the mss. It has been argued that we should retain *v* of the mss and alter *xiii* above to *x*; for Plutarch (Cic. 32, 2) says that Cicero attempted to pass over to Dyrrachium with a fair wind; but, as it began to blow against him when he was out at sea, he came back the day after, and again set sail on some subsequent day. But it is much more likely that *v* is a mistake for *ii* than that *x* was altered to *xiii*; and it is inconceivable that, if Cicero had been compelled to return to

Quid nunc rogem te ut venias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? Sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam: si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves: sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos videte: mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid, Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere: impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris nescio: utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. 4. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est quod te moveat. Primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse ut quisque esset meritis. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus: praeterea magno opere nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea causa est ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si

Brundisium by stress of weather, he would not have mentioned the fact to Atticus in 63.

confirmes] 'promote,' governed by *agam*.

sin] the opposition here is considerably more pointed than above.

quid Tulliola mea fiet?] 'what will become of my dear Tullia?': cp. Att. vi. 1, 14 (252); *quid illo fiet?* 'what will become of him?': 82, 5 *quid puero fiet?*

illius misellae] 'we must devote ourselves to the maintenance of the poor girl's conjugal happiness and of her good name.' For *serviendum*, cp. Att. v. 11, 5 (200). Tullia was married to Calpurnius Piso, of whom Cicero always speaks in the highest terms, especially in Brut. 272. Piso refused to go to Pontus and Bithynia as quaestor, so that he might attend to the affairs of his exiled father-in-law in Rome, and incurred on Cicero's behalf the enmity of his kinsman, the consul (Post. Red. in Sen. 38). He died probably shortly before Cicero's restoration. Cicero says (Sest. 68) *Piso ille gener meus cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a pop. Romano ferre licuit*. Tullia's dowry seems not to have been yet paid; and from this Cicero apprehends danger 'to her married happiness and good name.'

complexu meo] 'I would have him ever in my embrace and arms.' Possibly

we should read *tuo* for *meo*, or *est* for *sit*. For the phrase *in sinu* cp. *in sinu est neque ego discingor*, Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 1 (135). Terentia was to bring young Marcus with her when she came to Cicero.

teneas] 'whether you hold in your hands (still retain) any of my property': cp. Off. ii. 81 *multa dotibus tenebantur*.

4. *De familia liberata*] Terentia had heard that all their slaves had been given their freedom by Cicero. He assures her that she need not be uneasy. 'To your slaves,' he says, 'no promise was made at all, but that you would treat every one as he deserved. Now, Orpheus is so far very well behaved; besides him no one has shown himself particularly deserving. In the case of the others (my own), the arrangement made is this—that if the property is sold by public auction, and goes out of my hands (*a nobis abisset*), they should have the position of freedmen of mine, if they could make good their title to that position (against those who might urge that the penalties of confiscation were being thus evaded); but if the property is left in my hands, i.e. if I am allowed to buy it in (*si ad nos pertinere*), they should be still my slaves, except a very few (whom I have promised to manumit).' For *abire ab* in this sense the commentators refer to 2 Verr. i. 141; iii. 148.

ea causa est] is followed by past tenses,

Slave
dp. 406

obtinere potuissent: sin ad nos pertineret, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. 5. Tu quod me hortaris ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recipiendae salutis, id velim sit eius modi ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc miser quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes honestissime. Viximus: floruimus: non vitium nostrum sed virtus nostra nos adflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo ipse me non possum. 6. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincit omnis. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat se mecum fore sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quod potes, ut valeas et sic existima, me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias Brundisio.

63. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 7.)

BRUNDISIUM; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Brundisium venisse, de causis quam ob rem in Epirum nolit accedere, de miseriis suis, de exigua spe libertatis publicae, de incerto itineris sui cursu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Brundisium veni a. d. xiv Kal. Maias. Eo die pueri tui mihi a te litteras reddiderunt et alii pueri post diem tertium eius diei alias litteras attulerunt. Quod me rogas et hortaris ut apud

essent, servirent, &c., because in sense it refers to past time in referring to the result of an agreement already made.

5. tempestatem] 'a favourable wind,' usually tranquillitas.

ornamentis] 'my dignities.'

6. Clodium] He, as well as Pescennius and Sallustius, was probably a freedman of Cicero.

mecum fore] sc. in Graecia.

quod potes] Some edd. would here read quoad potes; but quod potes is used in quite the same sense. In proof of this, Hofmann quotes quod poteris, Att. x. 2, 2 (379); quod eius facere poteris, Fam. iii. 2, 2 (183); quod eius facere poteris, Att. xi. 12, 4 (427). Also Fam. v. 8. 5 (131); Ep. 12, 36: cp. Ovid Trist. iv. 3, 18 quod potest.

te in Epiro sim, voluntas tua mihi valde grata est et minime nova. Esset consilium mihi quidem optatum si liceret ibi omne tempus consumere—odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum, esset mihi ista solitudo, praesertim tam familiari in loco, non amara—sed itineris causa ut devorterer, primum est devium, deinde ab Autronio et ceteris quadridui, deinde sine te. Nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non est necessarium. Quod si auderem, Athenas peterem: sane ita cadebat ut vellem. Nunc et nostri hostes ibi sunt et te non habe-

1. in Epiro] i.e. in Atticus' property at Buthrotum.

Esset consilium] See Adn. Crit.

si liceret] 'if the prescribed distance did not forbid.'

sed itineris causa] 'but to go to Epirus, merely to suit my journey by making it a halting-place, would, firstly, be out of my way: secondly, it would place me only four days' journey from Autronius and my other enemies; lastly, I should miss you. A fortified place, like your property there, would be useful if I were living there, but is not necessary for one who is merely passing through.' On the careless construction of this and the next clause, see Introd. II. § 2, note.

Quod si auderem] 'If I dared I would go to Athens: ah, that is the plan which I should really have liked; but my open enemies (such as Autronius) are there, and I have not you to help me; and I fear they might construe even that town (as well as Buthrotum) as not being at the required distance from Italy.' A difficulty has been raised because Cicero is said not elsewhere to speak of Athens as an *oppidum*, and because Cicero here expresses a doubt as to whether Athens was within the required distance, though he afterwards stayed at Thessalonica, which was nearer to Italy. To the latter objection Hofmann replies that it was through the connivance of his friend Plancius, the *quaestor* to the governor of Macedonia, that he was allowed to remain at Thessalonica (Planc. 99). Cicero did not at this time intend to remain at Thessalonica, but to go on to Cyzicus. To the former his answer is, that Cornelius Nepos (Milt. xlii. 20, 36) calls Athens, and Livy (xlii. 20, 36) calls even Rome, an *oppidum*. But the strongest defence of the text is not mentioned by Hofmann. It is this: Cicero elsewhere uses *urbs* and *oppidum* as absolutely synonymous: see De Div. i. 53, where he describes Pherae as *urbs*

in Thessalia tum admodum nobilis, and then, after a short parenthesis, resumes his narration with the words in eo igitur oppido. So in the passage above (27, 2) *curabis ut Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae*, we may perhaps hold that Cicero means to include Athens among *oppida*, though of course this passage is susceptible of another explanation, as an instance of a well-known classicism, of which we have an example in the Greek use of ἄλλος = 'besides': e.g. χρότος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν, Xen. Anab. i. 5, 5. Hence Schütz is wrong in reading here *Achaia* for *Athenas* (see next letter, § 1), and in understanding *illud oppidum* to refer to Buthrotum.

sane ita cadebat] This can only be translated, 'indeed, the matter was turning out as I should wish.' (Now I cannot go to Athens.) In *vellem* we have, as often, the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed 'as I should wish if I had the choice.' For *cadere* = 'to fall out,' 'happen,' cp. 85, 1. Observe that the *ut* is 'as,' and does not govern *vellem*. But it is doubtful if *cadere* can be used impersonally in this way. The only place in which it appears to be used impersonally is Att. xiii. 33, 4 (636), where the reading is very doubtful, and a plausible correction is *Cecidit* (or *ceciditque*) *belle res*. *Casu*, &c. There should be some subject to it, such as *res*, or a neuter pronoun or adjective. Possibly, then, before *sane* we should supply *Res*, which might have fallen out after *peterē*; or for *cadebat* read *decebat*, 'it was so eminently fitting for me (a man of culture) to go to Athens, that I should have wished to do so'; or, 'the fitting course coincided exactly with my wishes' (lit. 'it was fitting in just the way I should have wished').

hostes] For *hostes* = 'overt enemies,' see note on 46.

22. V 633

mus et veremur ne interpretentur illud quoque oppidum ab Italia non satis abesse, nec scribis quam ad diem te exspectemus. 2. Quod me ad vitam vocas, unum efficis ut a me manus abstineream, alterum non potes ut me non nostri consili vitaeque paeniteat. Quid enim est quod me retineat, praesertim si spes ea non est quae nos proficiscentis prosequatur? Non faciam ut enumerem miseras omnis in quas incidi per summam iniuriam et scelus non tam inimicorum meorum quam invidorum, ne et meum maerorem exagitem et te in eundem luctum vocem. Hoc adfirmo, neminem umquam tanta calamitate esse adfectum, nemini mortem magis optandam fuisse; cuius oppetendae tempus honestissimum praetermissum est. Reliqua tempora sunt non tam ad medicinam quam ad finem doloris. 3. De re publica video te colligere omnia quae putes aliquam spem mihi posse adferre mutandarum rerum, quae quamquam exigua sunt, tamen, quoniam placet, exspectemus. Tu nihilo minus, si properaris, nos consequere. Nam aut accedemus in Epirum aut tarde per Candaviam ibimus. Dubitationem autem de Epiro non inconstantia nostra adferebat, sed quod de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus. Quem quidem ego nec ubi visurus nec quo modo dimissurus sim scio. Id est maxi-

ab Italia] See notes on 57 and 58.

2. *ad vitam vocas*] It is plain, from this and other passages, that Cicero really had thought of destroying himself, and was deterred by the advice of Atticus, which he afterwards regretted that he had followed.

spes ea] The nature of this hope is mentioned in 72, 4 *saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus*.

invidorum] probably Hortensius: see 65, 2; 67, 8. So also in 64, 4.

exagitem] 'rouse afresh,' metaphor from stirring up grounds or dregs: cp. Col. xii. 19, 4 *ut quidquid facis subsederit exagitet et in summum reducat*.

sunt . . . ad] 'are calculated to produce': cp. Att. vi. 1, 14 (252) *erit ad sustentandum*, 'will serve to keep the enemy at bay.' The meaning here is, 'I ought to have met an honourable death in resisting Clodius: that would have healed my heart-ache (wounded honour). All the subsequent opportunities (i.e. if I killed myself after my exile began) serve only to end my pain, not to heal it.' A noble death before he humiliated himself would have set him right in the eyes of the world, and

so healed his pain; death now can only end it.

3. *nihilo minus*] that is, 'though you are still at Rome.'

Candaviam] A wild district of Illyria, lying in the road from Dyrrachium to Thessalonica, and mentioned by Lucan vi. 331 *qua vastos aperit Candavia saltus*.

nec ubi visurus] The best commentary on this passage is 65, 1, read with 66, 4. In both passages Cicero expresses his fear that, if he and his brother meet, they will find it very hard to part. Therefore the reading usually adopted by editors, namely, *nec quo modo visurus nec ubi dimissurus sim*, which is that of the best mss with the addition of *quo*, can hardly be right. The question is not *where*, but *how*, he will be liable to part with his brother. I have transposed *quo modo* and *ubi*, a transposition which I find had also occurred to Junius. The sentence then runs, 'not only do I not know where I shall meet him [as is mentioned in the preceding sentence], but I do not know how I can part from him' (if I do meet him). *Quo modo* perhaps should stand *both* before *visurus* and before *dimissurus*; but my theory accounts better for the

mum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum. Ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset. Videre te cupio. Cura ut valeas. Data prid. Kal. Mai. Brundisi.

64. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 8).

THESSALONICA; MAY 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit sibi praeter causas quas superiore epistula exposuisset, non placere in Epirum ire propterea quod incertis nuntiis fratrem Athenas proficisci audisset. De miseriis suis, de sollicitudine propter iter fratris sibi prorsus incertum: dein respondet ad ea quae Atticus scripserat, de inconstantia epistularum suarum, de culpa sua, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. *Brundisio* proficiscens scripseram ad te quas ob causas in Epirum non essemus profecti, quod et Achaia prope esset plena audacissimorum inimicorum et exitus difficilis haberet, cum inde proficisceremur. Accessit, cum Dyrrachi essemus, ut duo nuntii adferrentur: unus classe fratrem Epheso Athenas, alter pedibus per Macedoniam venire. Itaque illi ob viam misimus Athenas ut inde Thessalonicam veniret. Ipsi processimus et Thessalonicam a. d. x Kal. Iun. venimus neque de illius

corruption. See Adn. Crit. I do not deny that the ordinary reading can be explained, for Cicero often speaks of an unwillingness *even to look upon* those who had known him in brighter days: see 66, 1; 67, 2. But I hold that my reading is certainly more suitable to the context here, and virtually as near to the ms tradition. [I confess to approving of the reading of Bosius, which substitutes *ut* for *ui* or *ubi* of mss. For *ut* in this sense, cp. 22, 4: Fin. v. 48.—L. C. P.]

Ego] See last letter, § 1.
[*huius generis facultatem*] 'my aptitude for this kind of mental exercise' (i.e. letter-writing). This is no mere *façon de parler*. We miss in the letters of Cicero's exile much not only of the interest, but even of the power and accuracy of expression, which we find in the letters of his happier years. *Sane ita cadebat ut vellem* (above, § 1) is an

example of a sentence which it would be difficult to parallel, except in the letters of his exile: so in next letter, § 4, *mentis motum . . . qui est commotus*. See Introd. II., § 2, note.

Brundisi] cp. note to 60.

1. *Achaia*] Relying on this passage, Schütz reads *Achaia* for *Athenas* in the last letter, as if Cicero could not say in one letter that he had enemies in Athens, and in another, more broadly, that all Achaia was full of his enemies.

Accessit . . . ut] This merely means 'further, two messages came'; *accessit quod adlati sunt* would mean 'another reason for not going to Epirus was the arrival of two messages.' If a new thought is to be added, it is expressed by *acc. quod*, when it implies a *logical* reason, but by *acc. ut* when it implies a *historical* fact, Zumpt, 621, 626.

itinere quidquam certi habebamus nisi eum ab Epheso ante aliquanto profectum. 2. Nunc istie quid agatur magno opere timeo. Quamquam tu altera epistula scribis Id. Mai. audiri fore ut acrius postularetur, altera iam esse mitiora. Sed haec est pridie data quam illa, quo conturber magis. Itaque, cum meus me maeror cotidianus lacerat et conficit, tum vero haec addita cura vix mihi vitam reliquam facit. Sed et navigatio perdifficilis fuit et ille incertus ubi ego essem fortasse alium cursum petivit. Nam Phaëtho libertus eum non vidit: vento reiectus ab illo in Macedoniam Pellae mihi praesto fuit. Reliqua quam mihi timenda sint video nec quid scribam habeo et omnia timeo, nec tam miserum est quidquam quod non in nostram fortunam cadere videatur. Equidem adhuc miser in maximis meis aerumnis et luctibus, hoc metu adiecto, maneo Thessalonicae suspensus nec audeo quidquam. 3. Nunc ad ea quae scripsisti. Tryphonem Caecilium non vidi. Sermonem tuum et Pompei cognovi ex tuis litteris. Motum in

2. *istie*] sc. at Rome.

Quamquam tu altera] 'it is true that in one letter, dated May 15th, you say you hear that the trial of Quintus for extortion will be vigorously prosecuted, and in another, that the feeling against him is less strong; yet the latter is dated a day earlier than the former, so that my perplexity is increased.'

haec addita] 'this additional anxiety about my brother hardly leaves me my life.' Another careless expression.

alium cursum petivit] 'went by a different route.'

Phaëtho] a freedman of Cicero.

ab illo] This has been explained as referring to Quintus; and *reiectus ab illo* (sc. Quinto) in *Macedoniam* has been rendered 'being separated from Quintus and driven back by foul weather to Macedonia.' But surely such an expression is impossible. Madvig has proposed *Ilio* for *illo*—a most attractive and brilliant suggestion (cp. Verg. Aen. i. 268 for a similar corruption); and this was the reading of the codex Faerni (F.). It may possibly be right; but there is a difficulty about *Ilio* of a geographical nature pointed out to us by Dr. Reid. Cicero wished to have an interview with Quintus before the latter returned to Rome. He had heard that Quintus intended to return either by the land route up to the Hellespont, and then along the Egnatian road through Thessalonica

to Dyrrachium; or the sea route, from Ephesus across to Athens, thence to Patrae, and then along the west coast of Greece to Cassiope and Brundisium. It was by the sea route that Marcus himself went and returned from his province seven years later. If Quintus took the land route, Cicero would be sure to meet him, as he himself was about to proceed along the Via Egnatia to Thessalonica. So it was necessary to send a messenger by the sea route to meet Quintus, and ask him to join his brother at Thessalonica. He accordingly sent Phaëtho along that route. This being so, how possibly could Phaëtho have got to Ilium? We fancy he went to Athens, and, finding that Quintus had not arrived, took boat for Ephesus, but, meeting with a strong south or south-east wind somewhere in the course, had to run for Macedonia. So we are reluctantly compelled to obelize *illo*. What place is concealed under *illo* it is impossible to say: perhaps *Delo*: allow that D was corrupted to B and joined to a, *elo* would soon become *illo*. Dr. Reid suggests *Atho*.

3. *Tryphonem Caecilium*] a freedman of Caecilius. In early times a freedman took the *nomen* of his patron, but an arbitrary *praenomen*; later he took the *nomen* and *praenomen* of his patron, taking his own name as *cognomen*.

Motum] a rupture between the triumvirs.

re publica non tantum ego impendere video quantum tu aut vides aut ad me consolandum adfers. Tigrane enim neglecto sublata sunt omnia. Varroni me iubes agere gratias: faciam, item Hypsaeco. Quod suades ne longius discedamus, dum acta mensis Mai ad nos perferantur, puto me ita esse facturum; sed ubi nondum statui. Atque ita perturbato sum animo de Quinto ut nihil queam statuere; sed tamen statim te faciam certiozem. 4. Ex epistularum mearum inconstantia puto te mentis meae motum videre: qui, etsi incredibili et singulari calamitate adflictus sum, tamen non tam est ex miseria quam ex culpae nostrae recordatione commotus. Cuius enim scelere impulsus ac proditi simus iam profecto vides, atque utinam iam ante vidisses neque totum animum tuum maerori mecum simul dedisses! Qua re, cum me adflictum et confectum luctu audies, existimato me stultitiae meae poenam ferre gravius quam eventui, quod ei crediderim quem esse nefarium non putarim. Me et meorum malorum memoria et metus de fratre in scribendo impedit. Tu ista omnia vide et gubernare. Terentia tibi maximas gratias agit. Litterarum exemplum quas ad Pompeium scripsi misi tibi. Data III Kal. Iunias Thessalonicae.

Tigrane enim neglecto] Tigranes the younger, the son of king Tigranes, was brought home by Pompey, and left in safe keeping with Flavius, a senator. Clodius, after a struggle in which many lives were lost, rescued the boy from Flavius, with the design of restoring him to his father, who had bribed Clodius. It was supposed that this daring act would have caused a rupture between the triumvirs, for Clodius was supposed to be supported by Caesar. So Cicero says, 'now that they have overlooked this case, all chance of a rupture is gone.' Of course if Pompey had openly quarrelled with Caesar (and through him with Clodius), there would have been good hopes of Cicero's restoration.

Varroni] M. Terentius, the antiquarian mentioned above, 52, 1, as a friend of Pompey.

Hypsaeco] P. Plantius Hypsaenus, quaestor of Pompey in the Mithridatic War.

sed ubi nondum] 'But as to where (I shall go to) I have not yet made up my mind.'

4. *motum . . . commotus*] See on last letter, *fin*.

Cuius enim scelere] Hortensius, as appears from next letter, § 2, and 66, 8.

maerori] Madvig (A. C. iii. 169) says that before Cicero's exile there was no reason for *maeror*, but for caution and watchfulness: and accordingly suggests *errori*. But Cicero did show pusillanimity before his exile, and even states that he threw himself at Pompey's feet: cp. Att. x. 4, 3 (382): cp. also 71, 2 *pauillum inclinari timore*. So that there is no imperative necessity to abandon the mss.

existimato . . . putarim] 'be assured that I am more galled by the punishment arising from the sense of my own folly in believing one whose treachery I never suspected, than by the punishment consisting in the results which followed my foolish credulity.' 'I feel more punishment in the sense of my folly in believing, &c., than in the consequences which followed that credulousness.' Another very un-Ciceronian sentence.

65. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO GREECE (ATT. III. 9.).

THESSALONICA, JUNE 13; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit quas ob causas Q. fratrem ex Asia reducem maluisset Romam properare quam ad se venire, de incerta spe sua, de Terentia, de fratris negotio, de mansione sua Thessalonicae, de aliis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quintus frater cum ex Asia discessisset ante Kal. Mai. et Athenas venisset Idib., valde fuit ei properandum, ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis, si quis forte fuisset qui contentus nostris malis non esset. Itaque eum malui properare Romam quam ad me venire, et simul—dicam enim quod verum est, ex quo magnitudinem miseriarum mearum perspicere possis—animum inducere non potui ut aut illum, amantissimum mei, mollissimo animo, tanto in maerore aspicerem aut meas miseras luctu adfectas et perditam fortunam illi offerrem aut ab illo aspici paterer. Atque etiam illud timebam, quod profecto accidisset, ne a me digredi non posset. Versabatur mihi tempus illud ante oculos, cum ille aut lictores dimitteret aut vi evelleretur ex complexu meo. Huius acerbitalis eventum altera acerbitate non videndi fratris vitavi. In hunc me casum vos vivendi auctores impulistis. Itaque mei peccati luo poenas. 2. Quamquam me tuae litterae sustentant: ex quibus quantum tu ipse speres facile perspicio. Quae quidem

1. *ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis*] sc. *ne acrius postuleretur*: cp. 64, 2.

mollissimo] 'of so impressionable a nature': see 23, 2.

meas miseras luctu adfectas] This is, perhaps, a careless expression, meaning 'the miseries of my afflicted position,' *miserias* being an abstract substantive put for a concrete. Or perhaps we should read *adfecti*, comparing *tuum peccatum hominis simplicis*, Phil. ii. 111; and *mea scripta timentis*, Hor. Sat. i. 4, 22: see especially note on 16, 1, and a very similar construction in Att. xi. 15, 2 (430) *solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest, et fortasse Laeli*. Boot explains *luctu adfectas* as *quas luctus reddit graviores*, but I do not see how *adfectas* could bear that meaning. I find, in the posthumous notes of Pluygers, published

in *Mnemosyne*, that he takes the same view as I do of this passage. [I think Dr. Reid is right in altering to *adfectus*: cp. 64, 4; 67, 2. The open *a* often leads to such variants.—L. C. P.]

digredi non posset] cp. 66, 4.

lictore dimitteret] A provincial governor retained his lictors and fasces till he returned to Rome. But he was bound to go straight from his province to Rome, using no unreasonable delay on the journey. If Quintus wished, therefore, to make any considerable sojourn with his brother, he would be obliged to dismiss his lictors, and lay down his *imperium*.

vivendi auctores] 'who are responsible for my survival.' See next letter, § 2.

2. *quantum*] 'how little': Boot, who compares Att. viii. 12, D. *fm.* (330); xi. 13, 1 (428). But in these cases 'the

tamen aliquid habebant solaci ante quam eo venisti a Pompeio: 'Nunc Hortensium adlice et eius modi viros.' Obsecro, mi Pomponi, nondum perspicis quorum opera, quorum insidiis, quorum scelere perierimus? Sed tecum haec omnia coram agemus. Tantum dico, quod scire te puto: nos non inimici sed invidi perdiderunt. Nunc si ista sunt quae speras, sustinebimus nos et spe qua iubes nitemur. Sin, ut mihi videntur, infirma sunt, quod optimo tempore facere non licuit minus idoneo fiet. 3. Terentia tibi saepe agit gratias. Mihi etiam unum de malis in metu est, fratris miseri negotium: quod si sciam cuius modi sit, sciam quid agendum mihi sit. Me etiam nunc istorum beneficiorum et litterarum expectatio, ut tibi placet, Thessalonicae tenet. Si quid erit novi adlatum, sciam de reliquo quid agendum sit. Tu si, ut scribis, Kal. Iun. Roma profectus es, propediem nos videbis. Litteras quas ad Pompeium scripsi tibi misi. Data Id. Iun. Thessalonicae.

66. TO QUINTUS, IN ROME (Q. FR. I. 3).

THESSALONICA; JUNE 13; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de pueris sine epistula missis se excusat, de exsilii calamitate queritur, pro oblati facultatibus gratias agit, monet de quorundam fide suosque commendat.

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

1. Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater, tunc id veritus es ne ego

extent of' is a better rendering; for this expression, like the Latin, depends on the context for its meaning.

a Pompeio] 'from (your mention of) P., to the place (in your letter) where (you say) nunc Hortensium,' &c.

non inimici] Here, as often, the plural is used to give a vagueness to a dangerous assertion, or to take some of the force from a violent expression. Hortensius only is referred to; Cicero hints that Hortensius was jealous of his forensic success.

si ista sunt] 'if these sources of hope really exist': cp. Tusc. i. 10 *adeone me delirare censes, ut ista esse credam?*

infirma sunt] This is the reading of Ed. Iens., 'if your expectations have no sound basis'; M has *firma sunt*, which can hardly mean, 'if the course of events

which I think probable is sure to come to pass.' No omission is more frequent in our mss than that of *in*. Pluygers and Cobet quite needlessly wish to reject the words. We doubt if *sin ut mihi videntur* can mean, 'if your hopes are as I think they are, i.e. 'if there is no hope at all': we should at least require the verb substantive.

fiet] sc. *mortem oppetam*.

3. beneficiorum] Certain advantages or services likely to accrue from friends in Rome, which Atticus had pointed out to him, but the nature of which we cannot guess. But we are not therefore justified in changing the text to *comitorum*, as Gronovius does, comparing 69, 1 *spem ostendis secundum comitia*.

iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine litteris miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet, tu enim me adflixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia ac non ego te misere perdidit. Meus ille laudatus consularis mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas, tibi velim ne quid eriperit praeter unum me. Sed certe a te mihi omnia semper honesta et iucunda ceciderunt, a me tibi luctus meae calamitatis, metus tuae, desiderium, maeror, solitudo. Ego te videre noluerim? Immo vero me a te videri nolui. Non enim vidisses fratrem tuum, non eum quem reliqueras, non eum quem noras, non eum quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras: ne vestigium quidem eius nec simulacrum, sed quamdam effigiem spirantis mortui. Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem reliquisset! 2. Sed testor omnis deos me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant. Qua in re peccavi scelerateque feci. Nam

1. *Ego tibi irascerer*] 'I to be angry with you.' The subjunctive is virtually the same as that discussed on 37, 1; cp. *noluerim* below.

Scilicet] 'Yes, of course, it was you who crushed me. It was your enemies and envy of you that ruined me—and not I who utterly ruined you!' Ironical, of course, as Ter. And. 185 *id populus curat scilicet*. The sentence is redeemed from a certain degree of bad taste by the tenderness of *mi frater, mi frater, mi frater*. The *invidia* referred to is the envy of Hortensius.

fortunas] sc. *eripuit*.
ceciderunt] 'I have met with.' So M. For *cedere* used of good fortune befalling a person, cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 73-4 *Si non omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam*. Lambinus and Madvig prefer *acciderunt*: cp. 1, 1 *mihi omnia quae iucunda . . . homini accidere possunt, ex illo accidebant*.
solitudo] 'the want of my services as an advocate': see § 2.

utinam . . . audisses] *Prius* is 'before your departure for Asia.' The words *aut audisses* are so feeble that Dr. Reid thinks that they may be the marginal comment of a scribe who was not sure whether to read *vidisses* or *audisses*.

utinam te non solum vitae] 'Would that I had left you behind me to look

back on my life, not only finished, but finished with honour.' The meaning is clear, but the sentence is difficult to render precisely. Cicero recurs to his oft-expressed wish that he had perished nobly before his humiliation, so that Quintus would have survived his brother, but would not have had his present indignities to look back on. See 63, 2. The thought is, 'If I had destroyed myself before I left Rome, you would have been able to look back on my life as a finished drama without a single dishonourable episode.' Ernesti would transpose *vitae* and *dignitatis*. At first sight this seems plausible: 'would that I had in you a survivor not only of my honour, but of my existence'; but had Cicero died before he left Rome, his honour would have been (as he often says) intact; so if Quintus had been *vitae superstes*, he would not have been *dignitatis superstes* in the sense which Ernesti gives to the words. If Cicero had written *utinam te non dignitatis sed vitae superstitem reliquisset*, then we should have the meaning which Ernesti looks for, 'would that you had survived, not my honour [as is now the case], but my life' (as you would have done if I had perished in Rome).

2. *scelerateque feci*] 'and I acted with wretched, culpable imprudence.' *Scelus*

si occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietatem amoremque in te facile defenderet. Nunc commisi ut me vivo careres, vivo me aliis indigeres, mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset. Nam quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt, quoniam vides non fuisse iracundiam causam, certe pigritia fuit et quaedam infinita vis lacrimarum et dolorum. 3. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare? Cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate fratrem prope aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem. Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit? Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio! effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei! Quod filium venustissimum mihi que dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapien-

has often in these letters this mitigated signification; cp. 73, 4 *meo non tuo scelere praetermissum est*.

defenderet] This means 'my very death itself would clearly prove and maintain my affection for you,' as in Fin. iii. 71.

mea vox] 'that my voice should fail to be uplifted when peril threatened my own family—that voice which so often was the saving of the merest strangers'; or perhaps *alienissimis* means 'enemies,' e.g. Vatinius and (possibly) Catiline.

Nam quod] The last six sentences from *Non enim vidisses . . . praesidio fuisset* must be looked on as parenthetical. *Nam quod ad te pueri* resumes the train of thought broken off at *immo vero me a te videri nolui*, 'The reason I did not meet you was not that I did not care to see you; no, but I did not wish to be seen by you. The fact that my servants arrived without any letters for you is not to be taken to discredit what I have said. No, it was my helpless, unstrung condition (I have already shown that it was not any feeling of irritation), and the weight of woe that oppressed me.' *Pigritia* is 'listlessness': cp. Tusc. iv. 18.

3. *scripsisse*] 'am writing'; epistolary perf. = English present.

Cum enim te desidero] 'When I am parted from you, do I feel the loss only of a brother in you? In losing you, I

lose a brother indeed (and one of well-nigh my own years) in charm of manner—a son in compliance with me—a parent in judgment.' The reading of M is *suavitate prope fratrem prope aequalem*, which Ernesti corrected as in the text. Orelli accepts the reading which Petrarch says he found in his text, *suavitate prope aequalem*; and certainly the mention of *fratrem* (in the reply to *fratrem solum desidero*?) is to be accounted for only on the principle put forward in note on 63, *fin.* The *aequalis* (δμήλιξ, comrade) might well be placed above even a brother as regards *suavitas*, 'charm of manner,' and the word *fratrem* might have been inserted by some copyist who knew that Quintus was *prope aequalis* with his brother, and misunderstood *aequalis*. To read *suavitate aequalem* would give a still better sense, and *prope* might have been inserted by a copyist who thought that *aequalis* implied that Marcus and Quintus were of the same age, and did not perceive that *aequalis* here is simply δμήλιξ, 'a comrade.' It is possible then that *fratrem* and *prope* are both corrupt, and that the sentence means, 'In you I lose one who is in charm of social intercourse as a comrade, in compliance with my wishes as a son, in the soundness of his advice as a father.'

ferus] cp. *quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit*. Tibull. i. 10, 2.

tiorem puerum quam vellem; sentiebat enim miser iam quid ageretur. Quod vero tuum filium, imaginem tuam, quem meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur? Quid, quod mulierem miserrimam, fidelissimam coniugem, me prosequi non sum passus, ut esset quae reliquias communis calamitatis, communis liberos tueretur? 4. Sed tamen, quoquo modo potui, scripsi et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse: in quibus idem te hortor et rogo, quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes. Primum enim te *in* praesidio esse volui, si qui essent inimici quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata; deinde congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui; digressum vero non tulissem atque etiam id ipsum quod tu scribis metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses. His de causis hoc maximum malum quod te non vidi, quo nihil amantissimis et coniunctissimis fratribus acerbius, miserius videtur accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum fuit quam fuisset cum congressio tum vero digressio nostra. 5. Nunc, si potes, id quod ego, qui tibi semper fortis videbar, non possum, erige te et confirma, si qua subeunda dimicatio erit. Spero, si quid mea spes habet auctoritatis, tibi et integritatem tuam et amorem in te civitatis et aliquid etiam misericordiam nostri praesidi laturam. Sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus, ages scilicet si quid agi posse de nobis putabis. De quo scribunt ad me quidem multi multa et se sperare demonstrant, sed ego quid sperem non dispicio, cum inimici plurimum valeant, amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint, qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui sceleris pertimescunt. Sed ista qualia sint tu velim perspicias

reliquias communis calamitatis] 'all that is spared to us by the blow that has prostrated us both': so *reliquias Danaum*, Verg. Aen. i. 30. Cicero uses *reliquias* in a slightly different sense in De Sen. 19, *reliquias avi*, 'the heirloom of a grandfather,' i.e. the war with Carthage.

4. *praesidio*] Schütz adheres to the reading of the mss, and supposes that *tibi* can be understood; but *praesidio* implies action on behalf of another; so we have added *in* with Madvig (A.C. iii. 194). Cicero would wish Quintus to be on his guard against any further hostile

acts against himself or his family on the part of those whose malice was not yet sated by his present abject state.

5. *si potes*] sc. *facere*. See note on 62, 6.

auctoritatis] 'basis,' 'grounds,' 'foundation.'

et aliquid etiam] The order is *et etiam misericordiam nostri aliquid praesidi (tibi) laturam*.

periculo] The prosecution for malversation in his province with which he was threatened by Appius Claudius, nephew of Clodius.

mihique declares. Ego tamen quam diu tibi opus erit, si quid ^{adipisc} periculi subeundum videbis, vivam: diutius in hac vita esse non possum. Neque enim tantum virium habet ulla aut prudentia aut doctrina ut tantum dolorem possit sustinere. 6. Scio fuisse et honestius moriendi tempus et utilius; sed non hoc solum, multa alia praetermisi, quae si queri velim praeterita, nihil agam nisi ut augeam dolorem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est nec fieri potest, me diutius quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari, ut, qui modo fratre fuerim, liberis, coniuge, copiis, genere ipso pecuniae beatissimus, dignitate, auctoritate, existimatione, gratia non inferior quam qui umquam fuerunt amplissimi, is nunc in hac tam afflicta perditaeque fortuna neque me neque meos lugere diutius possim. 7. Qua re quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant, qua in re ipsa video miser et sentio quid sceleris admiserim, cum

quam diu tibi opus erit.] Cicero seems to have thought of writing a speech for his brother, in defence of his administration. *sustinere*] 'to bear up against': cp. 30, 19.

6. *genere ipso pecuniae*] 'blest in brother, children, wife, fortune—aye, even in the very nature of my wealth,' which was won by honourable means, so that he had an unblemished character and unsailable position in society. His wealth seems to have been derived chiefly from the large legacies left by grateful clients; and he did not dissipate his property like many rich men of his day. See *Introd. I. § 2*. Manutius ingeniously conjectured *genero*, supposing a reference to Piso; but the order of the words should then be changed, and *pecunia* could hardly be retained. The whole sentence, *ut qui modo . . . diutius possim*, is very loosely constructed: 'it is impossible for me to linger longer than your needs or some trustworthy hope may warrant, in a life so miserable and ignominious, that I (who was once so blest in family, &c., and in rank, character, and reputation as high as ever was anyone, be he never so distinguished), even I, can no longer go on in my crushed and ruined state lamenting the fall of myself and my family.' This, surely, is a sentence which Cicero would never have written in his happier days.

7. *de permutatione*] Quintus had offered to negotiate a bill of exchange for Cicero in Rome, on his arrival there. The money would be paid to Cicero at Thessalonica.

quid sceleris] 'I see what a crime I committed when I squandered, to no purpose (probably on bribes to save himself from exile), the money which I got from the treasury on your account, while you are coining your blood and your son's blood to pay your creditors.' This is the money already referred to in 33 *fn.*, and 43 *fn.* There is a difficulty in this sentence which seems not to be noticed by most commentators. After *admiserim* should stand some word to be the subject of (or to qualify) *dissiparim*. *Qui* would naturally be the word, *sentio quid sceleris admiserim, qui, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim*; but then *ego* should be omitted. To read *cum, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim* would account for the disappearance of the first *cum*, but would be very cacophonous: cp. Lehmann, '*Quaest.*' p. 107; *quod, cum* might be the true reading; but we have followed Wesenberg, who to some extent removes the difficulty by suggesting an emphatic *tu* before *de visceribus*; the same *cum* then governs both *satis facturus sis* and *dissiparim*; but it is difficult to believe that this is what Cicero wrote. For *ex visceribus*, cp. Dom. 124 *cur ille gurgis, helluatus tecum simul*

tu de visceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est: mihi ad id quod cogito hoc quod habeo satis est. Sive enim restituimur sive desperamur, nihil amplius opus est. Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad Calidum conferas censeo. 8. Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio. Me summa simulatione amoris summaque adsiduitate cotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adiuncto Q. Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi. Sed haec occultabis, ne quid obsint. Illud caveo—et eo puto per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium—ne ille versus, qui in te erat collatus cum aedilitatem petebas de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur. Nihil enim tam timeo quam ne, cum intellegant homines quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus adlatura sit, oppugnent te vehementius. 9. Messallam tui studiosum esse arbitror: Pompeium etiam simulatorem puto. Sed haec utinam ne expectare! quod precarer deos, nisi meas preces audire desissent. Verum tamen precor ut his infinitis nostris malis contenti sint: in quibus non modo tamen nullius inest peccati infamia, sed

rei publicae sanguinem, ad caelum tamen exstruit villam in Tusculano visceribus aerari: cp. also Ov. Heroid i. 90 viscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes.

M. Antonio] Antonius and Caepio were creditors of Quintus. Cicero had paid them some money before he left Rome.

quantum tu scripseras] 'the amount you mentioned in your letter,' probably; but, possibly, 'the amount to which you drew on them': cp. Plaut. Asin. 440 *scribit nummos.*

desperamur] sc. *ab amicis.* *Desperare aliquem,* 'to despair of a person,' is a very rare construction, but is found in Cic. Cat. ii. 10.

molestiae] 'a prosecution': cp. 72, 2, *2 si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindicat a molestia.* He advises Quintus to apply for aid to Crassus (the triumvir) and M. Calidius, if prosecuted. M. Calidius, as praetor, next year brought in the bill for Cicero's restoration.

8. Pomponium] Hortensius was a friend of Atticus.

ne ille versus] 'lest by some false tes-

timony your authorship of that epigram be confirmed—that epigram about the Aurelian Law which was attributed to you when you were a candidate for the aedileship.' Some epigram on the Aurelian Law, which gave the *iudicia* to the senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*, was attributed to Quintus. We do not know what it was; but we may infer that it was in some way offensive to Hortensius or some of the leading men of the time. Ernesti wrongly understands *collatus* as 'applied to,' but cp. 18, 2 *quod abs te aiunt falso in me conferri*; and Fam. vii. 32, 1 (329) *omnia omnium dicta in me conferri.* Hence Cicero was called *scurra consularis*.

tuae preces et tua salus] 'your intercession on my behalf consequent on your acquittal; for if Quintus was himself under an adverse sentence, he could not, with any effect, plead his brother's cause.'

9. Messallam] Consul with M. Piso in 693 (61).

etiam] 'still,' as before in my case.
tamen] 'after all.'

omnis dolor est, quod optime factis poena maxima est constituta. 10. Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? quin illud maereo quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas adferet quam mihi. Sed te incolumi orbi non erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salus aliqua detur potestasque in patria moriendi ut me lacrimae non sinunt scribere! Etiam Terentiam velim tueare mihiq[ue] de omnibus rebus rescribas. Sis fortis, quoad rei natura patiat[ur]. Idibus Iuniis, Thessalonicae.

67. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 10).

THESSALONICA; JUNE 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit litteris eius se certiore[m] factum quae usque ad a. d. viii Kal. Iun. acta essent, reliqua se Thessalonicae exspectare, tum se statuere posse ubi sit, de exigua spe sua recipiendae salutis et de animo non sine idonea causa afflictio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acta quae essent usque ad a. d. viii Kalend. Iun. cognovi ex tuis litteris. Reliqua exspectabam, ut tibi placebat, Thessalonicae: quibus adlatis facilius statuere potero ubi sim. Nam, si erit causa, si quid agetur, si spem videro, aut ibidem opperiar aut me ad te conferam: sin, ut tu scribis, ista evanuerint, aliquid aliud videbimus. Omnino adhuc nihil mihi significatis nisi discordiam istorum, quae tamen inter eos de omnibus potius rebus est quam de me. Itaque quid ea mihi prosit nescio. Sed tamen, quoad me vos sperare vultis, vobis obtemperabo. 2. Nam quod me tam saepe et tam vehementer obiurgas et animo infirmo esse dicis, quaeso, ecquod tantum malum est quod in mea calamitate non sit? equis umquam tam ex amplo statu, tam in bona causa, tantis

10. *Reliqua*] 'More—I swear by my hopes of restoration and of a grave in my fatherland—more my tears do not let me write!': cp. Att. v. 15, 2 (207) *ita vivam ut maximos sumptus facio*, 'by my life I am drawing enormously on my own resources.'

1. *ad te*] 'to your estate in Epirus.' *sin, ut tu scribis*] Schütz gives me *ad te conferam, ut tu scribis*; *sin ista evanuerint*, on the grounds that Atticus would be more

prone to put the hopeful view of the case before Cicero. But the change is quite wrong; Atticus did *not* write him reassuring letters: see especially 70, 1; cp. 71, 1.

istorum] 'those friends of yours'; sc. Pompey, Clodius, and Gabinius. *vos*] Atticus and the others who had advised Cicero's flight.

2. *tam ex amplo*] cp. *quam in optimo* = *in quam optimo*, 'the best possible,' Fin. v. 26, and the note of Madvig there.

Got in Epi-
rus, cf. 3, 15,
6 in. hrs. ag-
nos

facultatibus ingeni, consili, gratiae, tantis praesidiis bonorum omnium conceidit? Possum oblivisci qui fuerim? non sentire qui sim? quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre? quem ego, ut novum calamitatis genus attendas, cum pluris facerem quam me ipsum semperque fecissem, vitavi ne viderem, ne aut illius luctum squaloremque aspicere aut me, quem ille florentissimum reliquerat, perditum illi addictumque offerrem. Mitto cetera intolerabilia; etenim fletu impediior. Hic utrum tandem sum accusandus quod doleo, an quod commisi ut haec aut non retinerem (quod facile fuisset nisi intra parietes meos de mea perniciē consilia inirentur), aut certe vivus [non] amitterem? 3. Haec eo scripsi ut potius relevares me, quod facis, quam ut castigatione aut obiurgatione dignum putares, eoque ad te minus multa scribo quod et maerore impediior

Mitto] 'I pass over': cp. Att. iv. 3, 5 (92), and note on 46, 1.

Hic] i.e., in hac re.

utrum] Retaining the *non* which we have bracketed, we cannot import any meaning into the sentence. Here is the only meaning it could bear: 'Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief, or rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least not to forfeit them but by death?' It will be at once seen how utterly devoid of logical consecution are the words in italics. Omitting *non*, the words give an excellent sense, and convey a sentiment which Cicero has frequently expressed in his letters from exile: 'am I to be blamed for feeling such grief? or am I to be blamed rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit them while still retaining my life' (aut certe quod commisi ut vivus amitterem, 'as to forfeit them while still retaining my life')? This sentiment recurs repeatedly in Cicero's letters from exile. His first error was 'his having incurred the loss of all his blessings and glories,' quod commisi ut haec non retinerem; but his second and worse error was 'his having incurred these losses, and allowed himself to survive,' quod commisi ut haec vivus amitterem. Madvig saw the complete want of connexion in the ordinary reading, and proposed to get the meaning which we have given to the sentence by reading *non aut* for *aut non*

before *retinerem*; but it seems to us that *non aut* almost immediately succeeded by *aut*... *non* would be somewhat confusing. His conjecture is certainly far from improbable, and it may with some reason be urged that *aut certe* demands that an expressed negative should follow. However, the arrangement of the sentence given involves a very slight change, and supposes on the part of the copyist a very likely blunder. One might thus convey the meaning of the sentence as we understand it:—'Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief or for having acted in such a way as to miss either (on the one hand) the retaining of these good things, or (on the other) the satisfaction of not losing them but by death?' The two alternatives are—(1) to keep the good things; (2) to lose them, but to lose life at the same time.

quod facile fuisset] sc. *retinere*. In the 'plots against him within his own walls,' he refers to the treachery of Hortensius and Arrius.

3. *quod et maerore*] 'I write the less because I am let and hindered by my distress of mind, and (because) I have more to expect from you than to tell you myself.' The ellipse of *quod* = 'because' before *quod expectem* (where *quod* is of course the relative) is very harsh. To supply the *quod* (conjunction) before *quod* (relative) would be cacophonous, though Cicero is not very sensitive about such matters, as has been shown above on 20, 2. As the sentence stands it can

et quod exspectem istine magis habeo quam quod ipse scribam. Quae si erunt adlata, faciam te consili nostri certiore. Tu, ut adhuc fecisti, quam plurimis de rebus ad me velim scribas, ut prorsus ne quid ignorem. Data XIII Kal. Quinet. Thessalonicae.

68. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 11).

THESSALONICA; JUNE 27; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit quae se res adhuc Thessalonicae tenuerint, cupit se iuvare ab Attico, nec tamen obiurgari propter aerumnas suas, Q. fratrem sustentandum commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me et tuae litterae et quidam boni nuntii non optimis tamen auctoribus et exspectatio vestrarum litterarum et quod tibi ita placuerat adhuc Thessalonicae tenebat. Si accepero litteras quas exspecto, si spes erit ea quae rumoribus adferebatur, ad te me conferam: si non erit, faciam te certiore quid egerim.

2. Tu me, ut facis, opera, consilio, gratia iuva: consolari iam desine, obiurgare vero noli; quod cum facis, ut ego tuum amorem et dolorem desidero! quem ita adfectum mea aerumna esse arbitror ut te ipsum consolari nemo possit. Quintum fratrem optimum humanissimumque sustenta. Ad me obsecro te ut omnia certa perscribas. Data III Kal. Quinet.

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hardly be right. Perhaps we should read *quod et maiore impediore et quod exspecto istine magis quam habeo quod ipse scribam*: cp. 70, fin.

ut . . . ne quid] cp. 30, 38 ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur.

1. tenebat] This is the reading of M¹. The singular is often found with more than one subject when the subject nearest to the verb is in the singular: cp. 7, 1 *quod neque epistulae tuae neque nostra adlegatio tam potest facile delere*; Mil. 14 *cum inesset in re vis et insidiae*.

ad te me conferam] That is, 'I shall go to your property in Epirus' (see 70, 2; 77, 1). Atticus was himself in Rome, but *ad te* means 'to your house': see note on 28, 2, fin. In Att. iv. 5, 3 (108), *ad te* is used to designate the town-house of Atticus in contradistinction to his *horti*, or 'suburban villa.' We may suppose that Cicero would not have used here an expression that might more properly mean 'to your town-house,' but that the circumstances of the case rendered it impossible that he should here be taken as referring to Atticus' house in Rome: cp. 75, 2; 77, 1; 81, 4.

69. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 12).

THESSALONICA; JULY 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit de spe quam ostenderit Atticus exigua, de oratione in Curionem perinopportune prolata, de condicione sua, de rebus familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tu quidem sedulo argumentaris quid sit sperandum et maxime per senatum, idemque caput rogationis proponi scribis qua re in senatu dici nihil liceat; itaque siletur. Hic tu me accusas quod me afflictum, cum ita sim afflictus ut nemo umquam, quod tute intellegis. Spem ostendis secundum comitia.

Quae ista est, eodem tribuno pl. et inimico consule designato? 2. Percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. Cui vulneri, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. Scripsi equidem olim ei iratus quod ille prior scripserat, sed ita compresseram ut numquam emanaturam putarem. Quo modo exciderit nescio. Sed quia numquam accidit ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem et quia scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae, puto posse probari non esse meam. Id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim: sin plane perii, minus laboro. 3. Ego etiam nunc eodem in loco iaceo, sine sermone ullo, sine cogitatione ulla. Scilicet tibi, ut scribis, signifi-

1. *Tu quidem sedulo*] 'You argue earnestly about what hope I may entertain, and especially through the action of the Senate; and yet you tell me that the clause of the Clodian bill forbidding any reference to my restoration is actually being posted up. Therefore not a word is said about my case': see 73, 6. Malaspina conjectured *sileri*, which would certainly give a better sense; but it is rash to make an alteration in such cases; *siletur* gives a good sense.

eodem tribuno] 'What hope have I with Clodius re-elected as tribune, and the consul elect my enemy?' In both these vaticinations Cicero proved wrong. Clodius was not re-elected as tribune, and Metellus Nepos, who had been hostile to Cicero in his tribunate, befriended him as consul.

2. *oratione*] sc. in *Curionem*: see 73, 3. *compresseram*] 'suppressed it,' 'kept it out of circulation.'

exciderit] 'got out.' See Att. iv. 17, 1 (149), where probably *lepidum quid ne quo EXCIDAT* should be read.

posse probari non esse meam] The modern detractors of Cicero make this the ground of some very violent denunciations of Cicero. It seems to us that even at the present day if a public man wrote something which, on reflection, seemed likely to injure him, and also seemed unworthy of him in style, he would wish to conceal his authorship, though he would probably not avow such a desire even in a letter to an intimate friend. See for similar charges against the character of Cicero, Att. vi. 6, 4 (276); and Att. xi. 9, 2 (423): see also *Introd. I*, § 2, on this whole subject.

3. *Scilicet tibi, ut scribis, significaram*] The mss give *Licet*; but we must read *Scilicet*, as Cicero does not use *licet* in the sense of 'although' (*Madvig*, A. C. iii. 169); as a consequence we must alter

caram ut ad me venires;† si donatam ut† intellego te istic prodesse, hic ne verbo quidem levare me posse. Non queo plura scribere, nec est quod scribam: vestra magis exspecto. Data xvi Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

70. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 14).

THESSALONICA; JULY 21; A. U. C. 696; B.C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ab Attico requirit quid Cn. Pompeius actis nunc iam comitiis de se agi velit, de spe sua, Thessalonicae se nolle amplius commorari propter viae celebritatem, in Epirum se nolle proficisci, fortasse in Asiam iturum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris plenus sum expectatione de Pompeio quidnam de nobis velit aut ostendat. Comitia enim credo esse habita: quibus absolutis scribis illi placuisse agi de nobis. Si tibi stultus esse videor qui sperem, facio tuo iussu, et scio te me iis epistulis potius et meas spes solitum esse remorari. Nunc velim mihi plane perscribas quid videas. Scio nos nostris multis peccatis in hanc aerumnam incidisse. Ea si qui casus aliqua ex parte correxerit, minus moleste feremus nos vixisse et adhuc vivere. 2. Ego propter viae celebritatem et cotidianam expectationem rerum

significarem to significaram. Schütz transposes *ut scribis* to follow *intellego te*; but it is right where it stands. Atticus had used the word *significare* in his letter in a somewhat unusual sense. Cicero replies, 'of course I did intimate to you (*make you a sign*—beckon you, to use your own expression) to come to me, yet I have for some time been aware that you are useful to me at Rome, but that here you could not relieve me even by a word of comfort': see 67, 1. We have rendered the sentence as emended by Koch, *ut ad me venires; dudum tamen intellego.* Many other attempts have been made to emend the corrupt words *si donatam*: see Adn. Crit. Perhaps the best is that of Madvig, *id omittere*: *intellego*, &c. Munro conjectured *res si idonea tamen, nunc intellego* (*nunc* was written *ne*, hence *ut*).

Non queo] This is in favour of our view of 67, 3.

1. *quidnam . . . ostendat*] 'what view of my case he takes, or puts forward.'

Si tibi stultus] 'If I seem to you to be foolish in indulging a hope, it is you that prompt me to it; and I mind me that it is rather your wont in your correspondence with me to check and discourage me and my hopes (therefore I attach the more significance to the hopeful tone of your recent letters).' Such is the meaning of this passage. It would perhaps be simpler if we adopted *etsi* of the Codex Faerni with Malaspina and Lambinus; but as *et* is the reading of all the other mss (the 'Scidae' of Bosius may be disregarded), it is possibly better to retain it. There is some difficulty about *iis*: how could Atticus 'be accustomed' (*solitum esse*) to check Cicero's hopes in definite letters (*iis epistulis*) which appear to have been of a hopeful character? We should probably read *tuis* or *istis* for *iis*.

novarum non commovi me adhuc Thessalonica. Sed iam extrudimur, non a Plancio—nam is quidem retinet—verum ab ipso loco minime appposito ad tolerandam in tanto luctu calamitatem. In Epirum ideo, ut scripseram, non ii, quod subito mihi universi nuntii venerant et litterae qua re nihil esset necesse quam proxime Italiam esse. Hinc si aliquid a comitiis audierimus, nos in Asiam convertemus neque adhuc stabat quo potissimum, sed scies. Data XII Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

71. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 13).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 5; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico significat se propter imminutam spem salutis suae non fore in Epiro, habitis comitiis quod nihil ad se de salute sua scriptum sit, magis etiam desperat, non vult tamen eo accusari quod afflictus sit in summa desperatione rerum omnium: Cyzicum se proficisci: denique Q. fratrem Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod ad te scripseram me in Epiro futurum, postea quam extenuari spem nostram et evanescere vidi, mutavi consilium nec me Thessalonica commovi, ubi esse statueram, quoad aliquid ad me de eo scriberes quod proximis litteris scripseras, fore uti secundum comitia aliquid de nobis in senatu ageretur: id tibi Pompeium

2. *commovi me*] Meyer (De Ciceronis in epp. ad Att. sermone, p. 33) notices that the use of *commovere* or *movere* applied to individuals belongs to colloquial style: cp. 71, 1; Att. xiv. 17, 6 (724); Fam. vi. 20, 3 (645); Att. v. 12, 1 (202) *nec me Delo movere*; vii. 16, 3 (313) with Lucilius, 560 (Bährens) *Commovet se nusquam neque committit ut pereat sibi*, and Plaut. Trin. 802 *quin tu hinc te amoves et te moves*.

Plancio] cp. note to 81, 1.

ab ipso loco] sc. *extrudimur*: 'it is the nature of the place which is driving me away.'

In Epirum] 'I did not go to Epirus, as I had said I would, for this reason, that of late all the intelligence I have received and all my letters have told me with one accord that there was no occasion for me to remain so near Italy.' For *universi*, Koch suggests *adversi*, comparing *boni nuntii* (68, 1). This emendation

was made before the time of Malaspina, but was rejected by him on the ground that *adversi* is not the word to apply to *nuntii*, but *graves*, or *tristes*, or *maii*, or such like.

aliquid a comitiis] 'anything of importance from the scene of the elections.'

A is sometimes taken to mean *after*, as in Att. v. 21, 4 (250) *a Lentuli triumpho* = *post Lentuli tr.*; cp. also 65, 2 *a Pompeio*. This use is very frequent with adverbs, e.g. *confestim a praelio*; and in such phrases as *a puero*. For *aliquid* = 'something of importance,' cp. 73, 5, 8; Att. iv. 2, 2 (91); Tusc. i. 45; v. 104.

stabat] 'is it yet fixed': cp. Fam. ix. 2, 5 (461).

1. *postea quam*] 'When I saw my gleam of hope growing less and less, and finally vanishing.'

secundum comitia] 'immediately after the election of the magistrates in July.'

dixisse. Qua de re, quoniam comitia habita sunt tuque nihil ad me scribis, proinde habebō ac si scripsisses nihil esse, meque temporis non longinqui spe ductum esse *non* moleste feram. Quem autem motum te videre scripseras qui nobis utilis fore videretur, eum nuntiant qui veniunt nullum fore. In tribunis pl. designatis reliqua spes est: quam si exspectaro, non erit quod putes me causae meae, voluntati meorum defuisse. 2. Quod me saepe accusas cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignorare, cum ita me afflictum videas ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris. Nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est. Atque utinam tam in periculo fuisset! cum ego iis quibus meam salutem carissimam esse arbitrabar inimicissimis crudelissimisque usus sum,

secundum is also used of space: cp. *secundum aurem*, Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613), 'behind the ear.'

nihil esse] sc. *actum de nobis*.

meque temporis] 'And I shall not regret that the hope by which I have been lured had not to await any distant time for its fulfilment or non-fulfilment.' This is clearly the meaning. Cicero is glad that he is put out of pain at once. It would have been worse had he been kept longer in suspense before he found how baseless were his hopes. M. Rom. I, have *meque*; Bosius (of course claiming the authority of X and Y) reads *neque*; and Ernesti *neque me*. We prefer to read *meque* with the mss, and supply *non* before *moleste feram*; and Otto holds the same view. The *non* might have fallen out owing to the almost immediate precedence of another *non*. In his note Müller adds a vast number of cases in which *non* has been omitted by the codices. On the same principle we thought a *non* should be supplied immediately after another *non* at Att. vi. 6, 4 (276) *non dico equidem non quid egerit, sed tamen multo minus, laboro*, 'I don't say I care not, but I care much less, what he has done': but see Lehmann ('Att.', pp. 197-199).

motum] See 64, 3.

quam si exspectaro] 'if I await its issue': cp. above, *temporis longinqui spe*, 'hope destined to find its issue in no long time.'

causae meae, voluntati meorum] This asyndeton between two words is very common in Cic. Epp. Cp. *patrimonio*

fortuna, Att. xi. 9, 3 (423); *officiis liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3 (519); *studiis beneficiis*, Fam. vii. 5, 1 (134). See Lehmann, 'Quaest. Tull.', p. 23. This defends the conjecture, *populo convicio* for *populi convicio*, in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1 (133).

2. *accusas cur . . . feram*] This use of *cur* for *propterea quod* is taken from the direct question *cur tam graviter fers*: cp. *illud reprehendo et accuso cur . . . feceris*, Verr. iii. 16; *irascas amicis Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno*, Hor. Ep. i. 8, 10; *corruptum . . . cur ambularem*, Plin. Epp. iii. 5, 16; *consules invasit cur silerent*, Tac. Ann. vi. 4.

audieris] Wesenberg, after *audieris*, supplies *magis*. But this is a needless violation of the ms authority. *Ita afflictum ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris* is very like *haec tam esse quam audio non puto*, 53, 9. But the latter passage finds its closest parallel in the next clause but one, where *tam* stands for *tam integra*.

Nam quod] 'You write that you hear my brain is affected by my affliction—no, my brain is quite sound. Would it had been as sound (*tam sc. integra*) in the time of my peril.' He refers to the mistake he made in leaving the city before he was assailed by name. The matter is fully dwelt on in 73, 4, 5.

mihi vero] For this use of *vero* in answer to a question see note on *ego vero*, 73, 2 and Index; a good example of this idiom occurs in Planc. 59.

iis quibus meam salutem] See 65, 2

qui, ut me paullum inclinari timore viderunt, sic impulerunt ut omni suo scelere et perfidia abuterentur ad exitium meum. Nunc, quoniam est Cyzicum nobis eundum, quo rarius ad me litterae perferentur, hoc velim diligentius omnia quae putaris me scire opus esse perscribas. Quintum fratrem meum fac diligas, quem ego miser si incolumem relinquo, non me totum perisse arbitrabor. Data Nonis Sextilibus.

72. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. I. 4.)

THESSALONICA; AUGUST (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58;
AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero dolet sibi amicorum fidem et consilium defuisse. Rogat ut quam reditus spem in novis tribunis pl. habere possit frater sibi aperiat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Amabo te, mi frater, ne, si uno meo facto et tu et omnes mei corruistis, improbitati et sceleri meo potius quam imprudentiae miseriaeque adsignes. Nullum est meum peccatum nisi quod iis credidi a quibus nefas putaram esse me decipi, aut etiam quibus ne id expedire quidem arbitrabar. Intimus, proximus, familiarissimus quisque aut sibi pertimuit aut mihi invidit: ita mihi nihil misero praeter fidem amicorum, cautum meum consilium defuit. 2. Quod si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindi-

nos non inimici sed invidi perdiderunt; 82, 2 aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum.

inclinari] 'to waver.'

abuterentur] *abuti* means 'to consume in the use,' 'use up': cp. Att. xvi. 6, 4 (775); and *usus non abusus legatur*, Top. 17. It is used in a good sense, Nat. Deor. ii. 151; in a bad sense, Rosc. Am. 54, the sense being generally (but not always) fixed by a qualifying adverb. It is often, 'to misuse,' 'abuse': cp. ἀποχρησθαί.

1. *imprudentiae miseriaeque*] 'my pitiable shortsightedness': for the hendiadys, see 1, 1, and *inertiae nequitiaeque*, Catil. i. 4.

putaram] 'I had made up my mind (that they could not be so wicked as to play me false).'

arbitrabar] 'it never entered my head (that it could be for their interest to desert me).'

Intimus] The allusion is to Hortensius and Pompey. Pompey *sibi pertimuit*, Hortensius *mihi invidit*. For the asyndeton, cp. *consiliis promissis praeceptis*, 66, 8.

ita mihi nihil] Klotz believes that *defuit* fell out after *amicorum*. But this would make Cicero say that there was no want of judgment on his part—that the only thing wanting was the honest support of his friends. Now he has just asked Quintus to attribute their common

cat hoc tempore a molestia, perspicis profecto ecquaenam nobis spes salutis relinquatur. Nam me Pomponius et Sestius et Piso noster adhuc Thessalonicae retinuerunt, cum longius discedere propter nescio quos motus vetarent. Verum ego magis exitum illorum litteris quam spe certa exspectabam. Nam quid sperem potentissimo inimico, dominatione obtrectatorum, infidelibus amicis, plurimis invidis? 3. De novis autem tribunis plebis est ille quidem in me officiosissimus Sestius et, spero, Curius, Milo, Fadius, Fabricius, sed valde adversante Clodio, qui etiam privatus eadem manu poterit contiones concitare, deinde etiam intercessor parabitur. 4. Haec mihi proficiscenti non proponebantur, sed saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus. Quid tu igitur? inquires. Quid? multa convenerunt quae mentem exturbarent meam: subita defectio Pompei, alienatio consulum, etiam praetorum, timor publicanorum, arma. Lacrimae meorum me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt, quod certe et ad honestatem et ad effugiendos intolerabilis

fall to his want of judgment. Therefore, we incline to adopt the conjecture of Malaspina, who marks no lacuna, and reads *defuit* for *fuit*: 'there was nothing wanting in my case but good faith in my friends, and good judgment in myself.' There was no *improbitas* or *scelus*, but there was *imprudencia*. See also the last words of this letter.

2. *molestia*] 'a prosecution.'

Pomponius] Atticus. Sestius, tribune elect, took an active part in the restoration of Cicero, and was subsequently defended by him successfully. Piso was Cicero's son-in-law.

motus] 64, 3. There were certain prospects of a rupture between the triumvirs, which Cicero's friends hoped would issue in his restoration.

Verum] 'It was rather the letters of these friends than any definite hopes of my own that made me await the issue of these commotions.'

potentissimo inimico] Clodius. *obtrectatorum*] the triumvirs.

3. *Curius*] Probably M. Curius, to whom is addressed Fam. xiii. 49 (163). He was *quaestor* in 693 (61), and trib. pl. in 697 (57). Cicero had been *quaestor* to his father, post Red. in Sen. 21.

Fadius] See 83, 4. To him is addressed Fam. v. 18 (180).

Fabricius] The conjecture of Manutius for *Gratidius*, which is perhaps

possible to defend; cp. 30, 10, Flacc. 49, where *Gratidius* is mentioned as a legate of Quintus. He appears to have been second cousin of Quintus. Fabricius was one of the tribunes who brought in the bill for Cicero's recall: post Red. in Sen. 22; Mil. 38; Sest. 75.

manu] 'gang.'

4. *consulum*] Most probably the consuls of this year, Piso and Gabinius, not the consuls elect, though he did apprehend opposition from Metellus Nepos (69, 1), who, with Lentulus Spinther, was consul elect for 697 (57). Cicero says (53, 2, fin.), *consules se optime ostendunt*; but we know from Dio Cass. xxxviii. 15, fin., compared with *ibid.* 16, 17, that Piso and Gabinius at first seemed likely to defend Cicero, but afterwards proved hostile. See also Pis. 29. As he refers to the consuls of this year, so also he refers to the praetors, not to the praetors elect. He had spoken (53, fin.) of the praetors in the same terms as the consuls: how or why they changed in feeling towards Cicero we do not know.

timor publicanorum] (1) 'fear lest they should become hostile,' for hitherto they were well disposed to Cicero: see 30, 6; (2) or, better, 'the timid support given me by the publicani,' 'the hesitating attitude of the publicani.'

arma] 'the Clodian gangs of roughs.' Bücheler wishes to add *Clodi* or *inimi-*

So bei Weil.

dolores fuit aptissimum. Sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistula quam Phaëthonti dedi. Nunc tu, quoniam in tantum luctum laboremque detrusus es quantum nemo umquam, si levare potest communem casum misericordia hominum, scilicet incredibile quiddam adsequeris: sin plane occidimus—me miserum!—ego omnibus meis exitio fuero quibus ante dedecori non eram. 5. Sed tu, ut ante ad te scripsi, perspice rem et pertempta et ad me, ut tempora nostra non ut amor tuus fert, vere perscribe. Ego vitam, quoad putabo tua interesse aut ad spem servandam esse, retinebo. Tu nobis amicissimum Sestium cognosces: credo tua causa velle Lentulum, qui erit consul. Quamquam sunt facta verbis difficiliora. Tu et quid opus sit et quid sit videbis. Omnino, si tuam solitudinem communemque calamitatem nemo dispexerit, aut per te

corum. Perhaps *latronum*; the word dropped out owing to the virtual identity of the first four letters of *Laetinae*.

quantum nemo umquam] The preposition is not repeated: cp. 77, 2 in *tantam spem* . . . *quantam*; Att. viii. 11 D, 3 (343) in *eadem opinione qua reliqui*; De Legibus iii. 33 in *ista sententia qua*. When the verb in both clauses is the same, and the same prep. governs antecedent and relative, the prep. need not be repeated, Mayor on Phil. ii. § 26.

5. *quoad* . . . *interesse*] Cicero thought his services as an advocate might be available for his brother even while he was in exile. He might, if Quintus were hard pressed, write a speech which would be delivered by some friend on his behalf.

ad spem servandam] This may be rendered—(1), 'as long as I think it ought to be preserved for the hope of better things': cp. Plane. 13 *tempora* . . . *ad quae tu te ipse servaras*; or (2) *servandam* may agree with *spem*, not with *vitam*, and then *ad* will have the same sense as in *ad medicinam*, 63, 2; *ad sustentandum*, Att. vi. 1, 14 (252). We should then render, 'As long as I think it (my life) is calculated to afford grounds for the maintenance of hope.'

tua causa velle] Cp. Fam. i. 1, 1 (95) *regis causa si qui sunt qui velint*. So Div. in Caec. 21.

Quamquam sunt] 'it is easier to say soft words than to do kind deeds,' which implies that Lentulus had spoken kindly, but perhaps would not be so ready to act; or (perhaps), 'but it is easier for me to talk than for you to act.' But it

seems that we might extract a very fair meaning from the ms reading, *quamquam sed non sunt facta verbis difficiliora*, by marking an aposiopesis after *quamquam*. Cicero was about to discuss further the reality of the friendship of Lentulus; but he suddenly breaks off, remembering that it will be easier for Quintus on the spot to take the necessary steps to conciliate or improve the good feeling of Lentulus, than for him in his absence to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of the question; for in the meantime some act of Lentulus might give a quite different complexion to the whole case. It would then be rendered, 'Yet—but enough of this; this is a case where it is not more difficult for you to act than for me to discuss the question. You, who are on the spot, will see what is going on and what is to be done.' This explanation should not be rejected without some attempt to account for the supposed corruption of the Med. in this passage.

nemo dispexerit] 'It comes to this: if no one shows his sense of, sees into (*dispexerit*), your unprotected condition (in my absence) and of our common ruin (i.e. by prosecuting you), then you will be able to do something to effect my return, or else it will be proved impossible.' The mss appear to read *despexerit*, and not *dispexerit*. But the change is slight; and ms authority on such a point is of small weight. Lachmann lays it down that *dispicere aliquid* or *despicere in aliquid* means 'to look upon a thing,' while *despicere aliquid* is 'to despise a thing': cp. Munro's crit. note on Lucret. iv. 418. Perhaps, however, Cicero wrote *respex-*

Grunt? s.
Boeckel zu
Att. 3, 13 ex h.
cf. p. 395

mir wohl-
wollen

aliquid confici aut nullo modo poterit: sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris: non enim gladiis tecum sed litibus agetur. Verum haec absint velim. Te oro ut ad me de omnibus rebus rescribas et in me animi aut potius consili minus putes esse quam antea, amoris vero et officii non minus.

Wiel. Ep. 72

73. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 15).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico ad quattuor quas acceperat epistulas respondet: ad primam, qua obiurgatus erat quod tanto opere adfigeretur, de misera condicione sua exponit et de hominibus a quibus Atticus se salutem sperare iubeat subdubitat, se accusans propter sua peccata, de sermone ab Attico cum Culleone habito de privilegio, et quaerit quid agere de se Romae velint amici: se acta Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae expectare, donec statuatur utrum in Epirum in agros Attici an Cyzicum se conferat, ab Attico vult effici ut restituatur aut, si id fieri non possit, certior fieri vult sibi nihil esse sperandum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acepi Id. Sext. quattuor epistulas a te missas: unam, qua me obiurgas et rogas ut sim firmior, alteram, qua Crassi libertum ais tibi de mea sollicitudine macieque narrasse, tertiam, qua demonstras acta in senatu, quartam de eo quod a Varrone scribis tibi esse confirmatum de voluntate Pompei. 2. Ad primam tibi hoc scribo, me ita dolere ut non modo a mente non deserar sed id ipsum doleam, me tam firma mente ubi utar et quibuscum non habere. Nam si tu me uno non sine maerore cares, quid me censes

erit: cp. nisi quis nos deus respexerit, 22, 6. The sense would then be, 'On the whole, if no one regards (turns a pitying glance on) your unprotected state (that is, 'if nobody will lend you a helping hand'), you must either do something yourself, or we are completely lost.'

tecum] Cicero implies that Quintus was better in the field than in the law courts, and that he would have to use all his energies to defend himself in this unwanted arena. We read *tecum* with Rom. for *mecum* of M. A defence, however, may possibly be made for the latter. The meaning (retaining *mecum*) would be, 'but if you are prosecuted, you will have to bestir yourself; for then all the animosity of my enemies, abandon-

ing open hostility, will take the form of proceedings in the law courts (against you).' Possibly we should read *non enim gladiis <tecum ut> mecum sed litibus agetur*. This would give a fair sense, and account in some measure for the corruption of the ms.

1. *quod a Varrone*] 'the assurances about the view of Pompey which you say Varro gave you.'

2. *me ita dolere ut*] 'that my distress is of such a nature as not in the least to affect my mental faculties—nay, of such a nature as to make me feel distressed that I have no sphere or society in which to display the vigour of my mental powers.'

qui et te et omnibus? Et, si tu incolumis me requiris, quo modo a me ipsam incolumitatem desiderari putas? Nolo commemorare quibus rebus sim spoliatus, non solum quia non ignoras, sed etiam ne rescindam ipse dolorem meum. Hoc confirmo, neque tantis bonis esse privatum quemquam neque in tantas misérias incidisse. Dies autem non modo non levat luctum hunc sed etiam auget. Nam ceteri dolores mitigantur vetustate, hic non potest non et sensu praesentis miserae et recordatione praeteritae vitae cotidie augeri. Desidero enim non mea solum neque meos sed me ipsum. Quid enim sum? Sed non faciam ut aut tuum animum angam querelis aut meis vulneribus saepius manus adferam. Nam quod purgas eos quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse et in eis Catonem, ego vero tantum illum puto ab isto scelere afuisse ut maxime doleam plus apud me simulationem aliorum quam istius fidem valuisse. Ceteros quod purgas, debent mihi probati esse, tibi si sunt. 3. Sed haec sero agimus. Crassi libertum nihil puto sincere locutum. In senatu rem probe scribis actam. Sed quid Curio? an illam orationem non legit? quae unde sit prolata nescio. Sed Axius eiusdem diei scribens ad me acta non ita laudat Curionem. At potest ille aliquid praetermittere, tu, nisi

incolumis] 'in the enjoyment of all your civil rights.' *Incolumitas* is opposed to *calamitas*.

rescindam] 'to open a wound': cp. Fam. v. 17, 4 (179) *ne refricem* . . . *dolorem tuum*, which is just the same as *vulneribus manus adferam* below. Also, Ovid Met. xii. 542 *Quid me meminisse malorum cogis, et obductos annis rescindere luctus*.

vetustate] See on 12, 16. Cp. *multa vetustas lenit*, Ovid, Ars Am. ii. 647.

cotidie augeri] See note on 26, 7.

ego vero . . . puto] 'why, I hold him to have been so far from any such baseness that it makes my chief grief to think that the treachery of others had more weight with me than his loyalty.' *Ego vero* is constantly used in this corroborative sense, in answer to a question or statement, 'Yes, I hold him guiltless.'

Ceteros quod purgas] 'As to your defence of the conduct of the others, if you think their hands are clean, they must be approved by me.' For the reading see Adn. Crit. The sentence is a querulous and grudging lip-assent to excuses Atticus made on behalf of certain public men at Rome.

3. *Crassi libertum*] He here refers to the contents of the *second* letter spoken of in § 1. The freedman of Crassus had said that Cicero was looking ill. Cicero says his sympathy was simulated; or else he refers to something else in the letter not mentioned above.

In senatu] The contents of the third letter, § 1.

illam orationem] The speech of which he says above (69, 2) that *in Clodium et Curionem*, of which he thinks its authorship might be disowned. Some of the fragments of it which are still preserved are quoted on 22, 10. Curio spoke in Cicero's behalf, wherefore Cicero asks 'is it possible that he has not read my invective against him?' Curio the elder is referred to, the younger being always spoken of by Cicero as *Curio meus*, or *adulescens*, or *filius*.

ita laudat] perhaps, 'does not quote Curio to that effect,' which seems to agree better with *at potest ille aliquid praetermittere*. But of course it may mean, 'does not give so favourable an account of Curio's conduct'; though the latter use of *ita* is not so normal as the former.

cf. p. 214.
381

quod erat, profecto non scripsisti. Varronis sermo facit expectationem Caesaris, atque utinam ipse Varro incumbat in causam! quod profecto cum sua sponte tum te instante faciet. 4. Ego, si me aliquando vestri et patriae compotem fortuna fecerit, certe efficiam ut maxime laetere unus ex omnibus amicis, meaque officia et studia quae parum antea luxerunt—fatendum est enim—sic exsequar, ut me aequae tibi ac fratri et liberis nostris restitutum putes. Si quid in te peccavi ac potius quoniam peccavi ignosce; in me enim ipsum peccavi vehementius. Neque haec eo scribo quo te non meo casu maximo dolore esse adfectum sciam, sed profecto, si quantum me amas et amasti tantum amare deberes ac debuisses, numquam esses passus me quo tu abundabas egere consilio, nec esses passus mihi persuaderi utile nobis esse legem de collegiis perferri. Sed tu tantum lacrimas praebuisti dolori meo, quod erat amoris, tamquam ipse ego: quod meritis meis

[Varronis sermo] he here passes to the fourth letter mentioned in § 1.

[facit expectationem Caesaris] 'gives me hope of Caesar's support.' The objective gen., like *timor publicanorum* (according to one explanation) in 72, 4; and *expectationem convivi istius*, 37, 2.

4. *luxerunt*] 'were conspicuous': cp. *Sest.* 60 *virtus . . . quae lucet in tenebris*.

[Neque haec eo scribo quo] cp. *Ter. Heaut.* 554 *neque eo nunc dico quo quisquam illum senserim*. Often *non quo* with *eo* omitted: e.g. 52, 1; 77, 1; *Fam.* xi. 21, 2 (893); *Att.* xv. 22 (755).

[tantum amare deberes ac debuisses] This is to be taken in close connexion with *in me ipsum peccavi vehementius*. 'In failing in my duty to you, I really failed still more in my duty to myself (not that you did not deeply feel my affliction, but) if all the love you bear me and have borne to me were earned by services on my part all along (if in loving me you were now, and had been all along, discharging a debt, repaying an obligation), you would never have suffered me to stand in need of that judgment of which you have so much; you would never have allowed me to be persuaded that it was for my interest that the Clodian bill for restoring and multiplying the clubs should pass. You gave to my distress, as I did myself, only tears—which showed your affection; but what might (if I had any obligation to

urge) have been brought about, namely, that day and night you should think over what course I should take—that was neglected through my own fault, not yours.' Cicero considers that Atticus did all that could be expected from a friend, but that if he himself had taken care to lay Atticus under obligations when he had the power to do so, the zeal of Atticus would have led him to devote such considerations to the case of his friend and benefactor as might have prevented Cicero from taking the false step he did in leaving the city before he was attacked by name. The ingenious conjecture of Pius, who, for *tantum amare deberes et debuisses*, reads *tantum amorem re exhibuisses*, is by no means to be accepted. So violent a remedy should be applied only in desperate cases. Besides, the conjecture of Pius does not harmonise with the succeeding context. Cp. *debemus*, *Fam.* i. 1, 4 (95). Boot (*Obs.* *Critt.* p. 46) explains the passage as we do. Madvig wishes to bracket *amare*.

[collegiis] cp. *Dio Cass.* xxxviii. 13 τὰ ἐταιρικά κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὅντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά (in 690, b.c. 64), ἀνεωόσατο. These 'clubs,' 'companies,' 'chapters' were for social, mercantile, or religious purposes, but might easily be made political engines, as they had been previously.

Lex Clodia, *Cic. cl. Orat.* VIII p. 154

perfectum potuit ut dies et noctes quid mihi faciendum esset cogitares, id abs te meo, non tuo scelere praetermissum est. Quod si non modo tu sed quisquam fuisset qui me Pompei minus liberali responso perterritum a turpissimo consilio revocaret, quod unus tu facere maxime potuisti, aut occubissem honeste aut viatores hodie viveremus. Hic mihi ignosces. Me enim ipsum multo magis accuso, deinde te quasi me alterum et simul meae culpae socium quaero, ac si restitutor, etiam minus videbimur deliquisse, abs teque certe, quoniam nullo nostro, tuo ipsius beneficio diligemur. 5. Quod te cum Culleone scribis de privilegio locutum, est aliquid, sed multo est melius abrogari. Si enim nemo impedit, sic est firmitus? Sin erit qui ferri non sinat, idem senatus consulto intercedet. Nec quidquam aliud opus est [quam] abrogari. Nam prior lex nos nihil laedebat. Quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus aut, ut erat neglegenda, neglegere, nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. Hic mihi primum meum consilium defuit,

potuit] This is the ms reading. Orelli conjectured *oportuit*, which Klotz accepts; but for a full defence of *potuit* as a characteristic usage of the letters of Cicero, see note on 36, 1 *citius quam potuit*. The ellipse of *esse* is also characteristic.

scelere] 'culpable imprudence,' 'neglect': see on 66, 2.

Quod si] 'If you, or no matter who, had dissuaded me from my ignominious resolve (to fly from the city), when alarmed by the ungenerous reply of Pompey—and you were certainly the proper person to dissuade me—I should have died honourably, or I should have been this day the conqueror of Clodius.'

minus liberali responso] cp. Att. x. 4, 3 (382) *se nihil contra huius (Caesaris) voluntatem facere posse*. See also Pis. 77, and Introd. to the letters of this year.

Hic] 'in this matter,' that is, 'when I condemn your conduct.'

si restitutor] 'If I am restored, our common error will be still further diminished in my eyes; and to you at least I shall be endeared by your services to me, since I can lay claim to no services done by me to you.' This passage is a further confirmation of the needlessness of the conjecture of Pius, quoted above.

5. *Quod te cum Culleone*] We think Cicero probably wrote *tecum Culleone*. Why would Atticus mention Culleo at all if the suggestion had not emanated from

Culleo? The meaning of the whole passage is this: Q. Terentius Culleo, one of the tribunes (cp. Plut. Pomp. 49), had suggested to Atticus that the law interdicting Cicero from fire and water could be attacked as a *privilegium*, or law directed against an individual, which was forbidden by the Twelve Tables. It could therefore be set aside by a decree of the Senate. But, argues Cicero, it is better that it should be abrogated directly in the regular manner by the passing of a new bill rescinding it. For this is the most secure method in the absence of any opposition; and, supposing opposition were offered, the decree of the Senate would be quite as difficult to carry, for it would be as easy to *veto* the decree of the Senate as the bill.

sic est firmitus] So the Italian mss., except that nor have *firmus*. See Adn. Crit. The German family has *quid est firmitus*. Madvig wishes to read *s. c.* (i.e. *senatus consulto*), which is certainly ingenious, and is adopted by Lehmann.

Nec quidquam aliud] 'nor is there any need to have anything else abrogated (but the bill of interdiction, passed against Cicero by name, *ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*). For the former bill (*qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*) did not touch me' (not being aimed at me by name). Schütz has rightly bracketed *quam*.

expecta-
causam!
Ego, si
rit, certe
e officia
nim—sic
estitutum
ignosce;
eo scribo
iam, sed
e deberes
bas egere
se legem
sti dolori
tis meis

at, namely,
think over
at was neg-
not yours.
all that
but that
lay Atticus
the power
ould have
erations to
defactor as
rom taking
g the city
ame. The
who, for
ases, reads
is by no
lent a re-
desperate
o of Pius
succeeding
1, 4 (93).
lains the
wishes to

xxviii. 13
aloiuena,
victoria de
victuaro.
chapters'
religious
be made
ad been

11. VIII. p. 154

sed etiam obfuit. Caeci, caeci, inquam, fuimus in vestitu mutando, in populo rogando, quod, nisi nominatim mecum agi coeptum esset, fieri perniciosum fuit. Sed pergo praeterita, verum tamen ob hanc causam ut, si quid agatur, legem illam in qua popularia multa sunt ne tangatis. 6. Verum est stultum me praecipere quid agatis aut quo modo. Utinam modo agatur aliquid! In quo ipso multa. Multa occultant tuae litterae, credo, ne vehementius desperatione perturber. Quid enim vides agi posse aut quo modo? Per senatumne? At tute scripsisti ad me quoddam caput legis Clodium in curiae poste fixisse, NE REFERRI NEVE DICI LICERET. Quo modo igitur Domitius se dixit relaturum? Quo modo autem, iis quos tu scribis et de re dicentibus et ut referretur postulantibus, Clodius tacuit? Ac, si per populum, poteritne nisi de omnium tribunorum pl. sententia? Quid de bonis? quid de domo? poteritne restitui? Aut, si non poterit, egomet quo modo potero? Haec nisi vides expediri, quam in spem me vocas? Sin autem spei nihil est, quae est mihi vita? Itaque exspecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext., ex quibus statuam in tuosne agros

sed etiam] Boot has shown quite satisfactorily that *sed etiam* may stand in a subsequent clause without any such expression as *non solum* in the foregoing part of the sentence. For what can be more uncritical than to insert *non solum* or to mark a lacuna (as Klotz does here) when Boot has produced such an array of passages in which the mss agree in giving *sed etiam*, as here, without any precedent *non solum*? The passages are these: Att. iv. 18, 2 (154); v. 21, 6 (252); x. 16, 6 (402); Fam. xiii. 64, 2 (235); xvi. 16, 2 (927); Q. Fr. i. 1, 44 (30). Surely the copyists did not err in all these cases. And be it observed that if we suppose them to have erred, we must suppose them to have found an easy, unmistakable phrase, and written a rare and doubtful one—to have found *non solum* . . . *sed etiam*, and to have written *sed etiam* alone.

vestitu mutando] cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 14, 7 τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ περιενδύσσει.

pergo praeterita] sc. *explicare*, 'I still dwell on the past. But it is to prevent you from meddling with the first law, in which there are many elements of popularity.' That is the law, *qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei igni*

et aqua interdiceretur. So Att. iv. 11, 1 (124) *perge reliqua*; and Legg. ii. 69 *perge cetera*.

6. *In quo ipso multa*] 'On which much depends' (it is important that we should be seen to be up and doing).

Multa occultant] We have supplied a second *multa*, as in 49, 1 *utinam mansisses*; *MANSISSES profecto*; and in next letter in the final words, *quae putabis, ut putabis*.

At] M has *Ast*, but see Adn. Crit.

in curiae poste fixisse] See 69, 1.

Domitius] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was praetor this year, Piso and Gabinius consuls. Consuls, praetors, and tribunes could put a question; but the consuls took precedence. They refused to put the question of Cicero's recall, though the other senators appealed to them to do so (*ut referretur postulantibus*), and declined to hear Piso and Gabinius on any other question.

poteritne] 'will it be possible?' See above, § 4, and note on 36, 1.

quo modo potero] sc. *restitui*, 'how can I be restored to my former state?'

acta Kal. Sext.] 'The Gazette of the 1st of August.' This contained the proceedings in the Senate, and was first regularly published every day in the first consulship of Caesar in 695 (59) (Suet.

Dr. II 208,9

confugiam, ut neque videam homines quos nolim et te, ut scribis, videam et propius sim, si quid agatur—idque intellexi cum tibi, tum Quinto fratri placere,—an abeam Cyzicum. 7. Nunc, Pomponi, quoniam nihil impertisti tuae prudentiae ad salutem meam, quod aut in me ipso satis esse consili decenteras aut te nihil plus mihi debere quam ut praesto esses, quoniamque ego proditus, inductus, coniectus in fraudem, omnia mea praesidia neglexi, totam Italiam iam erectam ad me defendendum destitui et reliqui, me meos meis tradidi inimicis inspectante et tacente te, qui, si non plus ingenio valebas quam ego, certe timebas minus: si potes, erige adflictos et in eo nos iuva: sin omnia sunt obstructa, id ipsum fac ut sciamus, et nos aliquando aut obiurgare aut communiter consolari desine. Ego si tuam fidem accusarem, non me potissimum tuis tectis crederem: meam amentiam accuso, quod me a te tantum amari quantum ego vellem putavi: quod si fuisset, fidem eandem, curam maiorem adhibuisses, me certe ad exitium praecipitantem retinuisses, istos labores quos nunc in naufragiis nostris suscipis non subisses. 8. Qua re fac ut omnia ad me perspecta et explorata perscribas meque, ut facis, velis esse aliquem, quoniam qui fui et qui esse potui iam esse non

Jul. 20), though previously such a gazette had occasionally been published by private individuals, e.g. the debate on the Catilinarian conspiracy by Cicero (Sall. Catil. 41-44). The *acta diurna* were somewhat like our newspaper, containing a list of births and deaths, and 'occasional notes,' recording prodigies, conflagrations, a list of the games, and interesting events in private life, in which the names were not suppressed: cp. Fam. ii. 15, 5 (273). This gazette was compiled by certain *actuarii* assisted by *notarii* (shorthand writers), edited by some government official (probably the censors under the republic), and then posted in public. Certain scribes (*operarii*) made copies of these *acta*, and sold them to the wealthy, especially in the provinces: cp. Caelius in Fam. viii. 1, 2 (192).

7. *inductus*] 'taken in,' 'deceived.' Plautus uses *perductus* in the same sense. *iam*] So we read with Orelli for the corrupt in me of the mss. Otto suggests *nire*.

me meos meis] So Bosius conjectured. For the mss readings see Adn. Crit.

sin omnia sunt obstructa] 'if every path is closed against me.'

communiter consolari] 'to offer me the commonplace kind of consolations.' Lehmann quotes Pis. 96 *quis denique communi salutatione dignum putet*: Att. ix. 9, 3 (364) *age, esto; hoc commune est*. Analogous is the ordinary *communes loci*. To translate 'to console me and my family in common' gives an inappropriate and feeble sense, though *communiter consolari* is susceptible of that meaning: cp. Fam. xiii. 12, 1 (453), *communiter commendavi legatos*. The reading *comiter* has probably arisen from the abbreviated form of *communiter*. See Adn. Crit.

naufragiis] For the same metaphor, pushed to a far greater length, see Att. iv. 19, 2 (158) *haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat*.

non subisses] 'you would have escaped all the trouble which you are now taking to procure my restoration' (for you would have prevented my banishment).

8. *aliquem*] 'somebody,' 'of some importance.' See on 70, 2.

possum, et ut his litteris non te, sed me ipsum a me esse accusatum putes. Si qui erunt quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas curesque dandas. Data XIV Kal. Sept.

74. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 16).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 19; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De incerto itinere propter expectationem litterarum et de parva spe sua Attici litteris iterum lectis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Totum iter mihi incertum facit expectatio litterarumstrarum Kal. Sext. datarum. Nam si spes erit, Epirum: si minus, Cyzicum, aut aliud aliquid sequemur. Tuas quidem litteras, quae saepius a me leguntur, hoc spem faciunt mihi minorem, quae cum . . . lectae sunt, tum id quod attulerunt ad spem infirmant, ut facile appareat te et consolationi servire et veritati, itaque te rogo plane ut ad me quae scies ut erunt, quae putabis ut putabis, ita scribas. Data XII Kal.

meo nomine] 'in my name.' Letters were so generally written by the *amanuensis* that Atticus could easily write a letter purporting to come from Cicero. In Att. vi. 6, 4 (276), Cicero tells us that he did such a service for Atticus. Cicero dictated to an *amanuensis* a letter speaking highly of Caelius, and then read it to the latter, as a letter received by him from Atticus. *Meo nomine* is not, therefore, to be taken to mean, 'on my account.'

aliud aliquid sequemur] 'take some other direction.'

quae cum . . .] Klotz marks a lacuna here, which Boot makes a good attempt to supply by the words *quae cum <leguntur spem faciunt; cum> lectae sunt*

tum id, &c. Z has *laetae* for *lectae*, which had suggested itself as a very probable conjecture before we knew it had no authority. Then there would be no lacuna; and the meaning would be, 'which (letters) are cheerful in tone, but also are careful not to excite too much hope, so that it is plain that you are devoted at the same time to the task of consoling me and the cause of truth.' Wesenberg gives *laetae* in his text. Lehmann fills up the lacuna in this way, *quae cum <laetae sint dum leguntur, cum> lectae sunt tum, &c.*

ut putabis] is well inserted by Bosius from 2: cp. last letter, § 6, 'when you have news of which you are certain, give it as it is; and in cases where you can only surmise, give me your real surmises.'

75. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 17.).

THESSALONICA; SEPTEMBER 4; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De variis nuntiis et sollicitudine de itinere Q. fratris, de exigua spe sua, de summo suo erga Atticum amore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Quinto fratre nuntii nobis tristes nec varii venerant ex ante diem *III* Non. Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sept. Eo autem die Livineius, L. Reguli libertus, ad me a Regulo missus venit. Is omnino mentionem nullam factam esse nuntiavit, sed fuisse tamen sermonem de C. Clodi filio isque mihi $\dagger\text{qm}\dagger$ fratre litteras attulit. Sed postridie Sesti pueri venerunt, qui a te litteras attulerunt non tam exploratas a timore quam sermo Livinei fuerat. Sane sum in meo infinito maerore sollicitus et eo magis quod Appi quaestio est. 2. Cetera quae ad me eisdem litteris scribis de nostra spe intellego esse languidiora quam alii ostendunt. Ego autem, quoniam non longe ab eo tempore absumus in quo res diiudicabitur, aut ad te conferam me aut etiam nunc circum haec loca commorabor. 3. Scribit ad me frater omnia sua per te unum sustineri. Quid te aut horter, quod facis, aut agam gratias, quod non exspectas? Tantum velim fortuna det nobis potestatem ut incolumes amore nostro perfruamur. Tuas litteras semper maxime exspecto, in quibus cave vereare ne aut diligentia tua mihi molesta aut veritas acerba sit. Data prid. Non. Septembr.

1. *Is omnino*] 'He says there was no notice whatever lodged with the praetor of an intended prosecution of Quintus, but that there was a rumour that the prosecutor would be Appius, the son of C. Clodius' (and therefore nephew of P. Clodius). *cf. p. 387*

qm fratre] The reading a *Q. fratre* (that of Klotz) is not satisfactory, for if Cicero had received a letter from Quintus, he would hardly have spoken so doubtfully. The letter spoken of in § 3 arrived after Sept. 1.

non tam exploratas a timore] 'not so positive (satisfactory) as regards the degree of apprehension I ought to feel': a is, 'on the score of': cp. 10, 2 *inopes ab existimatione*; Att. v. 18, 2 (218) *(loco) copioso a frumento*; vii. 15, 3 (311) *imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia*; viii.

14, 1 (349) *tempus mutum a litteris*.

Appi] This was the brother of P. Clodius (and uncle of the Appius, son of C. Clodius, mentioned above). The case of Quintus was to come before him as praetor. He was consul in 700 (54); and it is to him that Cicero addressed the letters of Fam. iii.

2. *languidiora*] 'less sanguine.'

3. *quod facis*] sc. *facere*: 'why should I exhort you to do what you are already doing, or offer my thanks which you do not expect?' For *quod*, in the words *quod non exspectas*, where we should rather have expected *quas*, see note on 12, 13, where this usage is shown to be characteristic of the letters and the comic stage. Cp. also 30, §§ 13, 23, 36.

vereare] The correction of Wesenberg for *vereri*; *cave* with the infin. does not

76. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 18).

THESSALONICA; SEPTEMBER (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58;
AET. CIC. 48.

Expectatione non parva excitata eo quod scripserat Atticus Varronem confirmasse Pompeium suam causam suscepturum, vult certior fieri quid Romae in sua causa agatur; de Q. fratris litteris itemque de Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Expectationem nobis non parvam attuleras, cum scripseras Varronem tibi pro amicitia confirmasse causam nostram Pompeium certe suscepturum et, simul a Caesare ei litterae quas expectaret remissae essent, actorem etiam daturum. Utrum id nihil fuit, an ^{adversatae} sunt Caesaris litterae? an est aliquid in spe? Etiam illud scripseras, eundem 'secundum comitia' dixisse. 2. Fac, si vides quantis in malis iaceam et si putas esse humanitatis tuae, me fac de tota causa nostra certiore. Nam Quintus frater, homo mirus, qui me tam valde amat, omnia mittit spei plena, metuens, credo, defectionem animi mei. Tuae autem litterae sunt variae: neque enim me desperare vis nec temere sperare. Fac, obsecro te, ut omnia quae perspicui a te possunt sciamus.

occur in Cicero, though found in Sallust, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, and Pliny.

1. *pro amicitia*] 'as a friend.'

simul] = simul ac.

actorem] 'an agent.' Pompey was himself Cicero's *auctor salutis*; but the instrument whom Pompey chose to carry out his plan was Lentulus the consul.

Utrum id] 'did it come to nothing, or did Caesar's letter prove unfavourable? or is there still room for hope?'

2. *homo mirus*] Boot lays down that *homo mirus* means, 'a strange fellow' (one whom you cannot make out); *homo mirificus*, cp. Att. iv. 11, 2 (124), 'an admirable man.' Perhaps the distinction is rather this, that *mirificus* is generally used of men, and *mirus* very rarely. For

another example Mr. Goligher refers us to Att. xv. 29, 2 (768). *Mirabilis* is also applied to men (28, 1). But *mirus*, if applied to men, seems to have the same meaning as *mirificus* and *mirabilis*. Surely here Cicero calls Quintus 'an admirable' brother, who, through fraternal affection, sends far too sanguine reports. There is nothing 'strange, inexplicable' in his conduct. In fact, Cicero explains it here. In the next letter he calls Quintus *optimi atque unici fratris*. Perhaps, however, we should read *amet*, and render 'whose affection for me is really inexplicable' (when one considers how much I have injured him). He often dwells on the injuries he has done to his brother. Dr. Reid conjectures *miser*, referring to 83, 5. The word we should wish to find is *unicus*.

77. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 19).

THESSALONICA; SEPTEMBER 15; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

* Significat M. Cicero quas ob causas iam in Epirum se conferre cogitet, se nolle, quamvis tenui spe ad huc sustentetur, causam suam suorumque deserere: T. Pomponium maximo opere orat et obsecrat ut se suosque tueatur sibi que pueros cum litteris mittat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quoad eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur ut aliquid ex iis esset expectandum, spe et cupiditate Thessalonicae retentus sum: postea quam omnis actio huius anni confecta nobis videbatur, in Asiam ire nolui, quod et celebritas mihi odio est et, si fieret aliquid a novis magistratibus, abesse longe nolebam. Itaque in Epirum ad te statui me conferre, non quo mea interesset quae esset loci natura qui lucem omnino fugerem, sed et ad salutem libentissime ex tuo portu proficiscar et, si ea praecisa erit, nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam vitam vel sustentabo vel, quod

1. in Asiam] i.e. to Cyzicus.
celebritas] 'company,' 'society,' 'the madding crowd.'

ad te] 'to your property in Epirus.' Atticus was himself in Rome: see note on *apud nos* in 28, 3, where a slightly different usage of *ad te* is noticed.

quae esset loci natura] 'not that it is of any consequence to me what the character of the place may be.' See Adn. Crit. *Quae esset* was inserted by Müller. The words *quae esset* immediately succeeding the word *INTERESSET* would, very probably, be omitted. This is the commonest case of ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. Yet many editors here adopt the ms reading, and make *natura* the nominative to *interesset*. It is very rash to ascribe to Cicero such a usage as *loci natura interest*, 'the nature of the place is of consequence.' Cicero never has such a construction except with pronouns, nor indeed any other writer with *interest*; though *refert* has a personal construction in Plaut., Lucr., and Plin. Müller, in his Teubner ed., does not add *quae esset*; and as would appear from the many instances he gives of a personal use of *refert*, he supposes a similar construction possible with *interest*. But we

think that impossible. If *quae esset* is not added, we must take *loci natura* as ablative, 'not that I have any particular interest in the place derived from the nature of the spot.' Such corrections as *loci natura frui* (Kayser) and *locum mutare* (Boeckel) are unnecessary and improbable: better is *e loci natura* (E. Hoffmann).

qui lucem omnino fugerem] 'since I completely avoid appearing in public': cp. in *luce Asiae*, 30, 9, and De Sen. 12 *nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior*. These words are sometimes translated 'since I loathe the very light.' Cicero says above, 63, 1, *odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum*, where *lucem* of course means 'the light of day'; but *lucem fugerem* here is parallel to *fugio homines*, not to the italicised words in 63.

sustentabo . . . abiecerō] For the fut. perf. used in much the same sense as the simple future: cp. Roby, 1485; Mayor on Phil. ii. 118; Madv. Latin Grammar, 340, note 4. In Fam. xiii. 65, 2 (236), we have *ornaris . . . feceris . . . capies . . . adfeceris*.

multo est melius, abiecero. *Ero* cum paucis: multitudinem dimittam. 2. Me tuae litterae numquam in tantam spem adduxerunt quantam aliorum. Ac tamen mea spes etiam tenuior semper fuit quam tuae litterae. Sed tamen, quoniam coeptum est agi, quoquo modo coeptum est et quacumque de causa, non deseram neque optimi atque unici fratris miseras ac luctuosas preces nec Sesti ceterorumque promissa nec spem aerumnosissimae mulieris Terentiae nec miserrimae [mulieris] Tulliulae obsecrationem et fidelis litteras tuas. Mihi Epirus aut iter ad salutem dabit aut quod scripsi supra. 3. Te oro et obsecro, T. Pomponi, si me omnibus amplissimis, carissimis iucundissimisque rebus perfidia hominum spoliatum, si me a meis consiliariis proditum et proiectum vides, si intellegis me coactum ut ipse me et meos perderem, ut me tua misericordia iuves et Quintum fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentens; Terentiam liberosque meos tueare; me, si putas te istuc visurum, exspectes, si minus, invisas, si potes, mihi ex agro tuo tantum adsignes quantum meo corpore occupari potest: et pueros ad me cum litteris quam primum et quam saepissime mittas. Data XVI Kal. Octobr.

2. *in tantam spem . . . quantam*] For the omission of the preposition *in* before *quantam*, see note on 72, 4. This passage shows clearly that the tone of the letters of Atticus was not hopeful.

deseram] 'be wanting to,' 'disappoint': cp. *salus deseratur*, Fam. i. 7, 8 (114); *an tu me cum in summam expectationem adduxeris, deseris?* Tusc. i. 39.

Sesti] tribune elect for the following year. See 78, 3.

quod scripsi supra] sc. *mortem*. He refers to the words above, *vitam . . . abiecero*.

3. *T.*] For this we should probably read the usual *mi*.

proiectum] 'cast away,' a *vox propria* for exiles: cp. Ovid Pont. ii. 3, 30,

vix duo proiecto tres tulistis opem.

istic] in Rome. 'If you think there is any chance of seeing me in Rome, wait for me there; if not, come to me in Epirus if possible, and let me have of your land there—enough for a grave.'

78. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 20).

THESSALONICA; OCTOBER 4; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero gratulatur Attico de eius adoptione per Q. Caecilium avunculum iam mortuum facta, de condicione et spe sua, de domo sua et ceteris rebus suis, quas universas Attico commendat, de humanitate Attici, de rogatione Sesti.

CICERO S. D. Q. CAECILIO Q. F. POMPONIANO ATTICO.

1. Quod quidem ita esse et avunculum tuum functum esse officio vehementissime probo, gaudere me tum dicam, si mihi hoc verbo licebit uti. Me miserum! quam omnia essent ex sententia, si nobis animus, si consilium, si fides eorum quibus credidimus non defuisset! quae colligere nolo, ne augeam maerorem. Sed tibi venire in mentem certo scio quae vita esset nostra, quae suavitas, quae dignitas. Ad quae recuperanda, per fortunas! incumbe, ut facis, diemque natalem reditus mei cura ut in tuis aedibus amoenissimis agam tecum et cum meis. Ego huic spei et

Cicero S. D., &c.] Cicero salutem dicit Q. Caecilio Quinti filio Pomponiano Attico.

1. *Quod quidem ita esse*] The words refer to the superscription of the letter, in which Cicero conveys his knowledge of the fact that the uncle of Atticus had died, adopting Atticus in his will, and leaving him a large fortune (10,000,000 sesterces, according to Nepos Att. 5, 2). T. Pomponius Atticus now became Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, his uncle's name having been Q. Caecilius. In Att. iv. 15, 1 (143), Cicero, in thanking Atticus for manumitting a slave, Eutychides, at his request, observed that the new freedman's name will be T. Caecilius, by a combination of Atticus' old *praenomen*, Titus, and his (Atticus') new *nomen* by adoption, Caecilius. Boot points out that, in two other letters, Fam. i. 10 (162) and vii. 29 (677), the meaning of the first sentence of the letter depends on the superscribed address. So also in Fam. xvi. 18 (692).

animus] 'courage and judgment (on my part); honesty on the part of my friends.' See 72, 1.

colligere] 'to review in the mind,' 'think over': cp. De Inv. i. 1 *cum . . . maximarum civitatum veteres animo calamitates colligo*.

esset] 'what my life was, how charming and how dignified' (what a position).

per fortunas] 'in the name of fortune.' It is strange that this should be in the plural, in which number *fortuna* means 'circumstances,' whether good or bad. So *per fortunas* should mean 'I adjure you in the name of our weal or woe.' He uses the same phrase afterwards: e.g. Att. v. 11, 1 (200), v. 13, 3 (203), when not in affliction, but merely as a strong adjuration. See also 82, 5, where he says *per miseras fortunas*.

diemque natalem] 'the day of my restoration,' 'my second birthday.' So he speaks of his restoration as *παλιγγενεσία*, or 'second birth': cp. Att. vi. 6, 4 (276). The actual day on which Cicero returned to Italy, August 5, was also his daughter's birthday, and the anniversary of the foundation of the colony of Brundisium, and of the building of the Temple of Salus: cp. Sest. 131.

nevererbt
(Greek Sic
Adoption)

expectationi, quae nobis proponitur maxima, tamen volui ^{erwarten} praestolari apud te in Epiro, sed ita ad me scribitur ut putem esse commodius non eisdem in locis esse. 2. De domo et Curionis oratione, ut scribis, ita est. In universa salute, si ea modo nobis restitueretur, inerunt omnia, ex quibus nihil malo quam domum. Sed tibi nihil mando nominatim, totum me tuo amoris fideique commendo. Quod te in tanta hereditate ab omni occupatione expedisti valde mihi gratum est. Quod facultates tuas ad meam salutem polliceris, ut omnibus rebus a te praeter ceteros iuver, id quantum sit praesidium video intellegoque te multas partis meae salutis et suscipere et posse sustinere neque ut ita facias rogandum esse. 3. Quod me vetas quidquam suspicari accidisse ad animum tuum quod secus a me erga te commissum aut praetermissum videretur, geram tibi morem et liberabor ista cura, tibi tamen eo plus debebo quo tua in me humanitas fuerit excelsior quam in te mea. Velim quid videas, quid intellegas, quid agatur ad me scribas tuosque omnis ad nostram salutem adhortere. Rogatio Sesti neque dignitatis satis habet nec cautionis. Nam et nominatim ferri oportet et de bonis diligentius scribi, et id animadvertas velim. Data III Non. Octobr. Thessalonicae.

praestolari] *praestolari* is always followed by the dative in Cicero, though in the comic poets it takes the accusative, and once even the genitive.

2. *ea . . . restitueretur*] sc. *salus*.

multas partis] 'have a large share in my restoration.'

3. *accidisse ad animum*] 'that it had ever entered your mind that I was guilty of any sin of commission or omission against you.' *Humanitas*, 'consideration,' 'generosity.'

tamen] 'indeed on the contrary.' In a fine discussion on the word *tamen* (*De epp. ad Att. recensendis*, pp. 194-5), Lehmann says: 'haud paucis locis non eam vim habet ut aliquid introducatur quod plane contrarium sit eis quae antecedunt, sed ut altera aut nova res adferatur: itaque *tamen* non nunquam idem atque *praeterea* sonat.' Among the passages which he adduces in support of that view he might well have mentioned this one. But we think the statement that

tamen is virtually equivalent to *praeterea* requires the qualification, that there is always some note of opposition to the previous clause. Thus here the meaning is—'I shall be far from entertaining the unpleasant feeling of suspicion that you were displeased with me; indeed I shall entertain the pleasant feeling of heightened obligation to you for showing greater consideration to me than I showed to you.' For good remarks on the *humanitas* of the last century of the Roman Republic, see § 3 of O. E. Schmidt's Introduction to 'Briefe Ciceros und seiner Zeitgenossen,' Heft i. He finds, in Cicero's life and writings, our most important source from which to learn the *humanitas* of the ancients.

Rogatio Sesti] 'The bill of Sestius (for my restoration) is not drawn up respectfully enough nor carefully enough. The bill brought in ought expressly to name me, and there should be a carefully constructed clause about my effects.'

79. TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY, IN ROME
(FAM. XIV. 2).

THESSALONICA ; OCTOBER 5 ; A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae breviter litterarum excusat, C. Pisonis generi officia laudat, dolet Terentiae vicem, rogat ut doti parcat et valetudini suae operam det.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistulas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo quid scribam nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilius facio. Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissetis, praestitissem. 2. Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tribunis pl. intellego spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompei voluntas erit, sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video nec miror, sed maereo casum eius modi ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae sublevantur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea

1. *'praestitissem'* 'I should have secured,' 'should have been able to guarantee' (your happiness).

2. *'novis tribunis'* Of the tribunes of 697 (57), the most active in Cicero's behalf were T. Annius Milo, P. Sestius, and Q. Fadius.

'si Pompei voluntas erit' sc. *firma*.
'casum eius modi' 'I grieve for circumstances which cause.' But probably we should insert *esse*, with Ernesti.

'P. Valerius, homo officiosus' my kind friend, P. Valerius.

'a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam' Terentia had probably taken refuge in the temple of Vesta, where her half-sister was one of the Vestals. *Tabula Valeria* is 'the Bank of Valerius.' It seems to have been customary in Rome for a person about to make a solemn statement as to

his solvency or such like matters to repair to a banker's, and there make the statement in presence of witnesses. It was to make such a solemn declaration that Naevius summoned his friends *ad tabulam Sestiam* (pro Quinct. 25). Terentia was probably forced by Clodius to repair to the bank of Valerius, there to make some declaration about her husband's estate, probably that no effects had been made away with, or that she was not keeping his property under the pretence that it was hers. See § 3, note. We see from a previous letter that Cicero had resorted to some means to evade the full rigour of the confiscation. See his last letter to Terentia (62, 4). Compare also Att. v. 8, 2 (193), where Cicero shows how he can save part of Milo's *familia* from the confiscation, and secure her dower to Fausta,

Drum.
VI 615, 3

lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant! te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus! idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos periremus!

3. Quod de domo scribis, hoc est, de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impensa facienda

d. H. 4, 17.
4, 27 domus
actificator,
in beneficior
terminum

Milo's wife. It cannot have been merely to borrow money that Terentia was taken to the *tabula Valeria*. There would have been no humiliation if she had had credit enough to borrow from the bank; and no object in taking her there if she had not. The idea of Manutius that the *tabula Valeria* was a sort of tribune's court, whither Terentia was conducted to give security for some payments, is quite baseless, resting only on an obscure passage (Vat. 21), which implies no more than that some tribunes happened to be at the *tabula Valeria*, perhaps in the discharge of their private affairs. *Tabula* is doubtless to be explained as above; but it might possibly here mean 'an auction-room' or 'counter' (strictly, 'auction-bill,' Off. iii. 68), as in Att. xii. 40, 4 (584); xiii. 33, 4 (636). There would be then a reference to some public sale of Cicero's goods; however, this had probably been long since effected. The origin of the name of this *tabula Valeria* is given by the author of the *Schol. Bobiensis*, p. 318 (Orelli), on the words (Vat. 21) *Et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent*. The schol. is this: 'Hi collegae intercesserant P. Vatinio furenti M. Bibulum in invidiam ducit [iubenti M. Bibulum in vincula duci, Orelli]. Quod vero ad tabulam Valeriam pertinere videatur, loci nomen sic ferebatur quemadmodum ad tabulam Sestiam, cuius meminit pro Quinctio; ita et ad tabulam Valeriam dicebatur, ubi Valerius Maximus tabulam rerum ab se in Gallia [Sicilia, Mai] prospere gestarum proposuerat ostentui vulgo.' There is also a passage in Pliny, xxxv. 22, which apparently bears on the *tabula Valeria*, and tells us its topographical position in Rome; it is this: (*picturae dignatio praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M. Valerio Maximo Messala, qui princeps tabulam picturae proeli, quo Carthaginiensis et Hieronem in Sicilia vicerat, proposuit in latere Curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita cecce*). It would follow then that the *tabula Sestia* was so called from being the place where once hung

a picture commemorating the victories of some (what?) Sestius, and the phrase *ad tabulam Sestiam* would merely indicate a certain definite spot in Rome. But it is plain that the *tabula Sestia* spoken of in the *or. pro Quinctio*, § 25, as well as the *tabula Valeria* here, was a place at which it was customary to make some formal declaration; and it seems rash to infer that the *tabula Sestia* was named from the exploits of some unknown Sestius, even though we accept the account of the Scholiast as to the origin of the designation of the *tabula Valeria*.

opem petere] that is, they used to entreat her good offices to gain the advocacy of her husband.

te . . . vexari] the interjectional infin. *servavi . . . periremus*] His action in the matter of Lentulus and his accomplices had saved the Senate and wrought his own ruin. See post Red. in Sen. 4 *ille annus quem ego mihi quam patriae malueram esse fatalem*.

3. *tum . . . si*] cp. Catull. xvi. 7, 8:

Qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem
Si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici.

Illud doleo] 'What distresses me is that you, in your miserable and impoverished condition, should incur any part of the necessary expenses. Of course, if my restoration be effected, we gain everything; but should the same disastrous fortune again pursue me, will you be so foolish as to throw away the scanty remains of your fortune? Pray allow others who can, if they will, to bear the expenses requisite, and do not, for my sake, tax your already impaired strength.' Cicero wishes that, while the matter is yet uncertain, Terentia should leave the necessary expenses to his wealthy friends. If his restoration were certain, it would be no matter how much she spent. He wishes that Terentia should reserve her own property (which seems to have been spared) for the support of herself and son if the attempt to restore him should fail: see 82, 5, where the argument here hinted at

est, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficitur negotium, omnia consequemur: sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proicies? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere, et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris: omnis labores te excipere video: timeo ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Qua re, ut id quod speras et quod agis consequamur, servi valetudini. 4. Ego ad quos scribam nescio, nisi ad eos qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam, sed velim quam saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim si quid est firmitus quod speremus. Valet, mea desideria, valet. D. a. d. III Nonas Octobris, Thessalonicae.

80. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 21.)

THESSALONICA; OCTOBER 28; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se velle ire in Epirum, et rogat ut se de omnibus rebus certiores faciat et quibus opus putet suo nomine litteras scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Triginta dies erant ipsi, cum has dabam litteras, per quos nullas a vobis acceperam. Mihi autem erat in animo iam, ut antea ad te scripsi, ire in Epirum et ibi omnem casum potissimum expectare. Te oro ut, si quid erit quod perspicias, quaecumque in partem quam planissime ad me scribas, et meo nomine, ut scribis, litteras quibus putabis esse opus ut des. Data v Kal. Novembris.

is plainly put. It may, perhaps, be inferred from 84, 5, that if the attempt to restore him had failed, Cicero would have destroyed himself.

4. *ad quos scribam*] Terentia had probably urged him to write more to influential persons in his own behalf; the emphatic *ego* shows that the words are the answer to some suggestion of Terentia.

D] = *data*.

ipsi] 'exactly 30 days': ep. *detrahit xx ipsos dies etiam aphraetus Rhodiorum*, Att. vi. 8, 4 (281). So also *nunc ipsum*, &c.

quaecumque in partem] 'whether for good or evil.' Compare the phrase in *bonam partem accipere*. So *magnam vim esse fortunae in utranque partem*, Off. ii. 19; *mitiorem in partem interpretare*, Mur. 64.

81. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 22).

THESSALONICA AND DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 25; A. U. C. 696;

B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De litteris Q. fratris et Pisonis acceptis, Attici exspectatis, se etiam nunc a Plancio retineri, de Lentuli studio et Pompeii voluntate, de Metello, de desiderio suorum. Haec scripsit Thessalonicae; dedit autem Dyrrachi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi diligenter ad me Quintus frater et Piso quae essent acta scripserant, tamen vellem tua te occupatio non impedisset quo minus, ut consuesti, ad me quid ageretur et quid intellegeres perscriberes. Me adhuc Plancius liberalitate sua retinet iam aliquotiens conatum ire in Epirum. Spes homini est iniecta non eadem quae mihi, posse nos una decedere: quam rem sibi magno honori sperat fore. Sed iam, cum adventare militēs dicentur, faciendum nobis erit ut ab eo discedamus. Quod cum faciemus, ad te statim mittemus, ut scias ubi simus. 2. Lentulus suo in nos officio, quod et re et promissis et litteris declarat, spem nobis non nullam adfert Pompei voluntatis. Saepe enim tu ad me scripsisti eum totum esse in illius potestate. De Metello scripsit ad me frater quantum speraret profectum esse per te. 3. Mi Pomponi, pugna ut tecum et cum meis mihi liceat vivere et scribe ad me omnia. Premor luctu, desiderio cum omnium rerum *tum meorum*, qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt. Cura ut valeas.

4. Ego quod, per Thessaliam si irem in Epirum, perdiu nihil eram auditurus et quod mei studiosos habeo Dyrrachinos, ad eos

1. *Plancius*] Cn. Plancius was now quaestor in Macedonia. He had been *trib. mil.* in the same province, and was after *trib. pl.*; he was defended by Cicero in 700 (54).

una decedere] 'to leave for Italy together.'

militēs] of Piso, the consul of this year, who was coming to his province of Macedonia.

mittemus] 'send word to you,' as 52, 1. 2. *eum*] 'that he (Pompey) would do anything for him,' i.e. for Lentulus, the consul for 697 (57).

De Metello] 'With regard to Metellus Nepos [the other consul for 697 (57)], my brother tells me you have done for me all that he hoped.' Wesenberg reads *sperasset*, because Quintus would have said in his letter *quantum speravi* (or *speraveram*) *profectum est per T. Pomponium*; but he might also have said *quantum spero*.

3. *luctu, desiderio*] Perhaps the comma should be omitted after *luctu*. 'I am oppressed with grief through regret for,' &c. For the reading, see Adn. Crit.

cf p. 406

perrexi, cum illa superiora Thessalonicae scripsissem. Inde cum ad te me convertam, faciam ut scias, tuque ad me velim omnia quam diligentissime, cuiusmodi sunt, scribas. Ego iam aut rem aut ne spem quidem exspecto. Data vi Kal. Decembr. Dyrrachi.

82. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 1).

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 25; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae uxori scribit de calamitatis suae magnitudine, de spe restitutionis, de familia, de Cn. Planci officiis, de C. Pisonis humanitate, de componendis discordiis domesticis, de dote retinenda, de itineris sui rationibus.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE SUAE, CICERONI
SUO S. D.

1. Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum! te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque percepit. Quae si, tu ut scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paullo facilius, sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam qui invidebant, eos non sequebar qui petebant. 2. Quod si nostris consiliis usi essemus neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo aut stultorum amicorum aut improbo-

4. *ad te*] 'to your property in Epirus.' *cuiusmodi*] for *cuiuscuiusmodi*; in Old Latin the *s* would be elided, and then we should have *cuiu'cuiu'modi*, which would soon become *cuiusmodi* (Boot). Kennedy, *Public School Grammar*, p. 144, looks on *cuiusmodi* as a gen. for *cuiuscuiusmodi*, *cuius* (*quoius*) being scanned as a monosyllable (*cuis*) in the scenic poets; cp. Prof. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 445. Roby thinks *cuiusmodi* may be a locative, § 1311.

aut rem aut ne spem quidem] 'I look forward to some definite step (towards my restoration), or else utter despair.'

1. *qui ab iis*] Cicero, though always an Optimate at heart, was at first disposed

to adopt an attitude independent of the Optimates, as Pompey did. But after he had been raised by the Optimates to the consulate, he stood forth as their champion. He now sees that he was mistaken in supposing that they really regarded him as their champion. He was envied by men like Hortensius; looked down on by men like Lucullus.

qui petebant] 'who wanted me'; referring to the overtures originally made by the anti-Optimate party: or perhaps it is to be understood as referring to Caesar's offer of a post as his legate.

2. *stultorum . . . aut improborum*] 'misguided' (like Atticus, and perhaps Cato); or 'treacherous' (like Hortensius and Arrius); cp. 66, 8.

rum, beatissimi viveremus. Nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res quanta sit intellego quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnis tribunos pl. habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non est desperandum. 3. De familia, quo modo placuisse scribis amicis, faciemus. De loco, nunc quidem iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit, me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque ^{Plancius} Piso veniret nec milites, sed adhuc Plancius me retinet: sperat posse fieri ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos et me ipsum reciperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae. 4. Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnis nos tantus est ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit! gloriae quidem video fore. De Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi, sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. 5. Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiore factum esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te—me miserum!—quid futurum est? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? Non queo reliqua scribere—tanta vis lacrimarum est—neque te in eundem fletum adducam. Tantum scribo: si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non derit: si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas mise-

two labori desit] 'fail to second your exertions.'

3. familia] See 62, 4.

loco] i.e. the place where I now am, viz. Thessalonica. Terentia had been told that Thessalonica was visited by an epidemic.

ipso frat. Piso] This is doubtless the right reading: see Adn. Crit. Piso was the proconsul of Macedonia, and he would come with a large body of soldiers. Cicero and he were never on really friendly terms.

4. possit] For the ellipse of *esse*, cp. 73, 4; also 36, 1; 53, 14; and notes thereon.

5. vicum vendituram] 'that you will sell your village,' Marquardt, i. 8. This,

no doubt, belonged to Terentia's marriage portion. Cicero is strongly opposed to her selling the property, for the reasons laid down in 79, 3, which see, with note. M here reads *venditurum*, which construction it would appear was by some of the ancients regarded as possible: see the discussion in Aulus Gellius (i. 7). But as the other mss read *vendituram*, we should regard the reading of M simply as a mistake.

Tantum scribo] 'This is all I have to say: if my friends do their part, there will be abundance of money; if they do not, you will not be able to effect my restoration with yours.'

Per fortunas miseras nostras] See 78, 1.

ras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid erit ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est et mediocri fortuna, ut cetera consequatur. 6. Fac valeas et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam quid agatur et vos quid agatis. Mihi omnino iam brevis expectatio est. Tulliolarum et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D. a. d. vi Kalendas Decembris Dyrrachi.

*glauke mir
hoch an eine
Karte Warte-
zeit*

7. Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est et in me officiosa et proxima Italiae. Sed si offendet me loci celebritas, alio me conferam: ad te scribam.

83. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 23).

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ad tris epistulas Attici respondet et maxime de lege ea conscribenda praecipit qua ipse revocetur. In extrema epistula Atticum rogat ut uno impetu rem suam conficiat, sin id minus perfici possit, suos eius fidei commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. v Kal. Decembr. tris epistulas a te accepi, unam datam a. d. viii Kal. Novembr., in qua me hortaris ut forti animo mensem Ianuarium expectem eaque quae ad spem putas pertinere de Lentuli studio, de Metelli voluntate, de tota Pompei ratione perscribis. In altera epistula praeter consuetudinem tuam diem non adscribis, sed satis significas tempus. Lege enim ab octo tribunis pl. promulgata scribis te eas litteras eo ipso die dedisse,

perditum perdamus] cp. nota noscere, Plaut. Mil. 636; *inventum inveni*, Capt. 441 (where, however, see Prof. Lindsay's note); *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419.

Cui si] 'If he has enough to keep him from want, but little excellence on his part or good fortune will be requisite to completely reinstate him.

6. *brevis expectatio*] 'my suspense cannot now last long.'

7. *libera*] an independent state; and accordingly a Roman exile would there be *sui iuris*: cp. Att. iii. 2 (57) *pro meo iure*.

ad te] Starker and Schmalz propose to read *ante ad te*, and Wesenberg *quo ad te* or *atque ad te*.

pertinuit, 61, 1; *ad multa quadrare*, Att. iv. 19, 2 (158); *quicquam ad spem* = 'any hopeful sign,' Att. xi. 15, 1 (430); 20, 1 (444).

Lege enim] This was the bill for Cicero's recall, which was brought forward by eight tribunes, Oct. 29, and is not to be confounded with the bill of Ninnius, brought in on the Kalends of June, and vetoed by Aelius Ligus (who is doubtless the person referred to in the words *ut etiam Ligurino munus satisfaciam*, Att. v. 20, 6 (228); cp. Sest. 68). Even though vetoed, it might have a good effect on the new tribunes, as showing a change of feeling. Hence *quid putes utilitatis . . . attulisse*.

1. *ad spem . . . pertinere*] Cp. *ad multa*

id est, a. d. IIII Kalend. Novembr., et quid putes utilitatis eam promulgationem attulisse perscribis. In quo si iam nostra salus cum hac lege desperata erit, velim pro tuo in me amore hanc inanem meam diligentiam miserabilem potius quam ineptam putes: sin est aliquid spei, des operam ut maiore diligentia posthac a novis magistratibus defendamur. 2. Nam ea veterum tribunorum pl. rogatio tria capita habuit, unum de redivit meo scriptum incaute. Nihil enim restituitur praeter civitatem et ordinem: quod mihi pro meo casu satis est, sed quae cavenda fuerint et quo modo te non fugit. Alterum caput est tralaticium de impunitate, SI QUID CONTRA ALIAS LEGES EIUS LEGIS ERGO FACTUM SIT. Tertium caput, mi Pomponi, quo consilio et a quo sit inculcatum vide. Scis enim Clodium sanxisse ut vix aut ut omnino non posset nec per senatum nec per populum infirmari sua lex. Sed vides numquam esse observatas sanctiones earum legum quae abrogarentur. Nam si id esset, nulla fere abrogari posset—neque enim ulla est quae non ipsa se saepiat difficultate abrogationis—sed, cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum abrogatur quo minus eam abrogari oporteat. 3. Hoc quom et re vera ita sit,

In quo si iam] 'And I shall take this opportunity of saying, if by this time all chance of my restoration has been lost with the bill, I hope you will think the trouble I am about to take (in examining the bill) a subject for pity rather than contempt.'

novis] The mss give *nostris*, 'who are in my favour': cp. *nostri trib.*, § 3. However, Corradus' conjecture, *novis*, seems more probable owing to the antithesis in *veterum*, § 2.

2. *veterum*] i.e. the tribunes of 695, 696 (59, 58), colleagues of Clodius, the *octo tribuni* referred to above. Cicero did not yet know whether the bill had passed or not.

ordinem] 'my place in the Senate.'

pro meo casu] 'under my sad circumstances.'

quae cavenda] especially his house and property, as we gather from previous letters.

Alterum caput] 'The second clause is the traditional one providing indemnity for the proposers, if in carrying out the law any other law be infringed.' *Ergo* = *causa*.

sanxisse] 'has provided sanctions such

as to make it almost or altogether impossible to repeal his law.'

sed, cum lex abrogatur] 'when a law is abrogated, with it is abrogated the sanction forbidding its abrogation.' *Quo modo* is the reading of M. Baier keeps *quo modo*; and Watson renders, 'when a law is repealed, the very sanction against repeal (*illud ipsum*) is repealed in the way in which the law itself must be repealed.' But surely this would require *oportet* instead of *oporteat*. Klotz reads *quo minus*, supposing the corruption to have arisen from the compendious way of writing *minus*. Dr. Reid suggests *quom*.

3. *Hoc quom*] See Adn. Crit. 'Though this theory (that the clause forbidding the repeal is repealed with the law) is the true one, and has always been observed and acted on, yet my eight tribunes have inserted this clause: *If there be any proposal in this bill which, by the laws or the decrees of the people (which, mark you, include the Clodian bill), it be not lawful to propose now (at the rogatio), or was not lawful (at the promulgatio), without thereby incurring a penalty; whether that proposal be an enactment, a repeal, a partial repeal, or a modification of an old*

et quom semper ita habitum observatumque sit, octo nostri tribuni pl. caput posuerunt hoc: SI QUID IN HAC ROGATIONE SCRIPTUM EST, QUOD PER LEGES PLEBISVE SCITA, hoc est, quod per legem Clodiam, PROMULGARE, ABROGARE, DEROGARE, OBROGARE, S. F. SUA NON LICEAT, NON LICUERIT, QUODVE EI QUI PROMULGAVIT, ABROGAVIT, DEROGAVIT, OBROGAVIT OB EAM REM POENAE MULTAEVE SIT, E. H. L. N. R. 4. Atque hoc in illis tribunis pl. non laedebat: lege enim collegi sui non tenebantur. Quo maior est suspicio malitiae alicuius, cum id, quod ad ipsos nihil pertinebat, erat autem contra me, scripserunt, ut novi tribuni pl., si essent timidiore, multo magis sibi eo capite utendum putarent. Neque id a Clodio praetermissum est. Dixit enim in contione a. d. III Non. Nov. hoc capite designatis tribunis pl. praescriptum esse quid liceret, tamen in lege nulla esse eius modi caput te non fallit; quod si opus esset, omnes in abrogando uterentur. Ut Ninnium aut ceteros fugerit investigates velim et quis attulerit et qua re octo tribuni pl. ad senatum de me referre non dubitarint—scilicet quod observandum

law; or if there be anything which to him who has proposed such enactment, repeal, partial repeal, or modification may involve penalty or fine—by this bill nothing of the above nature is proposed.' The letters *s. f.* stand for *sine fraude*; the verb *obrogare* is explained by Ulpian as above; Paulus Diaconus explains, 'to pass a new law in opposition to an old one.' The explanation of Ulpian, *lex obrogatur, id est mutatur aliquid ex prima lege*, makes *obrogare* more co-ordinate with the other terms.

[E. H. L. N. R.] *eius hac lege nihil rogatur.* For *nihil eius (generis)*, cp. *quod eius (rei)*, often in these letters.

4. *Atque hoc in illis*] This clause did not touch them (the *tribuni veteres, octo tribuni nostri*), for the only law contravened by their bill was the Clodian, by which they were not bound, as being a law not emanating from their own college. It is fairly certain that a tribune could not thus bind his colleagues: see Mommsen, *St. R. i.* (ed. 2) 278, and note. The theory of Hofmann is that Clodius only provided against any attempt at repeal coming from subsequent tribunes, but not from his own colleagues, as against them he could use his *veto*. Perhaps, as they did not use their *veto* against Clodius' bill of interdiction, Clodius did not suppose that they would make any attempt to repeal his law.

ad ipsos nihil pertinebat] 'since they have added a clause unnecessary for their own protection, injurious to me, and likely to result in making the new tribunes (if somewhat timid) suppose that they, *a fortiori*, are bound to introduce that clause into any bill they might bring forward in my favour.'

Neque id a Clodio] 'nor did Clodius fail to see the significance of their action; for he laid it down that this clause defines the powers of the tribunes elect; now, you know very well that such a clause (binding the tribunes elect) is never inserted in any law. Yet, if it were requisite, everyone would employ it in repealing a law.' We have retained *quod* of the ms, as does Orelli. Madvig conjectured *quo si opus esset, omnes uterentur*. He has been followed by many edd.; yet his conjecture to some extent weakens the point of the argument.

Ut] 'how this point happened to escape Ninnius.' See *Adn. Crit.*

quis attulerit] 'who it was who added the saving clause.'

scilicet quod] *Sive quod* is virtually the reading of the mss. See *Adn. Crit.* Klotz follows M, marking a lacuna, in which he supposes the other alternative to be put; but even granting this hypothesis, the required meaning does not emerge. We have given the conjecture of Lalle-

illud caput non putabant,—iidem in abrogando tam cauti fuerint ut id metuerent, soluti cum essent, quod ne iis quidem qui lege tenentur est curandum. Id caput sane nolim novos tribunos pl. ferre, sed perferant modo quidlibet: uno capite quo revocabor, modo res conficiatur, ero contentus. Iam dudum pudet tam multa scribere. Vereor enim ne re iam desperata legas, ut haec mea diligentia miserabilis tibi, aliis irridenda videatur. Sed si est aliquid in spe, vide legem quam T. Fadio scripsit Visellius: ea mihi perplacet. Nam Sesti nostri, quam tu tibi probari scribis, mihi non placet. 5. Tertia est epistula prid. Id. Novembr. data, in qua exponis prudenter et diligenter quae sint quae rem distingere videantur, de Crasso, de Pompeio, de ceteris. Qua re oro te ut, si qua spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, ^{Vollkommenheit} multitudinē comparata rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu perfringatur, in eam rem incumbas ceterosque excites: sin, ut ego perspicio cum tua coniectura tum etiam mea, spei nihil est, oro obtestorque te ut Quintum fratrem ames quem ego miserum misere perdidī, neve quid eum patiari gravius consulere de se quam expediat sororis tuae filio: meum Ciceronem, quoi nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei, tueare quoad poteris: Terentiam, unam

mand, accepted by Baiter and Hofmann. Translate, 'and why it was that the eight tribunes did not hesitate to bring my case before the Senate—which of course showed that they disregarded the Clodian clause against the repeal of his law—and yet have been so cautious in proposing the repeal of that law, as to show the greatest respect for a sanction by which they were not bound—a sanction which need not be regarded even by those who come under its terms?' He has said above that when a law is repealed, so also is repealed the clause forbidding its repeal; therefore such a clause is habitually disregarded even by those who come under its terms. But these eight tribunes did not come under its terms, for a tribune could not bind his colleagues, and Clodius may have only provided against the repeal of his law by subsequent tribunes; yet these tribunes, in the wording of the bill for Cicero's recall, show the greatest respect for this clause—though, on the other hand, their whole action in bringing the case of Cicero before the Senate was a virtual ignoring of the clause providing

against the repeal of the Clodian law. Cicero therefore adds, 'I hope the new tribunes will not introduce this clause.' Possibly we might suggest *sane quod* for *sive quod*: cp. Ter. Eun. 89.

Visellius] C. Visellius Varro was a learned juriconsult who had drawn up for Fadius (one of the new tribunes) a form for a bill for Cicero's recall. Visellius was a cousin of Cicero.

5. *rem distingere*] 'keep the measure for my recall in abeyance.'

auctoritate] 'influence,' generally 'moral influence,' *gratia* being 'social influence.' There is no reference here to *auctoritas senatus*, mentioned in 87.

multitudinē comparata] probably the 'band of bravoes' hired by Milo, referred to in Dio Cass. xxxix. 8, quoted above on 79, 3; but possibly, also, 'the influx of supporters from the country towns,' where Cicero was very popular. *Comparare* is, 'to procure,' 'suborn.'

perfringatur] 'the barrier be broken through.'

perdidī] See 66, 7.

omnium aerumnosissimam, sustentens tuis officiis. Ego in Epirum proficiscar, cum primorum dierum nuntios excepero. Tu ad me velim proximis litteris ut se initia dederint perscribas. Data prid. Kal. Decembr.

84. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 3.).

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero sua culpa factum esse dolet ut cum suis in tantas miseras devenerit: Dyrrachi se recte et posse et velle eorum, quae de salute sua agantur, exitum expectare scribit: uxorem Romae manere iubet.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI.

1. Acepi ab Aristocrito tris epistulas quas ego lacrimis prope delevi. Conficio enim maerore, mea Terentia, nec meae me miseriae magis excruciant quam tuae vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserius sum quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea propria est. Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare periculum vel diligentia et copiis resistere vel cadere fortiter. Hoc miserius, turpius, indignius nobis nihil fuit. 2. Qua re cum dolore conficio tum etiam pudore. Pudet enim me uxori meae optimaе, suavissimis liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor vester et maeror et infirmitas valetudinis tuae, spes autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt multi, invidi paene omnes. Eicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est. Sed tamen quam diu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam ne omnia mea culpa cecidisse videantur. 3. Ut tuto

primorum dierum] The first days after the entrance of the tribunes into office, which would take place Dec. 10.

se . . . dederint] Cp. Ter. Hec. 380 *ut res dant sese ita magni atque humiles sumus*. Dr. Reid, on Balb. 3, proposes to read here *ut initia ceciderint*, comparing *haec res quemadmodum ceciderit*, 85, 2.

1. *legatione*] offered by Caesar.

Hoc] sc. *consilio*, the step which he took in leaving Rome, which he calls above *turpissimum consilium*, 73, 4.

2. *Eicere . . . excludere*] Cp. 82, 2 *intellego quanto fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire*.

ne omnia] 'lest everything should appear to have happened through my own fault' (i.e. not only my banishment, but the failure of the means employed to bring about my restoration). This is the best explanation of *cecidisse*, which is very frequently used by Cicero = 'to happen.' Possibly, however, *cecidisse* means 'to have failed'; but in this sense it is generally applied to persons: cp., however, Off. ii. 45 *tua laus pariter cum Rep. cecidit*; but *cadere* applied to things in this sense is rare, and *laus* is almost a personification in this sentence.

3. *Ut tuto sim*] Wesenberg inserts *in* before *tuto*, but there is no reason to

sim quod laboras, id mihi nunc facillimum est, quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in tantis miseriis. Ego tamen faciam quae praecipis. Amicis quibus voluisti egi gratias, et eas litteras Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiore esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos et officio et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant. Di faxint ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat! Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis pl. et in primis quidem diebus: nam, si inveterarit, actum est. 4. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum et rationem totius negoti posses scribere, etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi statim ut recurreret, et ad fratrem misi ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrachi hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime quid agatur audiam, et sum tuto, civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in Epirum ibo. 5. Quod scribis te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet: sin autem—Sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas, etsi magis iam rem quam litteras debeo exspectare. Cura ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse nec umquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor, itaque debilitor lacrimis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembris.

depart from the mss. We have already frequently met *esse* with such adverbs as *tam*, *ita*, *recte*: see 53, 9; 71, 2; and notes thereon. We have another case of *tuto esse* in § 4: cp. *Introd.* ii, § D fin.; and in *Att.* xiv. 20, 3 (727) *cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit*; and a similar usage with other adverbs in *Fam.* xvi. 10, 2 (926) *Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam, hilare et libenter*.

primis . . . diebus] See last letter, fin. *inveterarit*] 'if it be allowed to languish,' 'to hang fire.' *Refrizerit* is more

often used by Cicero in this sense.

5. *oneris*] called *labores* above, 73, 7, 'the labour of bringing about his restoration.' *Istic*, in Rome.

sin autem] he hints that he will destroy himself if the attempts to restore him fail. *rem*] 'some definite action' in my favour.

quam ego videre videor] Cp. 39, 3 *mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris*.

debilitor lacrimis] Cp. *conficior lacrimis*, 62, 1.

85. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 24.).

DYRRACHIUM; DECEMBER 10; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De exigua spe reditus sui post ornatas consulum provincias cum propter offensivonem tribunorum pl., tum propterea quod illa opinio amissa esset, senatum ante quam de se actum esset nihil decernere.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Antea, quom ad me scripsissetis, vestro consensu consulum provincias ornatas esse, etsi verebar quorsum id casurum esset, tamen sperabam vos aliquid aliquando vidisse prudentius: postea quam mihi et dictum est et scriptum vehementer consilium vestrum reprehendi, sum graviter commotus, quod illa ipsa spes exigua quae erat videretur esse sublata. Nam, si tribuni pl. nobis suscensent, quae potest spes esse? Ac videntur iure suscensere

1. *scripsissetis*] 'You,' that is my friends at Rome.

provincias ornatas] 'that the estimates for the consular provinces were passed.'

Decernere provincias means to determine what provinces should be assigned to the consuls on the expiration of their office. This was done before the *comitia consularia*; but *ornare provincias* (also expressed *ornare consules*: see below) was to arrange points of detail, such as the force to be sent to each province, the staff to be assigned to each governor, and the amount of money for the carrying on of the government of each province. The latter (*ornare provincias*) was always deferred till after the consuls entered on office, Jan. 1; but on this occasion, for some reason or other, it had been done before Dec. 1. Consequently the new tribunes, who entered on their office Dec. 10, could take no part in it—a matter which they resented both for their own sake, and because they thereby lost an opportunity of befriending Cicero, for whom they could have secured the good offices of the consuls by meeting their views in the arrangement of the estimates; for the tribunes were, as we know, friendly to Cicero.

aliquid . . . vidisse prudentius] 'I hoped you had some sound reason for the step you took.'

reprehendi] 'was severely criticised' ('strongly resented'), i.e. by the tribunes.

videntur iure suscensere] 'and I think

they naturally resent the step you have taken, since they were not made cognizant of your design, though supporters of me, and (since) now, by your concession, they have lost the power of exercising their just right (i.e. of taking part in *ornandis provinciis*), especially as they say that they desired to be able to exercise their powers in this matter, not for the purpose of opposing the consuls, but that they might attach them to my cause. Whereas now (the tribunes say), if the consuls choose to oppose me, they can do so without any restraint; but if they choose to support me, they can do nothing against the will of them, the tribunes.' The *consilium* is the step which the friends of Cicero took in supporting the innovation whereby the estimates for the provinces were passed before the consuls entered upon office. The actual provinces to be held by the consuls of 697 (57) on the expiry of their consulship, viz. Cilicia and Spain, had been fixed in the middle of 696 (58) before the consular elections had taken place. But, in accordance with custom, the settlement of the estimates for the provinces should have been deferred until after the consuls had actually entered upon office, i.e. until after January 1, 697 (57). To pass the estimates for the provinces of consuls while those consuls were only consuls elect (*designati*) was contrary to precedent. This custom provided a most effective

cum et expertes consili fuerint ii qui causam nostram suscep-
rant, et vestra concessione omnem vim sui iuris amiserint, prae-
sertim cum ita dicant, se nostra causa voluisse suam potestatem
esse de consulibus ornandis, non ut eos impedirent sed ut ad
nostram causam adiungerent; nunc, si consules a nobis alieniores
esse velint, posse id libere facere, sin velint nostra causa, nihil
posse se invitis. Nam quod scribis, ni ita vobis placuisset, illos
hoc idem per populum adsecuturos fuisse, invitis tribunis pl. fieri
nullo modo potuit. Ita vereor ne et studia tribunorum amiserimus
et, si studia maneant, vinclum illud adiungendorum consulum
amissum sit. 2. Accedit aliud non parvum incommodum, quod
gravis illa opinio, ut quidem ad nos perferebatur, senatum nihil
decernere ante quam de nobis actum esset, amissa est, praesertim

means of controlling the consuls. For some reason the estimates seem in the present case to have been passed before December 696 (58); and accordingly Cicero fears that the new tribunes, who would enter the magistracy on December 10, may resent their being deprived of this control of the consuls. For *velint nostra causa*, see on 72, 5. In the words *nihil posse se invitis*, if *se* be retained, *posse* and *nihil posse* must depend on *ita dicant*. We must then render as above, and suppose the tribunes to have in these words uttered language almost amounting to a menace against Cicero 'in case we should oppose them.' But this is inconsistent with their subsequent conduct. We have in this passage the expression of an apprehension on Cicero's part which the sequel proved to be groundless. We have many such groundless apprehensions in the letters from exile. The *Ed. Iensoniana* has possibly the true reading, *eis* for *se*; then *posse* and *nihil posse* depend on *videntur* above (*videntur iure suscitare*), and we have an expression of Cicero's forebodings: 'now it seems to me that if the consuls choose to hold aloof from me, they can do so unfettered; and if they desire to support me, they can do nothing if opposed by the tribunes.' *Se* may have arisen from a dittography, *posse se*. But this reference of *posse* and *nihil posse* back to *videntur*, passing over *dicant*, seems harsh, and would not be readily grasped; and I am full of conjectures.

Nam quod scribis] 'For as to your remark that if you had opposed the step (of passing the estimates earlier than

usual), they would have gained their end by means of the people—this could not have been effected against the will of the tribunes.' Atticus possibly thought of the action of the people in assigning his province to Caesar, when the Senate had to acquiesce, and even to add Gallia Comata, *veritis patribus ne si ipsi negasent populus et hanc daret*, Suet. Iul. 22: but Cicero replies that the tribunes might have vetoed the proposal when brought before the people.

2. *Accedit aliud*] 'Moreover, there is another great disadvantage in the step you have taken. I have now lost the benefit of that opinion so strongly expressed—at least so it was reported to me—that the Senate would pass no act until my case was settled—lost it, moreover, under circumstances which not only did not demand its sacrifice, but were unusual and even unprecedented; for I remember no case in which the provincial estimates were made while the future consuls were still only consuls elect; so that the whole result is, that now any act may be passed by the Senate (before my case), since by this one act the firm front has been broken which the Senate had shown in my cause.' *Gravis opinio* is explained by Boot to mean, 'so important for my cause': but the words *ut quidem ad nos perferebatur*, as well as the usage of Cicero, are strongly in favour of our rendering.

decernere] The tense must be accounted for thus: if the *opinio* were expressed in the direct form, it would run *senatus nihil decernebat nisi (antequam) de Cicerone ac-*

in ea causa quae non modo necessaria non fuit sed etiam inusitata ac nova. Neque enim umquam arbitror ornatas esse provincias designatorum, ut, cum in hoc illa constantia quae erat mea causa suscepta imminuta sit, nihil iam possit non decerni. Iis ad quos relatum est amicis placuisse non mirum est. Erat enim difficile reperire qui contra tanta commoda duorum consulum palam sententiam diceret. Fuit omnino difficile non obsequi vel amicissimo homini Lentulo vel Metello, qui simultatem humanissime deponeret. Sed vereor ne, hos cum tamen tenere potuerimus, tribunos pl. amiserimus. Haec res quem ad modum ceciderit et tota res quo loco sit velim ad me scribas et ita ut instituisti. Nam ista veritas, etiam si iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est. Dat. III Id. Decembr.

86. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 25).

DYRRACHIUM; BETWEEN DECEMBER 17 AND 25; A. U. C. 696;

B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De Attici ab urbe discessu queritur et rogat ut ante Kal. Ian. ad se veniat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Post tuum † a me † discessum litterae mihi Roma adlatae sunt,

tum esset, where *decernebat* = *decreturum se dicebat*, with which compare Att. ix. 2, 3 *Curtius venit nihil nisi classes loquens et exercitus; eripiebat Hispaniam, tenebat Asiam, . . . persequabatur*, 'he talked of the seizure of Spain, the occupation of Asia, the pursuit,' &c., i.e. 'he said how Caesar would wrest Spain from Pompey,' &c. So, *omnia senatus reiciebat nisi de me primum consules retulissent*, Sest. 68. Cp. Eur. Herc. Fur. 467 σὺ δ' ἡδοῦ . . . Ὁἷβων ἀναξ, 'you (he used to say) are to be king of Thebes.' To these may be added, Liv. ii. 29, 7; ii. 41, 4; xxvi. 8, 2.

quae erat mea causa suscepta] Müller shows that *quae*, the reading of M, should be retained, and not altered to *qua*. He says that *constantia* *suscipitur* is as correct an expression as *voluntas suscipitur*, ad Brut. i. 7, 1 (868); *hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi*, Catil. iii. 22.

ad quos relatum est] 'who were consulted on the question' (whether the *ornatio* should be allowed to be settled

before the consuls entered on their office, Jan. 1). Cicero says he is not surprised that the opinions were in favour of the step taken, as few would care openly to speak against a plan so highly advantageous to both consuls.

Fuit omnino] 'it would have been very difficult to refuse to oblige Lentulus, who is so kind to me, or Metellus (as a return) for his great goodness in laying aside his resentment against me.' Such is the force of the subjunctive.

hos cum tamen tenere] 'I fear that, while we might have retained the good will of the consuls in any case (even though we did not take this step), we have forfeited the support of the tribunes' (by it).

veritas] 'your candour, though it does not give me pleasure, is yet acceptable to me.' That is, 'though I do not enjoy the candour which hides from me no news, however disagreeable, yet I approve of it—it is what I require.'

Post tuum † a me † discessum] It is

ex quibus perspicio nobis in hac calamitate tabescendum esse; neque enim—sed bonam in partem accipies—si ulla spes salutis nostrae subesset, tu pro tuo amore in me hoc tempore discessisses. Sed ne ingrati aut ne omnia velle nobiscum una interire videamur, hoc omitto: illud abs te peto, des operam, id quod mihi adfirmasti, ut te ante Kal. Ian., ubicumque erimus, sistas. *omit una juo. const*

certain from the rest of this letter that Atticus had left the city; and it is equally clear that he cannot in the meantime have joined Cicero, and then left him; for in this and the next letter Cicero begs Atticus to join him. *A me* of the ms must therefore be wrong; for it is too harsh to explain *tuum a me discessum*, 'your desertion of my cause' (in leaving Rome at this critical time). Kahnt conjectures *a meis*, Wesenberg *a Roma*, Gurlitt *iam*, and Klotz *ab urbe*. The latter may possibly have been corrupted into *a me* by *ab* having been written *u* and the intervening letters omitted. But perhaps *post tuum ad me discessum*, 'since your leaving Rome to join me,' is the simplest alteration, though we cannot adduce an exact parallel for such a pregnant construction. It is to be noted that

discessisses below stands absolutely for 'you would have left Rome.' Atticus was obliged to leave Rome on business; but he might have proposed to himself to meet Cicero after its transaction.

omnia velle nobiscum una interire] Atticus had left Rome to attend to some business which called him away. Cicero says he must not complain—he must not expect Atticus to sacrifice real interests for his sake; that would seem as if he wished all his friend's affairs to be involved in the ruin which had overtaken himself.

te . . . sistas] This is a legal phrase, meaning to 'present oneself,' 'appear' (before a court), 'report oneself,' 'put in an appearance.' Cicero uses it to show his sense of the absolute obligation under which Atticus was bound not to fail to meet him.

LETTERS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE
(FIRST EIGHT MONTHS).

EPP. 87-89.

A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

COSS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAECILIUS
METELLUS NEPOS.

THE only letters of the first eight months of 697 (57) are three letters, Att. iii. 26, 27, and Fam. v. 4. The last is addressed to the consul Metellus Nepos, begging for his aid, which Metellus heartily accorded, generously laying aside all recollection of the misunderstanding disclosed above in the letter from Metellus Celer to Cicero (Ep. 14). Lentulus brought in a bill for Cicero's recall on January 1, which drew so favourable an expression of opinion from the Senate that Cicero (Ep. 87) speaks of an intention on his part to return on the strength of that *auctoritas senatus*, even though the actual bill for his recall was prevented from passing by Serranus, one of the unfriendly tribunes. Again on January 23, a bill was brought before the popular assembly, but was foiled by the violence of Clodius. This is the occasion of the second letter of this year (Ep. 88). During the spring of the year, constant street riots took place, in one of which Sestius was severely handled; and when Milo accused Clodius *de vi*, some of the magistrates who were favourable to Clodius, among them the consul Metellus, by edicts, forbade the praetor to receive the charge. The result was that Milo and Sestius hired gladiators, and prepared to resist force by force, *manum manu, vim vi esse superandam* (post Red. in Sen. 19). In the early summer, Pompey, in his capacity of Duovir at Capua, caused the Senate of that colony to pass a

vote in favour of Cicero (cp. Mil. 39 and Sest. 9), which gave a great stimulus to the movement in Cicero's favour. In June a meeting of the Roman Senate was held in the Temple of Honor and Virtus (the *Monumentum Marii*: cp. Plane. 78; De Div. i. 59), and a resolution passed recommending Cicero to the provincials and the provincial magistrates, and urging the citizens resident in Italy to come to Rome and support the Senate on his behalf (cp. Plane. 78; Pis. 34). In July the consul Lentulus proposed that he should be recommended by the Senate to bring a motion for Cicero's recall before the *comitia centuriata*. In this he was supported by Metellus, the other consul, whose patriotic conduct on this occasion was warmly eulogised by the venerable Servilius Isauricus (Sest. 130), and by Pompey, who read a carefully-prepared speech on the subject; and the resolution was carried by 416 to 1, Clodius being the only dissentient (post Red. in Sen. 26). On August 4 the bill for Cicero's return passed the *comitia centuriata*. It would probably not have been allowed to pass but for the bravoës of Milo. Thus was Cicero at length restored mainly by the same unconstitutional means by which his exile was brought about, and might have been averted; but it is only fair to say that, in the use of violence, the extreme democratic party, with Clodius at their head, were the aggressors in the whole business connected with the exile of Cicero.

During his exile Cicero composed nothing. He appears to have shrunk even from his necessary correspondence (63 fin.; 79. 1, 4); but the last months of 697 (57) were signalized by the delivery of the orations *post Reditum in Senatu*, *post Reditum ad Quirites*, and *pro Domo sua*. These speeches, together with the speech *pro Sestio* (698) and *pro Plancio* (700), should be read with the letters from exile, as giving with them a complete and connected history of this interesting crisis in the life of Cicero.*

* The authenticity of the first-mentioned speeches is now generally recognized; but, however this question may be decided, they are valuable sources of history.

*So wenige Briefe aus dieser Zeit des Exils weil Att.
von Rom abwesend: Hist. II p. 129. Att. bei Cicer Rückkehr
37. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 26). Hist. I. Rom. Att. 4,*

DYRRACHIUM; JANUARY; A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.^{1,2}

Misso ad se a Q. fratre senatus consulto de se facto legum lationem vult expectare et Atticum ad se arcessit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Litterae mihi a Quinto fratre cum senatus consulto, quod de me est factum, adlatae sunt. Mihi in animo est legum lationem expectare et, si obtrektabitur, utar auctoritate senatus et potius vita quam patria carebo. Tu, quaeso, festina ad nos venire.

88. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 27).

DYRRACHIUM; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

Acceptis ab Attico litteris de se desperat et suos Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ex tuis litteris et ex re ipsa nos funditus perisse video. Te oro ut, quibus in rebus tui mei indigebunt, nostris miseriis ne desis. Ego te, ut scribis, cito videbo.

senatus consulto] This is the *senatus consultum* of Jan. 1, 697 (57), made on the proposal of Lentulus for the recall of Cicero. The *Setum* was never vetoed. The unfriendly tribune who was suborned by Clodius to desert Cicero, Sex. Atilius Serranus Gavianus, *non ausus est, cum esset emptus, intercedere; noctem sibi ad deliberandum postulavit* (Sest. 74). The result of this was that no further definite step was taken in Cicero's favour until Jan. 23, when the attempt was foiled by the violence of Clodius (see next letter). Accordingly, this decree of the Senate, thus rendered abortive by the ruse of Serranus, was not strictly a *senatus auctoritas*, or 'decree of the Senate vetoed by a tribune'; it was only an informal expression of opinion on the part of the Senate. Cicero expects that the matter will be resumed in the Senate on the follow-

ing day, and that a bill will be brought before the people for his recall (for as yet there was no bill, but only expressions of opinion in the Senate that his banishment was illegal: see Sest. 74); if then Serranus vetoes this *Setum* (*si obtrektabitur*), it will be a *senatus auctoritas*; and Cicero says he will return on the strength of it. *Senatus auctoritate* (Sest. 73) is used in a vaguer sense, 'an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate,' when Cotta votes *non restitui lege sed revocari senatus auctoritate oportere*.

nos funditus perisse video] This refers to the bill brought before the people on Jan. 23, which was defeated by the violence of Clodius. Sestius and Q. Cicero were severely injured in the fray.

tui mei indigebunt] He seems to think of destroying himself.

89. TO THE CONSUL, METELLUS NEPOS,
IN ROME (FAM. V. 4).

DYRRACHIUM; BETWEEN MARCH AND JULY; A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57;
AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Q. Metelli consulis opem implorat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. METELLO COS.

1. Litterae Quinti fratris et T. Pomponi, necessari mei, tantum spei dederant ut in te non minus auxilium quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque ad te litteras statim misi, per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum litterae quam sermones eorum qui hac iter faciebant animum tuum immutatum significabant: quae res fecit ut tibi litteris obstrepere non auderem. 2. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam tuam orationem quam in senatu habuisses perscripsit, qua inductus ad te scribere sum conatus et abs te, quantum tua fert voluntas, peto quaeque ut tuos mecum serves potius quam propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu, tuas inimicitias ut rei publicae donares, te vicisti: alienas ut contra rem publicam confirmes adducis? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate tibi confirmo: sin mihi neque magistratum neque senatum neque populum auxiliari propter eam vim

1. *immutatum*] 'turned against me.'

obstrepere] 'pester you with letters.'

2. *orationem*] on the motion of Lentulus for Cicero's recall.

quantum tua fert voluntas] This is to be taken, not with *ut serves*, but with *peto*; it means, 'I beseech you as strenuously as I may without offending you.' Otherwise, *fert* must be changed to *ferat*, or *feret*, which Wesenberg reads.

tuos mecum serves] 'by aiding me (I beg you) to secure the safety of your whole family,' referring to his promise below, *omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate*.

tuorum] Clodius, whose sister was the widow of the consul's late brother, Metellus Celer.

Tu, tuas inimicitias] 'you have conquered yourself so far as to resign a private (personal) grudge (see above, 14) for the sake of the State. Will you be persuaded to injure the State to satisfy the resentment of another?' (i.e. Clodius).

eam vim] referring especially to the violence with which Clodius foiled the attempt of Jan. 23 in favour of Cicero.

quae me cum re publica vicit licuerit, vide ne, cum velis revo-

vide ne] 'take care lest afterwards, when you would gladly recall the opportunity you now have for restoring all your fellow-citizens to safety and happiness, you may find yourself unable to do so, as there may not then be one whom you can even save from utter ruin.' Such is the explanation of Orelli. The following are his words: *sanissima est ista sententia peracuta propter oppositionem verborum reservandi et servandi, sed varie corrupta a criticis. Hoc dicit: 'vide ne, cum frustra in eo labores, ut revoces nunc tempus illud, quo omnes in republica illaesi atque incolumes reservari etiam tunc poterant, id ipsum efficere non possis, cum nemo iam omnino erit, qui queat vel servari dumtaxat (id quod minus etiam est quam reservari).'*' But this antithesis between *servari* and *reservari* seems to need defence; and, feeling this, most edd. give *servandorum* for *reservandorum*. It is quite possible that this is right, and that *re-* arose from the *re* of *revocare*. Martyni-Laguna alters to *cum velis revocari ipsum omnium conservatorem* (Ciceronem). We cannot find a single passage in Cicero in which *reservare* is used merely as an intensive of *servare*. It is possible that *reip.* (*reipublicae*) dropped out before *reservandorum*, or should be read for *re-*; and that the sentence means, 'when you wish to recall the opportunity you had of saving the State from the loss of all her best citizens.' The rule of violence will produce universal destruction. In this sense Cicero often uses *reservare*: cp. Flacc. 106 *nomen clarissimum reipublicae servate*, 'save the State from the loss of one so distinguished'; Sest. 50 *vitam suam ad reipublicae fatum servavit*. But *reservare* absolutely can only mean in Cicero, 'to hold over,' 'reserve.' We have in Prov. Cons. 47 *inimicitias in aliud tempus reservare*; but it would be too harsh to construe here, 'when you may wish to recall your present opportunity of at least holding in abeyance all your feuds with me.' The general view is that, in this clause, Cicero is referring to himself, and that he uses the plural in order to render the personal application somewhat less marked: cp. above *propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum*, which refers to Clodius alone. On this theory, in the words *cum qui servetur non erit*, Cicero hints at his design to destroy himself if the attempts

to restore him should fail. Draeger calls this plural the *pluralis modestiae* (*Historische Syntax*, i., p. 25), and gives as examples, *Moloni dedimus operam*, Brut. 312; *scripsimus . . . tenebamus*, De Div. ii. 3; *vides . . . nos multa conari*, Orat. 105; *adolescentuli diximus*, ib. 107; *imperatores appellati sumus*, Att. v. 20, 3 (228). Cp. *poscimus*, Hor. Carm. i. 32, 1. The singular and plural are often found together, as *video . . . mea voce . . . nobis*, Catil. i. 22; *dissuasimus nos*. *Sed nihil de me*, De Am. 96; *ardeo . . . cupiditate nomen ut nostrum illustretur*, Fam. v. 12, 1 (109). A good example in poetry is, *Et flecti et nostros vidisti flectis ocellos*, Ovid Her. v. 45. But, perhaps, if there is any marked characteristic of this plural in Cicero's Epistles, it is rather a *pluralis dignitatis*, as Professor R. S. Conway has pointed out in his interesting discussion ('On the use of the singular nos in Cicero's Letters,' 1898). He there says (p. 16): "*Nos* had come to be used by a speaker of himself alone when he thought, not of the *ego* he was to his own consciousness, but of the person visible or admirable to his neighbours"; and supports his theory in great detail. So that we cannot think that the allusion in the plural is to Cicero himself: and, if the reference is not quite general ('when you wish to recall the opportunity of saving society, you may not be able to do so, as there will be no one to save,' if this mob-violence continues), we are of opinion that the general tone of the letter and the character of Metellus lend much weight to the view of Mr. Shuckburgh, who thinks the reference is not to Cicero but to Clodius. He says: "This intentionally enigmatical sentence is meant to contain a menace against Clodius, who is hinted at in the word *omnium*, just as he is, earlier in the letter, in the word *tuorum*. Clodius was a connexion by marriage of Metellus; and Cicero assumes that Metellus is restrained from helping him by regard for Clodius. He knows, however, by this time that one of the new tribunes, Milo, is prepared to repel force by force; and he hints to Metellus that, if he countenances Clodius's violence, he may some day find that there is no Clodius to save—if that is his object." For the indirect manner in which Metellus was supporting Clodius at this time, see Dio Cass. xxxix. 7, and Cic. Sest. 89. Mr. H. Everard, of Eton, has

care tempus ^{hdy.} omnium servandorum, cum qui servetur non erit, ^{nicht mehr da le-}
non possis. ^{benach-}
^{wird}

made an attractive suggestion that we should read *cum cui serventur non erit*, understanding by *cui* the State, 'when that for which they should be preserved (viz. the State) is no longer existent.' But if the reference is to the State, the expression would be needlessly obscure; and we cannot help thinking that if Cicero had intended this meaning, he would have added *respublica* before *cui*. Dr. Reid, in a note which he has kindly sent us, says: "The real and only difficulty of the passage lies in the *re-* of *reservandorum*. It is an *almost*, but not quite, invariable practice with Cicero to express with *re-* *servare* the purpose of the act (by *ad* and acc. or dat.) or the person for whose

benefit the act is done (in the dat.). There are some passages which show that it is not absolutely necessary to express either purpose or person. But, on the whole, I think you are right in supposing a dat. to have fallen out: and other passages might be quoted in support of *reip.* But I am inclined to think that *tibi* (often written in mss *t*) has fallen out after *tempus*. Supplying this, I would render *vide ne . . . possis* thus, 'Take care lest, when you may wish to call back again the opportunity of saving yourself the loss of us all, you may find it beyond your power, at a moment when there will be no one left for you to save.'"

ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

NOTE I.

COLONIES, ETC.

SINCE the passing of the Lex Julia, 664 (90), *coloniae* and *municipia* had obtained Roman citizenship, and, as far as rights and privileges went, were on the same footing. The distinction that existed between them was partly a merely formal one, partly a historical one—formal, in so far as *coloniae* had as chief magistrates *IIviri*, and *municipia* *IIIviri*; historical, in that *coloniae* were offshoots of the State from within; *municipia*, engraftings on the State from without. See the interesting chapter in Gellius xvi. 13.

Praefectura, according to Festus (p. 233), was a generic title given to both *coloniae* and *municipia*, as having *praefecti iure dicundo* generally nominated by the praetor—in some cases elected on his recommendation. It seems more probable that the *praefecturae* that are spoken of as a class co-ordinate with *coloniae* and *municipia* (e.g. Sest. 32, Pis. 51) were those villages and towns mentioned in Siculus Flaccus* (Grom. i., p. 159) as lying outside the actual district of a *colonia* or *municipium*, to which its own magistrates did not directly administer justice, but to which it sent *praefecti* for that purpose. We do not find *praefecturae* outside Italy.

Pagi in the country were communities of peasants having common religious rites. They used to elect a magister each year (Festus, p. 371); and they had the charge of the roads (Sicul. Flaccus, p. 146). As being thus to some extent organized, members were able to act together and be of some importance at the elections.

Cp. Mommsen on the *Liber Coloniarius* (Grom. ii. 155), and all his references.

* *Siculus Flaccus* (Gromatici, i. p. 159). Illud praeterea comperimus, deficiente numero militum veteranorum agro qui territorio eius loci continetur in quo veterani milites deducebantur, sumptos agros ex vicinis territoriis divisisse et assignasse: horum etiam agrorum, qui ex vicinis populis sumpti sunt, proprias factas esse formas, id est suis limitibus quaeque

regio divisa est et non ab uno puncto omnes limites acti sunt, sed, ut supra dictum est, suam quaeque regio formam habet: quae singulae praefecturae appellantur ideo quoniam singularum regionum divisiones aliis praefecerunt, vel ex eo quod in diversis regionibus magistratus coloniarius iuris dictionem mittere soliti sunt.

NOTE II.

LEX AELIA ET LEX FUFIA.

The plebeian magistrates originally had not the auspices. By the Lex Publilia, 415 (339), probably they obtained them. Lange says they were given them in order that the patricians might have a religious hold on the plebeians; and such they would have, as the augurs at this time were all patricians. It seems to us that it is more consistent with the religious character of the time and the exclusiveness of the patricians in the matter of religious rites to suppose that it was only under pressure that they gave the auspices to the tribunes; besides, it is more than likely that we should hear a good deal about the auspices being used for political purposes, if that were the intention with which they had been bestowed. But, as a fact, we hear nothing. In 444 (300), by the Lex Ogulnia, the plebeians got admission to the College of Augurs. For the next one hundred and fifty years we do not hear of the auspices as having been used by either party against the other. If such had been attempted by the plebeians, the patrician magistrate would, by his edict, have required 'ne quis magistratus minor de caelo servasse velit' (Gell. xiii. 15, 1); and, if attempted by the patrician, the tribune would have considered it as a violation of his 'ius cum populo agendi.' So Lange, but, it appears, wrongly. The edict referred to above was only issued for the *comitia centuriata* (Gell. l. c.); there is no evidence that it could be applied to the *tributa*, though Lange assumes as much. The real reason probably why neither used the auspices for political purposes lay in the fact that the people as a mass were too religious to allow its being done. Though the learned might laugh, the multitude respected the auspices too much to suffer them to be profaned. At any rate, though both parties had the power of *obnuntiatio*, neither used it.

This slumbering authority, however, was roused into full activity by the Lex Aelia and the Lex Fufia (the latter confirmatory of the former), two plebiscita passed in the interest of the nobles, 601 (153). Lange (ii. 315) says strongly that these laws legalized the *auspicia* as a simply political engine. They guaranteed *obnuntiatio* to both patrician magistrates and tribunes; but they were specially important to the former to check the revolutionary measures of the tribunes (*subsidia certissima contra tribunicios furores*, Cic. Post Red. 11; cp. Vat. 17, Piso 9, and Asconius' note '*obnuntiatio qua perniciosus legibus resistebatur quam Aelia lex confirmaverat erat sublata*'). 'The patrician *obnuntiatio* was the counterpoise to the plebeian *intercessio*' (Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 173). They possibly—Lange considers certainly, but his evidence (ii. 477) is very random—contained a clause that on days of election no *obnuntiatio* be permitted (Phil. 2, 81). But at any rate there seems no sufficient reason to doubt that they enacted that the *comitia* for the elections be finished before those for the passing of laws be held (cp. Schol. Bob. 319, Orelli: *leges dicit Aeliam et Fufiam quae non sinebant prius aliqua de re ad populum ferri quam comitia haberentur ad designandos magistratus*). We are quite aware that Mommsen (St. R. i². 108, note) speaks of this statement of the Scholiast as 'notoriously unsustainable'; but then he thinks we can get no more definite knowledge of these laws than what Asconius tells us in the passage quoted above; and he gives no reason for questioning the statement of the Scholiast. To resume, Cicero (Sest. 56) expressly calls them '*leges de iure et tempore legum rogandarum*.' The irregularity of Lurco (Cic. Att. 1, 16, 13, Ep. 22) was in proposing

his law about bribery at the time of the comitia for elections. It is worthy of note that these laws were passed at the same time as the arrangement for the entrance of the magistrates into office on Jan. 1, viz. in 601 (153), and accordingly simultaneously with the general re-arrangement and settling of the times of the elections. Lange (ii. 478), from whom much of the material of this note is taken, adds a conjecture as to the point on which these laws may have differed from one another. He thinks the Lex Aelia guaranteed the right of *obnuntiatio* to both patrician magistrates and tribunes, with the clause forbidding it at elections; the Lex Fufia ratified the former, and added a clause forbidding, under a fixed penalty, laws being brought forward at the comitia for elections.

Clodius, in his tribunate, 696 (58), brought forward an enactment that *de caelo servare* should not be allowed on any day set apart for comitia, whether these were for elections or for the passing of laws. The practical result of this enactment was, that it was allowable to bring motions before the people on *all dies fasti*, and so it annulled the Leges Aelia et Fufia. But Clodius did not wholly abrogate the two laws, as has been excellently shown by Mr. A. H. Greenidge in the *Classical Review*, vii. (1893) pp. 158–161, 'The Repeal of the Lex Aelia Fufia.' He shows that in all cases in which *obnuntiatio* was employed as a political engine after this date, its authors were tribunes or augurs. "It surely," he says (p. 161), "cannot be a mere accident that all the instances of 'obnuntiatio' after Clodius' law, which was never repealed, are those of the tribunate and the augurate. It shows that the Clodian plebiscitum abolished the 'spectio' of the patrician magistrates, so grossly abused by Bibulus the year before—an abuse which made it a question calling for immediate legislation. . . . We may conclude, therefore, that the Clodian law abolished the 'spectio' as connected with 'auspicia impetrativa,'* but that it did not touch the auspices as possessed by the tribunate or the augurate."

NOTE III.

AGRARIAN MATTERS.

The confiscations of land by Sulla were of the most extensive nature; it was not individuals only they touched, but whole communities, e.g. Praenestines, Volaterrans, Arretines (Cic. Att. i. 19, 4, Ep. 25). In fact, the confiscation was so extensive that much of the land remained unoccupied even after he had made assignments to his soldiers (Cic. Agr. 3, 12). On these lands Sulla settled his soldiers in large masses; but he also located a considerable number in the municipal towns alongside of the inhabitants. His aim was *totam Italiam suis praesidiis obsidere atque occupare*, as Cicero (Agr. 2, 75) says was the design of Rullus (Marquardt i². 111, note 2); and also to break up the larger estates and augment the number of small proprietors (Mommsen, R. H. 3, 357). This latter is proved by the stringent provision forbidding the sale of the *sortes assignatae*. But he failed completely.

* There were two kinds of auspicia, viz. *auspicia oblativa*, which were presented by chance, and could be announced by anyone; and *auspicia impetrativa*, which were

sought and asked for by the magistrate, who in this respect was said to have the right of *spectio*. See Mr. Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, pp. 38, 39, 162.

This was in 673 (81). In 688 (66), when Cicero was arguing against the Agrarian Law of Rullus, he states that the *latifundia* were again numerous, that the Praenestine land, for example, was occupied by a few landholders (Agr. 2, 78). And such might have been expected. Soldiers who had no ties of family nor any inclination for agriculture would sell their lands notwithstanding the law; and the confiscated but unassigned land above alluded to, in the absence of a strong government, would be encroached upon by the nearest landholders.* These two kinds of illegal proprietors, viz. those who bought from the soldiers, and those who encroached on unassigned land, are the *Sullan possessores*,† or *Sullani homines*, that we meet with in Cicero.

Such was the state of agrarian matters till after the restoration of the tribunate in 684 (70). The first attempted legislation after this date was the law of Rullus; for we need not do more than mention the mysterious Lex Plotia. The proletariat at Rome was swelled by the mass both of those proscribed by Sulla and also by the Sullan soldiers, who had flocked thither after selling their lands, and was becoming dangerous owing to its desperate and needy character. Rullus proposed (it appears in so many words) that this city population should be drained off (*exhauriendam*, Agr. 2, 70) in colonies to be founded in Italy on the Campanian land and on land purchased at State expense; for there was to be no confiscation, not even of the 'Sullan possessions.' The money was to be got by the sale of all Italian and extra-Italian domain land, and by the booty and revenues accruing from the new conquests of Pompey. The provinces also were to be considerably taxed. Decemviri, with an enormous staff, were to be appointed for five years with special judicial powers and a special *imperium* to carry out the provisions of the law. The nobility opposed the measure with all their might. Cicero made three speeches against it; and it was eventually given up by Rullus. Whether it was a crude but honest attempt to remedy a crying evil,‡ as Mr. Froude (Caesar, p. 128) seems to think, or a mere blind for the purpose of the democrats, and Caesar in particular, getting a strong power to counterpoise that of Pompey, as Mommsen (R. H. iv. 171) and Lange (iii. 238-9) hold—it was possibly both—is not to be discussed here. Suffice to say the law failed; and things went on in their old way.

When Pompey returned from the East, he wanted land for his soldiers. He found some difficulty in getting a measure on the point brought forward; but in 694 (60) the Tribune L. Flavius proposed a law which Cicero (Att. i. 18, 6, Ep. 24) characterizes as '*sane levis eadem fere quae fuit Plotia*.'§ It provided for the soldiers of Pompey, but at the same time gave grants of land to a considerable number of the poor plebeians. This latter clause was probably inserted in order to get the law

* Encroachment is one of the ways *latifundia* increased in Italy and increase in England. It may be traced even in our own day: see De Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, chapter xviii. (English Trans.).

† There is yet a third class, sometimes called *Sullan possessores*, viz. those who bought the goods of the proscribed. These had a strictly legal title to their property.

‡ Marquardt (i. 112) seems to hold this view. He says the law of Rullus was the last attempt on Gracchan principles, and by a radical measure, to check the

over-population of the city, and to raise the class of peasant proprietors.

§ Zumpt, placing the Lex Plotia in 684 (70), sees the similarity in its being directed against the 'Sullan possessions': Lange (iii. 115), placing it in 665 (89), in providing land for soldiers of the allies. Nothing is really known about the Lex Plotia; but of the two theories, possibly Zumpt's is least likely to be wrong. 'Levis' may mean 'worthless,' i.e. 'impracticable,' outside the range of practical politics, as assaults on the 'Sullan possessions' seemed to be. Caesar, in his law next year, did not touch them.

more easily carried. The illegal possessions of the 'Sullan men' were to be confiscated (probably without compensation), and the revenues won by Pompey utilized for the purchase of other lands. The former proposal Cicero opposed; the latter he supported (Cic. Att. i. 19, 4, Ep. 25).^{*} The Senate opposed the whole law most strenuously, fearing that some new power was being sought by Pompey: there was the usual constitutional hubbub, the consul thrown into prison by the tribune, and so forth; and the law was dropped.

It was Caesar who provided for the soldiers of Pompey. In his consulship, 695 (59), he proposed a law which guaranteed all existing possessions, and enacted that all the *ager publicus* in Italy (excepting the Campanian land) should be divided, and that additional land should be purchased with the new revenues which Pompey had acquired, so that there should be land for 20,000 settlers in all. No one was to be compelled to sell against his will, but, again, no more than the market price was to be given. By a new law passed in April, the Campanian land was included in the distribution; and it was destined for citizens who had three children (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 1 and 7: Plut. Cato min. 32, 33). Cicero (Att. ii. 16, 1, Ep. 43) estimates that it would hold only 5000 if they got 10 *iugera* apiece.[†] The colonists were forbidden to alienate their lands for twenty years. A commission of twenty was to be appointed, of which Caesar was *not* one, to carry the law into effect; and of this twenty there was a smaller section of five of predominant influence[‡] (Cic. Att. ii. 7, 4, Ep. 34). Every senator was to swear to the law; and every candidate for the ensuing year, in his candidatorial speech (Cic. Att. ii. 18, 2; Ep. 45), was to solemnly declare that he would make no proposal about the occupation of the Campanian land in opposition to Caesar's *laws* ('laws,' in the plural; for though the general law settled the main principles of the colonization, yet each colony would have a law of its own, settling its special details). Such was the proposal of Caesar. It was rejected by the senate, but carried by the people against violent opposition from the nobles; while both parties, in their usual riotous and unseemly manner, caricatured constitutional procedure.

A word in conclusion. There is one point touching such laws as this that readers ought not to forget—the callous heartlessness of the legislators and the people, who could dispossess, for mere party motives, a steady, industrious, rent-paying population like that which occupied the Campanian territory (Cic. Agr. ii. 84), and give their land to soldiers and a city rabble—classes which were eminently unfit for the dull, hard work of agriculture, and which had already often been tried thereat, and ever found wanting.

^{*} This is an important section. It gives what may be regarded as the Agrarian policy of which Cicero approved.

[†] That there were two Agrarian laws is plain from Att. ii. 16 (43), which regards the report 'de agro Campano' as quite new, while some weeks before, in Att. ii. 7, 4 (34), we hear of the *quinqueviri* who were to administer Caesar's law; and in Att. ii. 15 (42) Cicero knows nothing of the Campanian land; but he does know of Bibulus' opposition to Caesar's land measures. The law is explicitly called *Campana lex* in 45, 2; see also note to 43, 2 *Nunc vero*. There is a good note in Cauer, *Ciceros politisches Denken*, pp. 102–

103, and Lange, iii. 280, on the law.

[‡] A similar sub-section of five promulgated—probably in 699 (55), certainly before 703 (51), the date of Cicero's *De Legibus* (cp. i. 55 of that treatise)—the celebrated Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducea Alliena Fabia, cp. Mommsen, *Epigraphica*, ii. 120; Willems, *Le Sénat*, i. 498; Marquardt, i. 115. We know the names of the following of the *vigintiviri*: Pompey, Crassus, C. Cosconius (46, 4), M. Atilius Balbus, brother-in-law of Caesar (37, 1; Suet. Aug. 4), C. Tremellius Scrofa (Varro R. R. i. 2, 10; ii. 4, 1), and Varro himself (Plin. H. N. vii. 176): cp. Lange, iii. 286.

NOTE IV.

PEDARII.

(*Abridged mainly from Lange, ii. 401-415, § 114, Die Verhandlungen des Senats.*
GELLIIUS gives a whole chapter to a discussion on the *pedarii*, iii. 18.)

The presiding magistrate used to begin the proceedings with reading out the subject for debate (*senatum consulere* or *referre ad senatum*). He then asked the opinions of the individual senators (*per exquisitas sententias*), unless the matter was so simple that it required no debate, and might be settled by a division straight off (*per discessionem*). The magistrate asked the first senator, e.g. 'Dic. Sp. Postumi, de ea re quid censes?' Who that first senator should be was left to the discretion of the magistrate; but, according to usage, it was either the *princeps senatus* or one of the consuls elect. He then proceeded through the *consulares censorii praetorii*, &c., in due order: cp. Att. xii. 21 (557). The senator first asked rose and spoke to his opinion (*sententiam dicere*). The next was asked. He also could speak to his opinion; or merely say, 'Spurio Postumio assentior.' This was called *verbo assentiri*. These alternatives were open to all the senators in regular order. All had the right to be asked as well as to vote; but the debate was generally exhausted long before all were run through. When the debate seemed carried on for a sufficiently long time, the magistrate put the question once more; and the division (*discessio*) took place. This seems the only meaning of *discessio* in procedure in the Senate. All the senators were said *pedibus ire in sententiam* of so-and-so.

After such preliminary observations, we may be able to understand who the *pedarii* were, and why they were so called. They were *not* so called because they went on foot to the senate-house, while the curule magistrates went in chariots (*currus*); but either because they had not a curule chair, or because, *as a rule*, they contented themselves *pedibus in alienam sententiam eundo*, and with that only; whereas the curule magistrates were asked and expressed their opinions previous to the division, but none the less also *pedibus ierunt in sententiam* (Gell. iii. 18, 2; Liv. xxvii. 34, 7). Still, at times, a *pedarius* did give his vote *dicendo* (Tac. Ann. iii. 63): so the fact that the *quaestorii* both could give their opinion *dicendo* and were also *pedarii* (Gell. iii. 18) is not a contradiction. A man may be a 'silent member' in our House of Commons, and yet occasionally speak. It was only as a rule that the *pedarii* did not speak: (1) as the subject would be well-nigh threshed out before it came to them; (2) they would probably not wish to obstruct; (3) they gave an indication of their opinion previous to division by clustering round one of the main supporters of that opinion (Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93); Vopiscus Aurel. 20; Pliny, Epp. ii. 11, 21, 22). In short, the distinction of the speaking senators and the *pedarii* was one of fact and custom, not a legal one.

Hofmann holds that from the time of the Lex Ovinia (about B.C. 366), the non-curule magistrates were a legal class called *pedarii*; and that from the time of Sulla that class embraced all who had not been quaestors. They could neither *sententiam dicere* nor *verbo assentiri*; the presiding magistrate could not ask their opinion; they could only vote. Lange (ii. 275) opposes this view. It mainly rests, he says, on the passage of Gellius (iii. 18), which is confused enough. He argues: (1) We know from Dionysius

(vi. 69; vii. 47; xi. 21, 58) that all the senators could vote. (2) In Cic. Att. i. 19, 9 (25), we find a *Scutum* carried by the *pedarii* against the consulars (? higher magistrates): to make their number sufficient, we must suppose they included the *quaestorii*. [This matter, however, was not an important one: no doubt, many of the higher magistrates were not present: the exact numbers present not being known, it is too vague to be taken as the support of a theory.] (3) It would be against the idea of a senator that he could not express his opinion: suppose no one had set forth the opinion he entertained? (4) If there was any class which the magistrate could not order to speak, the magistrate's *potestas* would be thereby infringed; and he who had the power to *force* the consulars to speak must, of necessity, have had the same power over the inferior members. [3° and 4° are rather too *a priori* to carry much weight.]

To one point in Lange's statement exception may be taken. He says the *pedarii* used to give evidence of their opinion by clustering around the main supporter of one of the points at issue. The passages he adduces do not seem to prove that. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93) only proves that there was a feeling in the senate that the vote would go one way till Clodius stood up. Vopiscus Aurel. 20 only gives us a picture of a vote being arrived at in a confused manner, some applauding, some dividing, some stretching out their hands. Pliny (Epp. ii. 11, 21, 22) seems fairly capable of being regarded as support to his view; but it really refers probably to the clustering together that takes place in every assembly *immediately prior* to the actually going to different sides, while the question is being finally put.

NOTE V.

LEX CAECILIA DIDIA.

The Lex Caecilia Didia was a consular law of 656 (98). It enjoined that three market days' notice should be given of all proposals for both legislative and elective comitia. It appears to have been a law passed to maintain a custom which existed previously, and which the tribunes were beginning to evade (Lange, ii. 470-1). It also forbade *leges saturae*. The law itself was not a *lex satūra*, as the object of both clauses was the same, viz. to prevent the people being compelled to pass laws of which they had not fully approved.

The Lex Junia Licinia was a consular law of 692 (62). It served to protect the people from passing laws the import of which they did not understand, by enacting 'ne clam aerario legem inferri (mss. ferre) liceret' (Schol. Bob. p. 310), that is, that a copy of the proposal must be deposited at the *aerarium* before it was brought forward. It enjoined a punishment not only for transgression of this decree, but also for violation of the Lex Caecilia Didia (Lange, ii. 659), though Lange thinks that possibly it may have been another special Lex Junia Licinia that confirmed the Caecilia Didia (iii. 266).

NOTE VI.

CICERO'S JOURNEY INTO EXILE.

(See Mr. Clement L. Smith in the 'Harvard Studies,' Vol. vii. pp. 71-84.)

The circumstances connected with Cicero's departure into exile until he left Italy are tolerably well ascertained in their main outlines; but there are some points of detail which remain doubtful. We know that the first step which Clodius took against Cicero was the introduction of a law couched in general terms, *ut qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur* (Velleius Paterculus ii. 45), and that the person against whom this law was directed was so obviously Cicero that he left Rome, probably in the early morning of the day on which it passed.* Mr. Long (*Decline of the Roman Republic*, iii. 457) seems to be of opinion that this law was never passed; and he explains away the allusion in Att. iii. 15, 5 fin. (73), *Sed pergo praeterita, verum tamen ob hanc causam ut, si quid agatur, legem illam in qua popularia multa sunt ne tangatis*, by saying that *lex* is used improperly for *rogatio*. But, even granting this improper usage, there does not seem any reason why the bill should not have been passed; there was adequate reason that it should be passed as a 'Confirmatio legis Semproniae'; there is a specific statement in Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 17, 6, that it was enthusiastically passed, with the approval even of Cicero's friends (φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κῦρος, οὐχ ὥπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρῶτους πράττειν ἐδόκουν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει, ἔλαβε); and that we do not hear of it elsewhere is due to the fact that, once it was passed, it was not contravened again during the period of the Roman Republic, so that there was no occasion for it to be mentioned in after-times.

It was passed about the middle of March; for we are told that Caesar did not go to meet the Helvetii until Cicero had left Rome (Plut. *Caes.* 14 fin.),† and we know that Caesar arrived at the Rhone, after a very rapid journey of eight days from Rome, before March 28th (Bell. Gall. i. 6, 7). As soon as it was passed Clodius promulgated an enactment specially directed against Cicero. It assumed that Cicero, by his voluntary exile, acknowledged his guilt, and thus fell under the penalties of the law just passed; so its terms were 'that M. Cicero has been interdicted from fire and water' (*Velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*). Possibly this may have been intended to exonerate from blame those who destroyed Cicero's property on the day the general law passed (cp. *Sest.* 54, de Domo 62). Though it ought to have named a day for Cicero to appear and stand his trial,‡ Clodius may with some reason have considered such a provision superfluous. A precedent could be found in the case of Fulvius, an ex-praetor, who, when he departed into exile before his day of trial came on, in 211 B.C., was decreed by the people to be in legal exile.§ The law

* Plutarch (*Cic.* 31 fin.) states that Cicero left Rome *περὶ μέσας νύκτας*. Cicero himself, in rhetorical fashion, says the law was passed on the day he tore himself from the embrace of his country (*Sest.* 53).

† Plutarch says 'Italy,' an obvious error.

‡ Cp. the case of Postumius Pyrgensis, in 212 B.C. (*Liv.* xxv. 4).

§ *Liv.* xxvi. 3 *postquam dies comitiorum aderat Cn. Fulvius exulatum Tarquinios abiit. Id ei iustum exilium esse scivit populus*: see Mr. Greenidge's *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, pp. 330, 361.

further confiscated Cicero's property, and fixed a limit of space within which, if found, he would be regarded as an outlaw.

Whether this latter feature was in the original draft of the law which attacked Cicero by name, or whether its introduction was the 'amendment' referred to in Att. iii. 4 (58), is a disputed point. Rauschen (*Ephemerides Tullianae*, p. 24), after Lange (*Röm. Alt.* iii². 304) and Zumpt (*Criminalrecht*, pp. 427 ff.), supposes that the amendment consisted in altering the limit within which Cicero might not remain from 400 miles to 500 miles. Cicero says, in Att. iii. 4 (58), *in qua [rogatione] quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quadringenta milia liceret esse*, which they suppose to be the unamended enactment; and that the amended limit was 500 miles, as is given by Plutarch (*Cic.* 32 init.), *ἐν τὸς μιλίων πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας*, and Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 17), who states the distance as 3750 stadia, and seems elsewhere to consider that $7\frac{1}{2}$ stadia were equal to a Roman mile (cp. lii. 21). But if this view is held, it appears very unlikely that Cicero would inform Atticus of the unamended form of the bill, and not the amended form, immediately after having heard of the latter; so that we must then, with Boot (*Obs. Crit.* pp. 45, 46), alter *quadringenta* into *quingenta*. The limit was reckoned from Italy, and not from Rome, as Dio erroneously says (*l. c.*). This is perfectly certain from Att. iii. 7, 1 (63) *veremur ne interpretentur illud quoque oppidum (sc. Athenas) ab Italia non satis abesse*: cp. Plut. *Cic.* 32 init.* There could be no doubt that Athens was more than 500 miles from Rome; and the place at which Cicero seems to have intended to take up his permanent abode was Cyzicus, which is just about 500 miles from Italy. That he remained temporarily at Thessalonica, which was within the limit, was owing to the friendly protection of Plancius, and also because Cicero had no enemies there, like Autronius and other Catilinarians, whom he would have found in Greece proper.

But Mr. Clement L. Smith, in the *Harvard Studies*, vol. vii., pp. 71 ff., holds a different and, in our opinion, the correct view as to the 'amendment.' He thinks that "the amendment, the insertion of which appears to have been secured by the influence of Cicero's friends and the interposition of the triumvirs, so far mitigated the severity of the original proposition as to prescribe a limit of distance, beyond which the exile might live unmolested." This appears to be the view of Dr. Holden also (Introd. to the Pro Sestio, p. xxi, to the Pro Plancio, p. x); and it suits admirably with the mention of the amendment in Att. iii. 2 (57). Cicero had heard that efforts were being made to mitigate the rigour of the law; but he thought it advisable to repair to Vibo, a retired place, where he had a good friend Sicca, until the definite nature of the mitigation was known; hence he says, *praesertim nondum rogatione correctâ*. At Vibo he learned the exact nature of the limit, and found that it excluded him from Sicily or Malta, so that he was compelled to betake himself to the East, as he had originally intended: cp. Att. iii. 1 (59). [The order of time in which the first six letters of Att. iii. were written is 1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6 (59, 56, 57, 60, 58, 61).]

When Cicero left Rome, he went somewhere south, but we do not know where. The most natural supposition would be Arpinum, his home. There he waited for the next step that should be taken. As soon as he read the bill, which was specially directed against himself by name, he appears to have formed the idea of going away to the East, and wrote Att. iii. 1 (59), asking Atticus to accompany him, and give him his protection in his journey through Epirus. This was probably towards the end of March. Meantime he heard that his friends were making exertions on his

* Possibly in Att. iii. 4 (58) we should read *quingenta milia <ab Italia> liceret esse*.

behalf; but, at the same time, he was possibly exposed to considerable annoyance, owing to the fact that he was comparatively near Rome, where his enemies were numerous. Accordingly he thought that it would be better to go to a retired, fairly distant place until the amendment of the law was announced, which he, doubtless, surmised would not be of a *very* favourable nature; but he hoped to be able to take up his abode in Sicily, or, at any rate, in Malta.* So he determined to go to his friend Sicca, who lived at Vibo. When he made up his mind to do so, he wrote Att. iii. 3 (56), some time about the beginning of April, and started for Vibo, asking Atticus to follow him thither. On April 8th (a. d. vi. Id. Apr.) Cicero was at a place called Nares Lucanae (Sallust, *Hist.* iii. 67), which was on the Via Popilia, beyond the Silarus, half way between it and Aceronia (C. I. L. x., p. 49). From this place he wrote Att. iii. 2 (57), as the subscription shows. The subscription of Att. iii. 5 (60) is *Data vii Idus Aprilis Thuri*. Now, of course, it is impossible that Cicero could have been at Thurii one day and Nares Lucanae the next, even supposing that he was going north. So that something must be wrong in the subscriptions to 2 and 5. Nissen conjectured *Eburi* for *Thuri*. This is most ingenious. *Eburum* is close to Nares Lucanae; and by reading *Eburi* we get rid of the un-Ciceronian form *Thurium*,† and can keep the numeral *vii* as given by M. But on this hypothesis it seems strange that Cicero, in iii. 5 (60), should say that 'If you are in Rome, you will not be able to overtake me,' and in iii. 2 (57), written on this hypothesis on the next day, should urge him so unconditionally to the journey; and still more strange that he should write, between iii. 3 and 2 (56 and 57), iii. 5 (60), in which he did not mention his destination. So it would seem that we must alter *vii* to *iiii* with Corradus, and either acquiesce in the reading *Thuri*,‡ or alter to *Thuriis*. In the journey between Nares Lucanae and Thurii, Cicero spent a night, probably that of the 8th, in a villa of the Campus Atinas (cp. C. I. L. x. p. 40; Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 225), where he had the celebrated dream in which Marius appeared to him, and, having led him into his 'monumentum,' said that therein lay his safety (De Div. i. 59: cp. Planc. 78). On the 10th, after having travelled rapidly (cf. De Div. i. c. *cum iter instaret*), he arrived at Thurii, from which he wrote iii. 5 (60); and he was in Vibo (about 85 miles distant) probably by the 12th. There he learned the amendment to the law of Clodius, and saw that he must of necessity repair to the East. He was unwilling to expose Sicca to the danger of harbouring an outlaw; and, indeed, it appears that Sicca was unwilling to undergo the risk of receiving him into his own house, but offered to assign him a farm in the country.‡ C. Vergilius, too, though a friend of Cicero, would not take on himself the responsibility of admitting him to his province of Sicily, or to its adjunct Malta.§ Cicero had good reason then to say that it was due to his misfortune rather than to inconstancy of purpose that he left Vibo suddenly, immediately after learning the actual tenor of Clodius' law: cp. iii. 4 (58). This was on the 13th. He was probably at Thurii two days later, and at Tarentum on the evening of the 16th. He wrote iii. 6 (61), from the neighbourhood of Tarentum, on the morning of the 17th,

* On a subsequent occasion Cicero meditated going into retirement at Malta: Att. x. 7, 1 (388).

† This form is found in Mela, ii. 4, 68.

‡ Plutarch, *Cic.* 32 ἐν δὲ Ἰππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας ἣν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν καλοῦσιν, Οὐίβιος Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ . . . οἰκία

μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, [τὸ] χωρίον δὲ καταγράψαι ἐπηγγέλλετο. This looks very like as if Plutarch had misinterpreted *Sicca Vib(onensis)*, which he may have found in some authority as 'a Sicilian Vibius.'

§ Cicero Planc. 95, 96; Plutarch, *l. c.*

and arrived at Brundisium on the evening of the same day. In these hurried journeys Cicero must have travelled between forty and fifty miles each day; not a very great effort, for the regular rate for couriers was fifty miles a day, but more than was usual for ordinary travellers, especially when such stages were kept up for ten days. We may conjecture that his extreme haste was due to a desire to leave Italy before the bill in its final form became law; but that the courteous treatment he received from the municipalities on his journey from Vibo to Brundisium, and the great kindness of M. Laenius Flaccus, who entertained him hospitably at Brundisium,* induced him to remain until the end of the month, when he learned definitely that the law had been passed. If it was promulgated early in April, say about the Nones, Cicero, at Vibo, might have heard of its provisions by the Ides: allow at least seventeen days (*trinundinum*) between promulgation and passing, and the date of passing will be about the 23rd, and formal information that it was enacted could not reach Brundisium before the 29th.† On that day Cicero left for Greece, after writing Att. iii. 7 (63) to Atticus, and Fam. xiv. 4 (62) to his family.

This order of the letters at the beginning of the third book, viz. 1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6 (59, 56, 57, 60, 58, 61), has been proved to be the right one by Mr. Clement L. Smith, of Harvard, in the discussion referred to, and has been adopted by Sternkopf and Müller.

Since the above was written we have read three most interesting papers on the question of the 'amendment' of the Law of Clodius, viz. *Ueber die "Verbesserung" des Clodianischen Gesetzentwurfes de exilio Ciceronis*, by Sternkopf in 'Philologus' (1900), pp. 272-304: *Lex Clodia de exilio Ciceronis*, by Gurlitt in the same number, pp. 578-583: and a reply by Sternkopf, *Noch einmal die correctio der Lex Clodia de exilio Ciceronis*, in 'Philologus' (1902), pp. 42-70.‡ Everything that Sternkopf writes is of such a careful and learned nature that agreement with him confirms one's views, and disagreement with him is most disconcerting and unsettling to one's mind. We are delighted to find that in these treatises of his he reads *quingenta* for *quadringenta* in Att. iii. 4 (58): cp. Mommsen, *Strafrecht* 970, 2: and we are entirely convinced by his arguments that we should, in the same letter, read the much-discussed passage, not as we have unfortunately printed it, but as follows: *Allata est enim nobis rogatio de perniciē mea: in qua quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quingenta milia liceret esse, illucq̄ pervenire non liceret. Statim iter Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis ne et Sicca apud quem eram periret et quod Melitae esse non licebat*; that is, the sentence *illuc . . . liceret* should be joined to the preceding sentence, and should not be joined to the subsequent

* Planc. 97, Sest. 131, Fam. xiv. 4, 2 (62). Plutarch (*Cic.* 32) notices that little heed was paid to the enactment of Clodius, as the people respected Cicero, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνδεκνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτόν.

† If Cicero says, in Fam. xiv. 4, 2 (62), that Laenius Flaccus was exposed to danger by entertaining him, that does not necessarily prove that formal information that the law had passed had arrived in Brundisium before the 29th. The tenor of the law was known long before, and it was also known that it was sure to pass;

so that Laenius Flaccus could be subjected to odium and hostility, though not to actual legal pains and penalties, for harbouring a disgraced man, who was to all intents and purposes an outlaw.

‡ We have not seen the treatise by Gerh. Buning, *Die beiden Gesetze des Publius Clodius gegen M. Tullius Cicero* (Jahresber. des Kgl. Gymn. zu Cösfeld), 1894: but its main features seem to have been brought forward and criticised by Sternkopf and Gurlitt.

§ Or perhaps *illoc*, cp. Plaut. Truc. 647.

sentence, and *illuc* should not be altered with M's to *illo cum*: see Adnotatio Critica. And we are at one with him in accepting Mr. Clement Smith's chronology of Att. iii. 1-6, as we are in many other points, such as, for example, his rendering of *pro meo iure* as 'ungenirt,' i.e. 'unmolested,' 'undisturbed,' 'at my ease,' and his reference to Madvig, Fin. v. 75. But we regret to find ourselves unable to assent to his view of the nature of the 'amendment,' though we readily acknowledge its great ingenuity.

He holds that the amendment is indicated in the passage quoted above, and that we should render 'I find the amendment is of this nature, that I may remain outside the limit of 500 miles from Italy,* but that I am not allowed to get there': a bitter expression of Cicero referring to the amendment (known, of course, to Atticus) which, according to Sternkopf, consisted in affixing severe penalties to anyone who harboured Cicero.

No doubt, some such clause was in the bill of outlawry, cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 7 (quoted on p. 359 above)†; but surely such a clause is implied in the very nature of *interdictio* (cp. Appian i. 31, quoted below in the note), and was probably in the first draft of the law. Such a self-evident and traditional clause would hardly have been the subject of an elaborate 'amendment,' requiring so many formalities. If, on the other hand, interdiction was, as a general rule, only a little more than mere removal from the city, and if Clodius by his amendment so increased its severity in Cicero's case that it was to have its full literal meaning, and was to be enforced in all its terrors against those who harboured him, Cicero's friends would certainly have made such an opposition that there would have been no probability that the amendment would pass as a mere matter of course; but there is no hint that there was any opposition to it. Nor is it at all probable that even the democrats generally (much less Pompey or Caesar) would have countenanced *increasing* the punishment of a man by whose voluntary exile the principle for which they had contended had already been so fully vindicated. Nor can we think that Cicero would have expressed himself in such a strangely allusive way—half bitter, half jocular—"they fix a limit, but won't let me reach it," about such a stringent clause. He would have said something like "but the ruthlessness of my enemies, by forbidding anyone to receive me, renders it necessary for me to pass beyond the prescribed limit with the utmost despatch. Accordingly I am leaving at once for Brundisium," &c.

* It may be considered quite certain that Italy, not Rome, was the terminus *a quo*.

† Not much stress is to be laid on *προσ-επεκηρύχθη* in Dio. It means no more than that the exile was not simple exile, but interdiction: Dio had previously spoken of the confiscation of Cicero's goods and the destruction of his house, but of the actual nature of his exile no more than *αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ ἢ τε φυγῇ ἐπετιμήθη*. Dio continues, *καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη· τρισχιλίους τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Ρώμην* [should be 'Ἰταλίαν'] *ὑπερῶρισθη καὶ προσεπεκηρύχθη ἵν' εἰ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ δόλωνται*. It is quite plain that Clodius

did not exclude Cicero from Sicily expressly, but Cicero was indirectly excluded by the limit of distance beyond which he might remain unmolested. In Dio's rapid narrative he is not interested to distinguish between the unamended and amended laws, but merely to indicate the full penalty actually inflicted on Cicero. It is quite certain that *interdictio* was decreed against Cicero in the unamended law; and *φυγῇ* does not express the idea of *interdictio* fully: to express *interdictio* some such clause as that introduced by *προσεκηρύχθη* was essential: cp. Appian B.C. i. 31 *ψήφισμά τε φυγῆς ἐπέγραψαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρύξαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλῳ κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης*.

But while unable to follow Sternkopf in his view as to the amendment, we fully concur in his view (p. 61) as to the original form of the Law of Clodius, that it interdicted Cicero from fire and water and roof quite generally, and that accordingly the interdiction might be regarded as holding good throughout the whole Roman subject-empire.* We think it most probable that Cicero's friends endeavoured to have some limit put to this very wide sphere in which the outlawry would operate; Clodius may very well have reflected that Cicero might take up his residence in one of the *civitates foederatas* not far from Italy, and become troublesome; and a compromise was probably effected whereby a limit of distance from Italy (500 miles) was fixed beyond which Cicero might remain unmolested, but within which he would be subjected to the pains and penalties of interdiction. So we adhere to Mr. Clement Smith's view of the amendment as given above, p. 431. Mr. Shuckburgh's opinion as to the amendment is that it diminished the distance from 500 to 400 miles. But this will not harmonise with the statement that Athens might be interpreted as within the limit (63, 1): for Athens was certainly by any recognized route more than 400 miles from Italy.

As to *illoe* or *illo* or *illuc*, we see no reason to alter our view that it means 'to Epirus': we may compare Ep. 57, where *illas partis* refers to the same district.† The limit of 500 miles from Italy would effectually preclude Cicero's remaining there; and the two places of refuge which Cicero appears to have had in his mind at this time were (1) Epirus, (2) Sicily or Malta. That Vergilius excluded Cicero from his province was only natural. He was an official of the State, and naturally feared to receive an outlaw immediately after sentence on him had been passed by the people, and when resentment was hot against him. The case of Laenius was different; he was only a private man. When Plancius, who *was* an official, afforded Cicero his protection at Thessalonica, within the 500 miles limit, the resentment against Cicero was cooling down, and the *aura popularis* veering round in his favour.

As to *dies rogationis*, we entirely agree with Sternkopf (p. 290) that it means the day on which the bill was to become law, the day on which the people were to be asked to pass it. So, too, Mr. Greenidge: see his discussion of the whole question of the Laws of Clodius against Cicero (*Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, 359-366, especially 364, note 1). He virtually agrees throughout with Zumpt. But their views as to the amendment, that it substituted 468 miles from Rome for 400 as the limit within which Cicero might not reside—the change being due to a desire to exclude him from Italy—cannot be maintained. The distance was measured from Italy, and not from Rome.

* Not wholly dissimilar is Mommsen's view (*Strafrecht*, 978, 1). He holds that in Cicero's case the penalty of ordinary exile was heightened by confiscation of goods and banishment to a distance of at least 500 miles from Italy, and that this was the amended and less stringent form of the bill: the original unamended form he thinks may have been deprivation of citizenship and exclusion from the whole Roman subject-empire (ursprünglich war

vielleicht Entziehung des Bürgerrechts und die alsdann zulässige Ausweisung aus dem Gesamtstaat beabsichtigt).

† Gurlitt's view, that we should read *illa* or *illa via* for *illuc*, and understand 'reach my place of exile by that way'—i.e. either by way of Sicily or by the Sicilian Sea—cannot, we think, be sustained, and is adequately refuted by Sternkopf, pp. 56 ff.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

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EP. 1 (ATT. I. 5).

2. Quinti] *que* M¹ ut saepe.
3. missione] *intermissione* Bembus;
vide Comm.
- audiebamus] *audieramus* Sternkopf.
4. nihil] *non nihil* Pluygers.
- duxi] *duxissem* Corradus.
- scribere] Δ; *rescribere* Σ codices
Malaspinæ.
5. teneo] add. Orelli; *scio* add. Lamb.
voluntate me] Lamb.; *voluntatem* Z;
voluntate M.
7. conquiescimus] M¹; *-escimus* M²
vulg.
8. Et] *Ea* coni. Wes.

EP. 2 (ATT. I. 6).

1. in hoc] Σ; om. Δ.
M¹. Fonteius] Ursinus; *M. Fontius*
M; *M. Fontinus* Z.
2. nobis decessit] M; *nobis discessit*
Madvig, sed vide Comm.

EP. 3 (ATT. I. 7).

- te] add. Btr.

EP. 4 (ATT. I. 8).

1. recusarit] Mal.; *recusarat* M;
-aret Ern.
- decidisse] *decepisses* M¹.

EP. 5 (ATT. I. 9).

2. dubitaris] CΔ; *dubites* Σ.
diligenter cures] Δ; *cures diligenter* Σ.
Thyillus] Btr.; *chilyllus* M; *thyullus*
M marg.; *Chilyllus* alii.

EP. 6 (ATT. I. 10).

1. iturum] Z¹; *missurum* M; *mis-*
suram Vict.
- eum] secl. Ern.
3. cum] *quo* Corradus, coll. 4, 2.
6. arcessi a me sed prohiberi] C; *arces-*
sam sed prohibebo M.
- intellegam] codd.; *-lego* Hofmann;
-legerem Reid.
- est] Man.: *esset* codd. Reid.
- esses] *sis* Wes.
- me] add. Klotz; *non* add. M².

EP. 7 (ATT. I. 11).

1. Eo] *et* Bücheler.
- suum] *tuum* Hervagius.
- adlegatio] Mal.; *legatio* M.
- putaris] *putabis* Wes.
- obfirmatio] Ascensius; *affirmatio* M.
2. me iam] *te iam me* Lamb.
3. Academiae nostrae] Δ; *nostr.*
Acad. Σ.
- quam illius] *quam me illius* Or.; sed
cp. Lehmann 'Quaest.', pp. 16, 17.

EP. 8 (ATT. I. 3).

2. non] *nondum* Pluygers.
3. at in se] Bos.; om. *at* codd.;
iam in se Otto.
- nec sibi nec tibi] Klotz; *nec tibi*
codd.; *nec tibi nec sibi* Graevius.

EP. 9 (ATT. I. 4).

1. sentio] *censes* Lamb.
- iam] *eam* Hervagius.
3. est] Wes.: *et* codd.; *erit* Meier.
- insigne] ΣZ¹ L (marg.); om. Δ.
- Caletam] *Caletanum* Pluygers; vide
Comm.
- me] add. Lamb.

Ep. 10 (ATT. I. 1).

1. cogitaramus] *cogitabamus* Wes.
videantur] *videbantur* Rom. Wes.
ut frontem ferias, sunt] Erasmus;
ut frontem ferias. Sunt M.
arbitrabamur] *arbitramur* vett.
denegavit] Ern.; *denegant* M; *et ne-*
gavit Z^b; *denegant et del.* Reid; *denegans*
Boot.

Aufidio] *Auli filio* Goveanus coll.
22, 12.

2. et existimatione] *et ab exist.* Lamb.
Curium] Bosius; *curum* M¹; *Turium*
M (marg.) fort. recte.; *Torium* Zb.

que . . . acciderim] M; *que tum erit*
absoluta sane facile eum libenter nunciteri
concili acciderunt Z1; *quae tunc erit abso-*
luta sane facile: eum libenter nunc Caesari
consulem addiderim Man.; *quae cum erit*
absoluta sane facile, eum libenter muni-
cipes ceteri consulem acceperint Corradus:
quae cum erit absoluta, sane facile cum
et libenter municipia consulem acceperint
Koch; *quae cum erit absoluta, sane facile*
eum libenter tunc certum consulem accepe-
runt Ursinus coll. Q. Fr. iii. 8, 3 (159);
quae tum erit absoluta: sane facile eum
ac libenter renuntiari consulem acceperim
Reid; *quae tum erit absoluta sane facile:*
eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem accu-
derim. Boot qui eum . . . *accuderim*
ex Madvigio hausit cui ipsi in iv voc.
accuderim praeiverat Bosius. Vide Comm.

3. mancipio] om. M¹.

L] add. Btr.

cognosce rem] Madvig; *cognoscere* M.

4. ne contra] add. vett.

5. eliu anathma] vel eiut anathma M;
eliu onathma C; *ήλιου ανδθημα*, vulg.;
deae ανδθημα Gurlitt; *ήλιου ανδθημα*
conieci: fort. scribendum eius ανδθημα
(Schütz), vel illius ανδθημα (Casaubon).

Ep. 11 (ATT. I. 2).

1. consulibus] *consulibus designatis*
coni. O. E. Schmidt fort. recte.

meis ad te rationibus] *meis detra(e)c-*
tionibus M; *meis a te rationibus* M
marg.; *meis detrectatoribus* Rom.

volumus] Δ Crat; *volumus* Σ.

Ep. 12 (Q. CICERONIS Commentariolum
Petitionis).

Incipit commentarium consulatus peti-
tionis feliciter H (i.e. Harleianus 2682);
Q. Ciceronis de petitione consulatus ad M.
Tullium fratrem dett; sed cp. § 58 fin.

1. aut intellegentia] secl. Büch(eler);
aut diligentia dett.

addisceres] Lamb.; *addiscerem* HF
(= Erfurtensis nunc Berolinensis 252).
ponerentur] Post hoc verbum codices
dant *Ququam . . . vincere*, § 42.

2. Prope] HF; *Proinde* Bährens;
Nempe coni. Büch.; fort. *Porro*.
meditandum est] Tydeman; *med. sit*
codd.

ingenio] *ingenio tuo* Wes.

3. de] add. vett.

vide] add. Eussner.

non multi homines] add. Schwarz ex
Fam. v. 18, 1 (180); *quae novi vix*
Eussner.

propria mun.] HF; *praeterea mun.*
dett.

4. commonendo] Koch; *commendando*
codd.

ac numero dignum] dett; *ac dignum*
numero FH; *ac et numero* secl. Büch.

5. Hi] vulg.; *hic* FH; *hice* Bährens;
I Büch.

6. teneas studiosos quos habes multum]
teneas studiosos quos habes, multum Büch.;
fort. *teneas quos habes studiosos: multum.*
volunt Büch.; *volunt* codd.; *non*
volunt vulg.

7. Nam] Lamb.; *iam* codd.

putet] *putet oportere?* Kayser.

sunt] F; *sicut* H.

8. Catilina et Antonius] F; *Ant et*
Cat. H dett.

navo] Puteanus; *novo* codd.

verorum] Bährens; *vero* codd.; secl.
Büch.

quom] Büch.; *quam* codd. praeter
Lag(ormasinianum) 50; *cum* Lamb.

alios] add. Wes.

caupones] dett.; *caupadoes* FH (in H
superscr. *caupones*); *Cappadoes* Büch.
omnis] *homines* Müller.

legationem] *adlegationem* coni. Or.

9. qua Catilina] del. Lamb. Post
eadem add. non Eussner.

maiore] *maiore re?* Palermus.

Antonius] Corradus; *manius* vel *ina-*
nus HF; *ille* Or.

sororis] *sororum* F; *sorore* H. Ita-
que *sororum* legere debuimus, ut Hen-
drickson recte indicavit.

Nanniorum] H; *mannorum* F; *Man-*
liorum Büch.; fort. *Volumniorum* quod
Lag. 50 habet: cp. Ascon., p. 84.
"Catilinam, cum in Sullanis partibus
fuisset, crudeliter fecisse * * nominatim
etiam postea Cicero dicit quos occiderit
Q. Caecilium, M. Volumnium, L. Tanu-
sium. Marci etiam Marii Gratidiani,
&c." Vide Comm.

demetebant] con. Gesner; *demebant* codd.

hominem unum] dett.; om. *unum* FH.
10. vivo spiranti] Puteanus; *vivo stanti* FH; *vix obstanti* Bährens; fort.

vivo spectanti. Vide Comm.

cum glad.] *glad.* om. H.

alia] Tyrrell; *aliis* codd., fort. recte; *in aliis* Ern.; *ex aliis* Kayser; *ab aliis* Bährens; *alius* (gen. neut.) Or.

Vettios] Lamb.; *vittias* H; *vitias* F. legito] *legisti* Koch.

fuerunt] dett.; om. FH; *fuerant* Wes.

in eum iud.] secl. Büch.; *in eum* om. dett.

timeat . . . contemn[nat] *timeant* . . . contemn[nat] Tydeman, bene.

quieris . . . commoveris] con. Orelli; *quirit* . . . *commoverit* codd.

11. nulla re paene] *re paene* nulla Büch.

12. erit] dett.; om. FH.

insignes] secl. Büch.

nobiles] *viles* Bährens.

14. quam multi consuetudine] dett.

quam cons. FH, fort. recte.

dedisti] vulg.; *edidisti* FH.

15. quae tibi adversentur] dett.; om. *tibi* FH, fort. recte.

16. et petitio] dett.; *et petio* (-icion) F^{em} FH; *Petitio autem* Büch. bene.

magistratus] FH; *-tuum* dett.

17. quisque] *quisquis* H, quod, ut deleto, retinet Bährens.

is amet et quam] Lag. 50 et vulg.; *is amet quod* FH; *is etiam quam* Büch.; *ita maxime quam* Müller.

tum] secl. Wes.

18. aut habeant aut sperent] Vide Comm. Sed Bücheleri ratio minime spernenda est.

prorsus] H dett.; *rursus* F, fort. recte.

opera elaborant] Kayser; *opere laborant* FH; *opera elaborarunt* Turnebus.

petierint] Büch.; *peterent* codd.

illa summa] F dett.; *illo summa* H

unde ex animo imo atque ex summa voluntate con. Bährens; superlativum quoddam corruptum esse putat Büch: *maxuma* (ex *masuma*) Hendrickson.

19. Corneli C.] add. dett. quo uno perspicui potest dett. non ab FH originem duxisse.

est] H; om. F.

homines] *hi omnes*, Büch.

iam] del. vulg.; *iam acceptos* con. Müller; fort. *tam*.

20. discriptum] Büch.; *descriptum* codd.

ulla] Lamb.; *nulla* codd.

§§ 21-24 post § 32 *bonus esse videare* transponere vult Bährens.

21. homines] H dett.; om. F.

ducuntur] *adducuntur* Lamb.

22. suorum officiorum] dett.; om. *suorum* FH.

proficiscatur] H dett.; *proficiatur* F; *perficiatur* Büch.

23. illud] F; *id* H; del. Bährens. Vide Comm.

studiorum] del. Büch. Bährens; *studiosorum* Koch; *studiorum voluntariumque* Eussner.

et quemadmodum] H dett.; om. *et* F.

24. ac] FH; *aut* dett.

internoscas elaborato ne] Büch.; *inter nos calumniatores* FH; *internoscas videto ne* dett: *internoscas omnis curato ne* Hendrickson.

25. comparantur] H; *comparentur* F.

alio] H; *aliquo* F.

agas] *agas ut te utantur* dett.

28. qui] Gesner; *quid* codd.

quem] add. dett.

cum infamia] vulg.; *infama* F; *cum infamis* H; *infamis* Bährens; *summa infamia* alii.

29. ordinum] Lamb.; *hominum* codd. *omnium ordinum* Büch.

quod poteris] nos; om. *quod* FH; *poteris sumere*; *cura* Ern. Vide Comm.

30. discriptam] edd. cp. § 20; *descriptam* codd.

31. eosque] dett.; *eos* FH; *idoneosque* Eussner.

32. sed sequitur] *si non consequatur* vulg.

nomenclator] cod. Vossianus; *commendator* FH.

videare] cp. Comm. ad § 21.

possunt] Lamb.; *possint* codd.

vicinitatis] Turnebus; *civitatis* codd.

33. cognosce . . . appete] Or.; *cognosci . . . appeti* FH; *cognoscito . . . appetito* Baiter.

quod] vulg.; *emi quod* FH; *quom* Bährens; *memini quod* Mommsen, bene.

sequentur] Bährens; *sequuntur* H; *secuntur autem* F Büch.

adhibebitur] H; *adhibetur* F.

eas] corr. ex *etas* H, unde *cunctas* Bährens.

34. utare] *utare frequentia* Koch.

cum domum veniunt] *suspecta* Orellio.

35. venient] *veniant* Rob. Stephanus.

iiis] dett.; om. FH.

facere] *facere velle* dett.

aut senseris] dett.; *aut ut senseris* FH.

id] dett.; *vel* FH; secl. Büch.
 36. quod] *quoad* dett.
 37. exigit] Or. *vel exigitur*; *exigitur* FH; *exige* dett.
 38. adfert] *afferet* Wes., fort. recte.
 honestatem] H dett.; *honorem* F, fort. recte.
 obtinuerint] Müller; *-erunt* codd.
 ubi] H dett.; *ut* F.
 39. oratio] H dett.; *ratio* F Büch.
 sit] H dett.; *est* F Büch.
 praetermittendum] codd.; *-dus* Büch.
 40. unum] add. dett.
 iis te] add. dett.
 tuam] add. Müller.
 inservito ratione] Turnebus; *inservi oratione* FH.
 41. spem in rep.] F; *spem in remp.* H; *speciem in rep.* Lag. 50; *speciem in publico* Hendrickson.
 42. Quamquam . . . vincere] huc transposuit ex § 1 Puteanus.
 Etenim] Lamb.; *te enim* FH; *ea enim* Büch.
 43. quod eius consequi possis se abs te non esse rogatum] Lag. 50; *quod eius consequi possis si abs te non sit rogatum* FH; *quod eius esset te consequi potuisse si abs te non rogatum tantum esset sed valde* Kayser; *te quod velis consequi posse (vel non posse) si abs te sit (vel non sit) rogatum et valde* coni. Büch.
 44. si] add. Koch; fort. post tamen addend. cum.
 laudatur] *laudata* Bährens.
 fac et] cod. Turnebi; *facite* FH; *facito et* Lag. 50.
 diurni nocturnique] H; *diurna nocturnaque* F.
 de] Klotz; *e* FH; *a* vulg.
 45. facturus] Btr.; *acturus* codd.
 iucunde neges] FH: *aut iucunde promittas aut ingenue neges* Lag. 50; fort. *aut iucunde neges aut ultro (vel omnino) non neges.* Vide Comm.
 exsarturum] Lag. 50; *exacturum* FH.
 46. eius] add. Man.
 Verum . . . consulam] fort. ad finem § transponendum.
 tempori tuo] dett.; om. *tuo* FH.
 amiciorum] Eussner; *amicorum* codd.
 47. casu] dett.; *causa* FH.
 48. id] del. Puteanus.
 ut] om. H dett.
 in foro] *foris* Eussner.
 ea ex] FH; *ea* dett.; *iusta* Lag. 50; fort. *videas*.
 50. te] add. Lamb.
 se] add. nos.
 ac] add. dett.
 multa nocte] *multa de nocte* coni. Büch.

iis omnibus] *iis hominibus* Lamb.
 52. si qua possit, nova] Büch., *si quae possit (poscis F) ne* FH; *si quid possit ne* dett.; *si qua possit in* Palermus; *si qua possit ne* Klotz.
 53. respublica] del. Bährens.
 Romani] *y* FH.
 54. commentationibus] Palermus; *commotionibus* codd.; *cogitationibus* Büch.
 quod] Lag. 50; *quo* FH; *quas* Bährens.
 55. instituti] Gruter; *instituti* codd.
 homines] add. dett.; om. FH, fort. recte.
 pertimescent] *-cant* cod. Turnebi.
 56. nolo] Büch.; *volo* codd.
 ut] *non ut* vulg.
 57. benevolos] secl. Büch.
 gratiosis studiosisque] Lag. 50; *studiis gratiosisque* FH; *gratiosisque* secl. Büch.
 describimus] H; *describimus* F dett.
 aut nulla] Lag. 50; *nulla* codd.
 sit] Büch.; *fit* (superscriptum -at H) FH; *fiat* dett.

EP. 13 (FAM. V. 1).

1. absentem] G; *absente* MR.
 a quibus] MG; *a quo quidem* R.
2. nostrorum] G; *nostrum* MR.
 sperabam] *speraram* Wes.

EP. 14 (FAM. V. 2).

2. iam] *Nam* Wes.
3. tibi] *mihi* Lange.
- ipse] *ipsi* Martyni-Lag.
4. praescriptione] *perscriptione* vett.
 tum] Lamb.; *tu* codd.
5. gratia nostra] Btr.; *nostra* codd.;
gratia Mendelssohn.
6. restiterim] R; *restituerim* MG.
7. certo scio] GR; *certo* M; *credo*
 codices nonnulli.
 minimo] Lamb.; *aliquod* R Sternkopf;
 animo MG; *infinio* Or.; fort. *alio quo*.
 idem] *item* vett.
 iuravit] *adseveravit* Kleyn; sed vide Comm.
8. iudicaret] *-arit* Wes.
 restitissim] M; *restitissem* G; *restituissem* R.
10. hoc rescribo] *haec rescribo* Wes.
 utendum] GR; *ut est dum* M.

EP. 13 (FAM. V. 7).

1. quantam] vett. *quam* codd.
 litteris his] Klotz; *tuis litteris*

Martyni-Lag.; *illis litteris*, Or.; *litteris* secl. Keyser.

2. adiunxerint] -erunt Crat.

3. vererere] vett.; *verere* M; *verebare* GR.
iam me] Klotz; *a me* M; *deest* GR.

Ep. 16 (FAM. v. 6).

1. librarius] MR; *liberarius* G; *libertus tuus* Martyni-Laguna.

hominis prudentis] sic fortasse scribendum, et *tuam* transponendum; *homini prudenti* codd.; secl. Ern.; *h. praedicanti* Or.; *h. proclanti* Btr. (quod iam respuerat Or.); *h. perhibenti* Plugers. Vide Comm. obtinebatur] *obtinetur* Plugers, vix recte.

2. HS] om. codd.; nota haec apud iurisperitos ellipsis: cf. Roby, *Introd. ad Digesta*, p. 220.

Omnino] Vict.; *omni* M; *omnis* GR; *sumendi* Mendelssohn; *bonis* Gronovius. semissibus] om. G.

Ep. 17 (ATT. i. 12).

1. minore] *minoris* Seneca, Ep. 118, 2. mitto] *mittito* con. Reid.

acturum] *actutum* M marg. per popularem] om. *per* M¹.

accidit] *accedit* Otto.
3. cum pro] Vict. coll. 19, 3; *cum sacrificium pro* MZ.

per manus] dubia videntur. servulae] vett.; *seprule* vel *seprullae* codd.; *Serviliae* M².

4. Quid] *Quod* vulg.

Ep. 18 (FAM. v. 5).

2. quod . . . falso] codd.; *quod . . . salse* Martyni-Laguna quem sequitur

Btr.; *quo . . . falsa* Kayser. existimant] *existiment* ed. Neap.

3. ipsi] codd.; *ipse* alii.

Ep. 19 (ATT. i. 13).

1. ora soluta] Peerlkamp; *ancora soluta* codd.; *ancora sublata* Lamb.

ut rhetorum pueri] Madvig; *rethorum pure* codd.; *rhetoris, tam pure* Schmidt. non . . . ut] *non utilis est ut* con. Müller; *non est notum ut* I.

oppugnandum] -dam Lamb., frustra.

2. retinendam contra] om. M¹.

paene] om. M¹.

tantum] vett.; *tamen* M.

cum rep.] M¹; *in rep.* M².

speres mali] M; *metuas mali* I; secl.

Or. Btr. Sed *sperare* ponitur pro *opinari futurum*; cf. 14, 1 et Rose. Am. 10. Notandum est hunc verbi *sperare* usum loquendi genus esse comicum, quae res praecipue in his epistulis non parvi momenti est.

3. ad virgines atque] codd.; *ad augures atque* Fr. Schmidt, Müller; secl. Btr., fort. recte.

et fert] *et fecit* M¹.

et de] et om. C et codices Malaspiniae. agit et severe] Clark coll. Att. xvi.

15, 2 (925); om. et codd.

neglecta] I; *iniecta* M; *abiecta* Reid; *infecta* Lehmann.

5. includam] fort. *incudam*.

6. †cxxxiiii] M; [xxxvii] Casaubon; fort. [xxxiv]. Vide Comm.

Ep. 20 (ATT. i. 14).

1. ita] om. M; sed inserunt, ut sero invenimus, Σs.

placere] vett.; *placere nec* M; *placere* Rav.

2. maximam] Rav.; *maxime* M; *maximi* I.

de istis] M; *demptis* C; fort. *de meis*; *de nostris* Man.

3. excepisse laudem] *excidisse laudem* Müller.

hi] delent non nulli; *hinc* Goveanus; *minus* Müller.

ut ita] *ita ut* Wes.; *cum ut* Müller.

Proximus Pompeium] Diomedes, p. 410, 7 ed. Keil; *proxime Pompeium*, Z ex manu 'correctoris seu potius corruptoris' (Lamb.); *Proximus Pompeio* M. Vide Comm.

verum] M Rav.; *utrum* M (marg.), vulg.; secl. Wes. Maenaghten, bene; *utrum crederet* Vahlen.

meis orationibus omnibus litteris] Rom.; *in eis omnibus litteris* M; *meis omnibus litteris* vulg. Vide Comm.

4. κατὰ] Bosius; *κατοι* codd.; *τότοι* con. Reid; fort. *κοινοι τότοι*.

κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt, illo] *καί-ασκεναι*, suppeditaverunt illo Klotz; fort. *κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt, suppedita-*verunt illo.

intermortuis] Lamb.; *immortuis* M. vilitate] vulg.; *utilitate* M.

5. in rostra] Müller; om. in codd. convicium] M marg.; *commulcium* Z;

commuticium M; at mox *commutium* ZM.
Commulcium ('thrashing') vocabulum
vulgaris orationis fuisse putat Schmidt,
bene. Vide Comm.

Acta] *Accepta* Madvig.
tribunus tum] Man.; *tertium* codd.;
territus Graevius; *tum* Munro.
7. redii] Madvig; *redi* codd.

Ep. 21 (Att. I. 15).

1. curaque et effice] I; *curaque effice* M.

Ep. 22 (Att. I. 16).

2. ut ita] Ms H Crat; *ut id ita* Σ.
notum] EPM²s; *novum* M¹NH.
3. tamen] *autem* Lamb.; *iam* Madvig.
aerati quam ut appellantur aerarii] codd.
(sed *quam* om. M¹) *aerari*, *ut app.*, *quam*
aerati Muretus. Vide Comm.
potuerat] Σ (praeter E) M²; *poterat* ΔE.
maerentes] *mirantes* Madvig.
4. impetrabat] Man. Lamb.; *impetra-*
rat codd.; cp. Wes. Em. 29.
quid quaeris?] ante *nemo* transpo-
nendum coni. Müller, bene.
Nanneianis] codd. cf. 12, 9; *Naevianis*
Turnebus coll. Fam. xv. 6, 1 (278).
illum, illum] *illum* ENHP.
arcessivit . . . fuerunt] adfert Seneca
Ep. 97, 4.
introductiones] M Seneca; *productiones*
Mal.
commoverit] *commoverat* Rom.; *com-*
moveret Ern.; *commovit* coni. Btr.
Quid . . . eriperentur] adfert Seneca
Ep. 97, 6.
a] Seneca Z^b v. c. L (marg.) EPO¹I;
om. ΔH.
timebatis] om. Seneca, sed cf. Plut.
Cic. 29. Vide Comm.
6. Thalnam] vulg.; *Talnam* codd.
8. aliis] *ab aliis* Madv.
eandem] ENOP; om. ΔH.
9. metuendo ignavissimi aut] Lamb.
ex codicibus Memmianis; om. ΣΔZ.
10. Falsum] *Salsum* Man., cp. 18, 2;
Factum coni. Lambinus.
hoc] C et fortasse Z; *huic* ΣΔ. Vide
Comm.
quid patrono] nos; om. *quid* codd.
Vide Comm.
marinas] codd.; *Marianas* Rom.;
Marinas (sc. Marianas, cf. Caesarinus)
Lehmann, vix recte. Vide Comm.
'Putes' inquam] EPs; *putes* *quam*
MHNO.
Mibi . . . iudices crediderunt] om. M¹.

11. quam] *quam cum* Büch., sed cf. 7, 3.
illam redemptam] codd. cf. Verr. iii.
130; *illum redemptum* Büch. ingeniose.
iuvenes] Ascensius; *tuens* codd.
ludis et] vett.; *ludet si* codd.
12. exspectatio] *exspectatio* in MH
unde *exsp.* *ingens* Goveanus.
quae] Corradus; *qua* codd.
in quae modo . . . ascendere] del.
Cobet.
deterioris] *deterior* Sternkopf, fort.
recte, sed vide Comm.; *δευτερεῖον* Mos.
Maur. Seyffert; *Doterionis* Bosius.
domi] Man.; *modi* codd.
13. insimulatum] Munro; *insimul*
eum M¹; *simul cum ceteri* codd.; *insimu-*
latus Reid; *in similitate cum* Sternkopf;
locum ita dat A. C. Clark *qui magistratus*
similitatem cum lege Aelia iniit.
Aelia] O²M²; *alia* codd.; *Acilia* Deiter
(cum *insimulatus*). Vide Comm.
tribu] *tribus* I vulg.; *tribubus* Wes.
† *fabam mimum*] ZENO²; *fabam*
minimum M (in punctis notatum); *fabam*
nummum (vel *numum*) codices alii; *fabam*
vel *Fanam* (cf. Senec. Lud. 9) *mimum*
Or.; *fama mimum* Otto; *fabulam* (omisso
mimum et *futuram* lecto) nos olim; *fabae*
hilum Hofmann; *fatuum mimum* Schmidt;
Laberi mimum Reid; *fabae μῖνον* Madvig
(A. C. iii. 166); *fabae midam* Brooks coll.
Gronovio ad Plaut. Aul. 818, ingeniose.
15. quae] M²s; *qui ceteri* codd.
Et Archias . . . scripserit] om. M¹.
16. quo] Ursinus; *quos* M; *quid* vel
quod vel *cui ceteri* codd.
17. Valde] O² vulg.; *vale* codd.;
Valerio (i.e. Valerio Messallae consuli)
Schmidt.
exspecta; sed] Madvig; *exspecta*; *ast*
codd; sed *ast* apud Cic. valde dubium est;
exspectato Muretus.

Ep. 23 (Att. I. 17).

1. declararant] *declarant* EI; *declara-*
runt Wes.; *declarabant* Klotz.
3. defendam] *defendo* Lamb.
5. ingenuitas] ΣM marg. C; *integritas*
M.
amore] sed. Ern.; *more* M¹.
6. publicane] *publica* ΣM.
in] add vett.
7. aliquanto] C; *aliquando* M.
non publicae] add. vett.
ante] CHN; om. ceteri codices.
8. acceperunt] *pecuniam acceperunt* I.
Vide Comm.
9. Asiam] A; *Asiani* M.
libentissimo] M; *liberalissimo* C.

atque erat] conī. Boot; qui erat
codd.; quin erat Bosius; cum erat Klotz;
unusque erat Lehmann.

10. tam infirma] Pius; tamen firma
M.

11. consulum] secl. Cobet.
cum . . . coniungi] (cum . . . cogitat)
et (cum . . . coniungi) in parenthesis
includit Lehmann, commate post petiuri
posito.

†expectare] Tu fac ut quando nos te
expectare vel simile supplendum putat
Wes.; Quo nos te tempore supplet O. E.
Schmidt.

modeste] moleste I.

EP. 24 (ATT. I. 18).

1. uno] conī. Boot; una codd.,
Vahlen coll. Sest. 109; secl. Ern.

quicum ego ita loquar ut] Klotz;
quicum ego eto (et in rasura) loquar M;
quicum ego ita colloquar ut Ern.; quicum
ego cum loquar Or.; quicum ego ex animo
loquar Wes.; quicum ego intime loquar
Reid. Peerlkampius qui 'disiecti membra
poetae' hic etiam agnoscit legendum
censet — qui me amet qui sapiat quicum
ego ut mecum loquar; sed displicet ego;
fort. — qui me amet qui sapiat quicum
etiam loquar. Sed fatendum est Peerl-
kampium paullo sagacius flores poeticos
odorari.

Metellus] codd.: mei: Tullius Madvig
coll. Att. viii. 11 B, 4 (327); mei: ille
(sc. Pompeius) Sternkopf; mei: ellus
O. E. Schmidt; En! tellus Matthiae,
male; Me tellus (sc. devoret), tamquam
ex Accio poeta, Wes. perverse. Vide
Comm.

aer et] aeres Sternkopf ut creticius
versus recte procedat.

consciis] consors conī. Boot.
reperire] Hinc usque ad et talis
(Ep. 25, 10) deficit M.

2. ego] eos Ursinus.

Atque] Atqui Btr.

quamquam . . . efficit] codd.; quam-
quam animus tuus est praesens, tamen
voluntas etiam atque etiam ipsa me deficit
Wes. (duce Victorio); quamquam animus
est praesens tamen volutantes etiam
atque etiam ipsa medicina deficit Madvig,
hoc addito 'volutare hoc significatu non
reperitur apud Cic. nisi de Rep. i. 28.'
Nos pace principis criticorum dicimus
verbum volutantes pro meditantibus vel cogi-
tantes absolute positum minime placere.
Boot tamen voluntas civium atque etiam
ipsa medicina deficit proxime ad veram

scriptoris manum accedere arbitrat. Sed
nulla emendatio magis adridet quam ea
quam protulerunt Sternkopf et Leo tamen
vulnus etiam atque etiam ipsa medicina
efficit.

fui] flavi Klotz tamquam 'ex cod.
Crat.'

spe corrigendae et] spe non corrigendae
sed Zl Rom. I.

3. suspiritu] Zb; sispiritu Zl; sus-
piratu Bosius; suspirio Rom. I.

posset] possit Faernus.

hic nunc ille] hic nunc Schütz; hic
nunc item Klotz.

5. dicis causa] Lamb.; dicis causam
Zl; dicit causam I.

idem] fort. secludendum.

6. autem] autem lex Wes.

8. tanta] cuncta Or., haud male.

pervenire] perfrui Bosius.

EP. 25 (ATT. I. 19).

Hanc epistulam ad fidem codicis Pog-
giani (Med. 49, 24) recensuit Theodorus
Mommson cuius collationem (ut apud
Baiterum) exhibuimus. In partem codices
quoque a Lehmanno inventos vocavimus.

1. vellem] Ern.; velim codd.

quam] Man.; quod vel quem codd.

scribendo] Muretus; scripto codd.

volo] Btr.; solo codd.; om. Klotz.

absque] Wölfflin, Praun ('Archiv'
vi. 202) del. sino ut glossemate; sino (vel
sine) absque codd.; sine aliquo Lehmann;
sine vulg. Lommatzsch (in 'Thesaurus'),
fort. recte.

pervenire] C v. c.; evenire Ss.

sint] S Crat.; sunt cod. Pogg. s.

2. belli] om. cod. Pogg.

pugnam nuper malam] Boot, Alanus;
pugnant pueri (vel puer) malam (vel in
alam vel male) codd.; pugnam permatam
Madvig (A. C. iii. 167) qui desiderat
nomen alterius populi Gallici (e.g. Car-
nutes) qui contrarius ponatur Haeduis
Romanorum amicis.

Helvetii] add. Ascensius; lacuna in
N.

Clodian] Sigonius; Clodiae codd.

3. nascantur] N; innascantur ceteri
codd.; mi nascantur Müller.

4. liberabam] Man.; liberarem cod.
Pogg.; liberaram codd.

et Pompeio] Ns; om. et ceteri codd.

nihil] codd.; nihili Wes.

quid emerit] C; quidem (vel quid) erit
(vel est vel sit) codd.

7. huius] Man.; suis codd.

reipublicae, quod . . . arbitrarentur.

Cum] Ita nos distinximus: sed interpunxit Wes. *reipublicae*; quod . . . arbitrantur, cum.

in re] *res* Gronovius.

8. iam] *enim* cod. Pogg.
malevolorum] *malorum* I.
tametsi his] Boot; *tametsi eis* cod. Pogg. Hs; *tamen si eis* alii codices; *tamen his* Lamb.

τᾶν] τᾶν codd.

9. sine causa] *senatus consulto* con. Or.; *in eam causam* Madvig.

ita factum] *infartum* Madvig.

Tu si] om. si cod. Pogg. Hs.

10. Panhormi] *pari modo* cod. Add. 6793 in Museo Britannico.

σόλοικα] codices Malaspinae; *soloeca* L (marg.) EO²RP; *soleta* cod. Pogg.; *obsoleta* sI.

potius] (secluso si) nos; *potius si* codd.; *potius sit* vulg. Vide Comm.

Ep. 26 (Att. I. 20).

1. e] add. vulg.

a nobis atque nostris] *a nobis atque a nostris* I; *nobis atque* del. Schütz; *a vobis atque a nostris* Boot; fort. inserendum tibi, vel potius delendum mihi. Vide Comm.

officiose humaniter] I; *off. et hum.* M.

2. sed] *et* Boot.

civium] CΣ; *cum* M.

existimassem] codd.; *aestimasset* Klotz.

tamen] om. M¹.

3. Rhinton] vulg.; *phinton* M; *Philton* (sc. persona ex Philemonis 'Thesaurio') Hilberg.

4. idem] M; *iam* vulg. Vide Comm.

5. e] add. Rom.

6. perfectum] *perscriptum* Lamb.

7. labore] E; om. M.

Ep. 27 (Att. II. 1).

1. sum me] Σ; om. *me* Δ.

2. rescripsit] M; *scripsit* C.

cum] add. vulg.

perterritum] *deteritum* Lamb., fort. recte.

3. Oratiunculas . . . offerebam] Totum hunc locum spurium esse censet Orellius; *vothelas* (si quidem aliqua *vothela* est) fines melius statuit Boot. Vide Comm.

Demosthenes] secl. Man.

involgarunt] Bosius; *invocarunt* M; *indicarunt* Man.; *invocaram* Reid.

4. quo] M; *quod* A vulg.

describere] Zl; *describere* CM.

5. de] add. vulg.

Herae aedilitatem] Bos.; *hereditatem* M¹; *aedilitatem* M²; *heraedilitatem* Zb; *Himeras* (vel *Hirro*) *aedilitatem* con. Graevius.

se petere dictitasset] vett.; *sepe hereditasset* M¹Zb; *sepe dictitasset* M².

ante] Lehmann; a M; *at* Lamb.; om. Btr.

introisse] codd. vulg.; *introisti* Sternkopf, fort. recte.

item] vulg.; *idem* (sc. fecisti) codd. Sternkopf.

esse] vulg.; *est* codd. Sternkopf.

debut] *debuert* Or.

habeat] *habet* Ern.

Ea . . . gerit] typis separatis scripsimus ut significaremus verba esse ex poeta aliquo desumpta quod indicant formam metricam (si *est enim* omittitur) et vocabulum *ea* poetice iteratum.

eos in hoc esse] Vict.; *eos esse in hoc esse* codd.; *eos mihi esse amicos* I; *eos inimicos esse* Bücheler; *eos esse innocentes* Madvig; *eos in otio esse* Klotz.

6. atque] Σs Crat.; *atque ita* M.

optima] *optimati* Lamb.

provisum] M²; *praevium* M¹.

tantum] *tandem* Schütz.

7. satis] *satis reip.* Wes.

8. Romuli] Hoc verbum suspicionem movet; fort. *Romulae*. Vide Comm.

9. inhoneste] *honeste* Rinkes.

modeste] *moleste* Mal.

tamen; dixit ita ut] Madvig; *tamen dixit, ita ut* vulg.

10. attribuis] *attribues* Wes.

Servilio] fort. *Servilio*? (cum nota interrogationis).

si] st. Boot, sed haec interiectio a Cicerone abiudicanda est. Vide Comm.

discessionibus] Man.; *dissensionibus* M.

11. tamen] *tandem* Starker.

censu] Σ Zb; *accensu* vel *accessu* Δ.

12. et ad me perferantur] om. M¹.

Ep. 28 (Att. II. 2).

1. Ei nos *συμνοσεῖν*] Muretus; *cinso* Θείοι codd.; om. *Ei nos* Wes.; *Ei nos συμπαθεῖν* Reid coll. xii. 11 fin. (502).

2. unde] C; eo M¹; *eodem* M²; fort. *de eo*.

mihi crede, si leges haec, dices 'mirabilis'] Boot, quod recepimus dubitanter; *mihi credes lege haec doceo mirabilis* codd.; *mihi crede leges haec. Dicacarchus mirabilis* Düntzer; *mihi crede legens haec doceor: mirabilis* Reid. Vide Comm.

lolio] I Corradus Reid; *Lollia* codd.
vino] *Vinio* Pius.

EP. 29 (ATT. II. 3).

1. Auli filio] Tunstall; *Afilio*, *Hatilio* *Katilio* codd.; *C. Attilio* Lamb.
Epicratem] *Iphicratem* coni. Tyrrell.
Vide Comm.
caligae] *Gallicae* Mal. coll. Gell. xiii.
22, 1, 6, quem ad locum confer Hertz.
2. aiebat viridiorum] vulg.; *aiebatur* *idiorum* M; *agebatur viridiorum* Rom. I; *aiebat vi radorum* Tunstall, quem sequitur minus quam solet in hac re perspicax Boot.
latis] *lateis* M unde, absurdo errore, *lacteis* I.
enim] *iam* Corradus; omittere vult Wes.
4. κατακλεις] Turnebus; *κατάκρεσις* M; *κατάκρισις* Rom.; *κατάστασις* Bos.; *κατάκλεις* Boot.

EP. 30 (Q. FR. I. 1).

1. fama denique] Ante haec verba latinam statuit esse Ern. Vide Comm.
2. Et] add. Man.
ut priore] *ut tibi priore* Wes.
expeto] vett.; *expedito* M¹; *expeto* M².
3. ad excellentis] Ern.; *et de excellentem* M¹; *ad excellentem* M² vulg.
immo vero] M¹ Rom., cf. Sest. 55; *gloriam vero* M marg.; *gloriam* I.
4. ac] *aut* I.
erigas] *te erigas* Wes.
5. tenet] *teneat* Lamb.
7. excolere] Crat.; *accolere vel attolere* M.
possit] "Necessario scribendum est posset" Madvig (A. C. iii. 193).
voluptati] *-tatis* Wes.
8. te facere] *te et facere* Kahnt.
9. proteri] Ursinus, bene; *perterreri* codd. fort. recte.
10. suae] M; *tuae* cod. Ox. Orelli. certo] Crat.; *certe* M.
propter ... de nostra] C; *propterea* ... *demonstrare* M.
11. lenitatem] *levitatem* Crat.
inter hos] *inter nos* (superscr. *al hos*) M; *interest hoc* Madvig; *internosce* Lehmann.
12. convictionibus] Vict.; *coniunctionibus* M; *convictoribus* I.
apparitionibus] Vict.; *apparationibus* M; *apparitoribus* Rom. I.

13. eae] add. Müller post *tuae*.
ficta et simulate ... insusurretur] *ficta et simulata* ... *insusurretur* Boot.
suae sed] *suae saevitiae sed* Ursinus; *suae sedulitatis sed* Lehmann; fort. *suae sector sed*. Vide Comm.
15. hominum] suspicionem movet. Vide Comm.
si quem forte] vett.; *si quidem forte* M.
tuum] *tuorum* cod. Longolianus. Vide Comm.
16. e] *in* Boot.
quaedam] om. Ern.; *quaedam intimae* Wes.
Sic] M; *nunc* Ern.; fort. *istis*.
neque] *vitandae* (vel simile) *quod neque* Wes.
tam] M, cf. Reid ad Acad. ii. 5; *iam* Ern.
17. Iam qui] fort. *Iamque*. Vide Comm.
in servis] *in servos* Ern.
18. tibi ipsi] *tibi ipsa* Ursinus.
19. ac Mysi] *at Mysi* Rom.
inhonestissimam] *honestissimam* M.
20. sustineremus] *sustinuerimus* Or.
aequaliter] vett.; *aequaliter* M.
sustineri] *contineri* Hagen.
21. primum] Mal.; *primus* M; *proxi-* *mus* Or. Vide Comm.
quievit] *Pantagathus; qui fuit* M.
eodem ... iure] *eidem ... iuri* Boot.
22. denique ... vis] om. M, add. M marg.
populi] add. Ern.; *contionis* add. Wes.
cum permagni] M; del *cum* Man.
fort. recte; nam requirimus exempla huius formulae *cum ... cum ... tum*. Habemus tamen *cum ... tum ... tum* in Fam. xv. 7, 1 (214). Pro *cum permagni* coniecit *semper magni* Boot, qui laudat Seyfferti correctionem *semper gravis* pro *pergravis* Sest. 107; *temperati* coni. Müller.
est et cum] *est consilium* coni. Reid.
23. scriptus sed] *scriptus est sed* Ursinus.
eaeque] *ea* Kayser; sed tota sententia pedetemptim progreditur et sensim *ἀνακολουθῶς* evadit.
25. fanorum] Vict.; *furtorum* M; *furta et* Rom. I; *fanorum furta et* Lamb.
solitudinem] M²; *solicitudinem* M¹.
illo] *ullo* Lamb.
imperio] *in imperio* vett., sed cf. 53, 7.
26. aedilicio cum] Lünemann; *aediliciorum* M.
27. et esse] *Facciolati; ut esse* M.

28. ipsa] ipso Ursinus.
sint] sunt Wes.
sumus] sinus Ern.
30. Et quoniam] Koch; Quoniam M.
32. Atqui] Btr.; atque M.
adversamur] adversabimur Or.
consulere debemus] vett.; consulemus M.
se] Facciolati; te M.
33. ita fuerunt] item fuerunt Kayser.
discripserat] Bücheler; descripserat M.
34. et illud] etiam illud Btr.
35. coniungas sed et] secl. sed edd.

recentes.

36. parte] vulg.; parte M; fort. magna ex parte per te ut verba per te verbis sine cuiusquam praeceptis opponantur.

At] Atque Siesbye.

37. laudari] vett.; laudare M.

38. dicere solent] secl. vulg. ut ex dici solent (§ 37) orta; fort. (ita dicere solent), nempe ipsis verbis 'iracundia' 'iucundius' provinciales utebantur.

interdum non] Klotz; non interdum M. lenitudinis] M; lenitudinis C male.

39. ab] atque ab Wes.

iracundiae sunt] ita Ammianus Marcellinus, apud quem (xxviii. 1, 40) hic locus nam si ad anteposenda est reperitur; iracundiae sint M.

40. avaritia] Man.; avaritie M.

lenior] leviozem (sc. sermonem habuit) Madvig.

42. totius] M; es sortitus Orelli; es politus F. W. Wagner.

virtutibus tuis est datum] C, quod recepinus, etsi auctoritas marginis Cratandrinae haud maximi momenti videtur esse in Epp. ad Q. Fr., cp. § 38; om. M.

43. dedit si] Mal.; dedit et si M.

et illud] etiam illud Btr.

putem] add. vett.; puto Rom.; om. M.

44. in qua] in quo Facciolati.
tibi] non solum tibi edd. non nulli; sed vide Comm.

45. in te] ante amorem transposuit Ursinus; om. Boot.

quia . . . quia] Wes.; qui . . . quia M; qui . . . qui vulg.

46. tertius] extremus Boot.

actus] add. vett.

Ep. 31 (Att. II. 4).

1. partem] om. M¹.
reddantur] libri; addantur Lamb. (marg.), sed vid. Comm.

2. Velim Syripie] M; Velim Sirpie C; Velim turpiore Reid; vel in Cyprum (vel Syriam) alii; Velim Zopyri Wesen-

berg; Velim Scepsii Gronovius, de quo vid. Comm.; Velim scire qua Sternkopf. condicione] conditiones M¹; amplae condiciones Boot.
sit scierimus] Or.; sciis sit codd.; certius sit Reid.

3. aliquod] om. M¹; secl. Btr. coll. Ep. 33, 1.

4. facito] fac cito Mendelssohn.

nimis] s; minus M.

7. Tu] Crat.; ut M.

Ep. 32 (Att. II. 5).

1. praedicabunt] Lamb. (marg.); -carant vel -carunt (superser. -carint) M.

2. et quo] Btr.; quo M.

et qui] fort. equi.

parentur] M (marg.); pareant M¹.

Vide levitatem] Muretus; videte vitam Z; Videte civitatem M quod defendit Reid tamquam ad Ciceronis opus 'De Republica' referens; Vides levitatem Wes.

3. Curtio] Cutio M¹; Tutio M²; Curio Pretor coll. 17, 2, bene.

nunc] M; num vulg.

fiat, et] vulg.; f're M; fratre Rom.; fort. et fratre et (sc. Metello Celere, cf. Har. Resp. 45, Cael. 60). Vide Comm.

Ep. 33 (Att. II. 6).

1. lacertas] M²; litteras (in ras.) M¹; lacertos Man.

tam] tamen M.

qui] Rom., Man.; quin M.

duum virum] Ant.; diu nimirum M.

me] Bosius; om. M; consul coni. Müller.

2. scribendi] 'fort. ridendi' Or.

equae] Man.; et que M.

Ep. 34 (Att. II. 7).

1. a] Crat.; om. M.

†qui absciram] M; quia (vel qui) abscideram vulg.; quia obscura erat Madvig; quia oscitaram Gurlitt; quia abiiceram Boot.; quia abieci iram Munro; fort. quia a me descieram: cf. Ep. 31, 2.

2. hominem ire] Man.; in hominem ire M; sane hominem ire Kayser; istim hominem ire Graevius; in Asiam hominem ire Starker; in legationem hominem ire Müller.

eo] om. M.

resalutare] sC; salutare Δ.

me] om. M.
 3. domi] C; in domo M.
 potest] codd.; potes codices Mala-
 spinae.
 istos] codd.; ipsos codex Ambr. 16.
 sanguinaria] saginata Francken; san-
 guine saginata con. Reid coll. Sest. 78,
 bene.
 4. quinque viris] xx viris Man., sed
 vid. Comm.
 putaram] M; putarem C.
 ereptis] M(marg.); receptis M.
 καὶ Stobaeus; καὶ Meineke.
 5. HS] Wes.; di M.
 nunc ad] non ad M; corr. Malaspina
 qui et alteram profert coniecturam non ut
 ad, quod forte praefendum est.
 xxx. a] xxx. at M²; xxxiii. vel xxxvi.
 Wes.

EP. 35 (ATT. II. 8).

1. historia] ιστορία (= digna quae
 scirem) Ern.
 Bene habemus... agamus] bene habemus;
 nos, si in his spes est, opinor, aliud
 agamus Boot.
 2. delicatum] Zl; delegatum M¹;
 deligatum M².
 a iv.] fort. ab a. d. iv.

EP. 36 (ATT. II. 9).

1. subito cum] S. V. B. E. Muretus,
 qui Bosio credidit SVBE ex fictis codi-
 cibus promenti. Vide Comm.
 elicerem] Rom.; om. M.
 abdis] M(marg.); addis M¹.
 putissimis] codd.; putidissimis Tur-
 nebus, Reid. Vide Comm.
 invidia] M; in invidia I Crat.
 potuit] potuit id M; oportuit Ern.
 rursus] codd.; prorsus Or.; eversus
 Fr. Schmidt; conversus Vahlen.
 Caeciliam] Man.; aeliam M¹; caeliam
 M².
 qui regna, qui] M; qui regna qui p. r.
 (= populi Romani) Ern.; qui regna quasi
 Klotz.
 2. nisi] I; si M¹; si... non M².
 redacta] M; tralata C.
 iam] Rom.; etiam M¹; nam CM².
 Publium] secl. Boot.
 cogit tum] Or.; cogitat tantum M;
 contendere cogitat Wes.; male cogitat
 tantum Reid coll. Cat. Mai. 18; cogit
 avra (sc. στήναι) Bosius.
 Patria] Modo patria con. Reid. Vide
 Comm.

4. audi] audi ad id F quam lectionem
 defendit Wes. (Em. Alt., p. 90).
 καὶ Κικέρων] Bosius; ΚΑΙΚΕΡΩΝ M.
 τὸν] om. M.

EP. 37 (ATT. II. 12).

1. Negent] codd.; Negant Wes., sed
 vide Comm.
 factum esse] 'fort. factum a se esse'
 Or.; malimus factum a sese (sine esse).
 est et ferri] Zb; esse ferre M.
 potest] ZbI; potes M.
 Emittat] mittat Boot.
 se] add. vulg.
 2. commodum] Goveanus; commode M.
 Antiati] CM²; Antio M.
 3. τρύξ] Bosius; τραχὺς MC.
 desederit] cod. Helmstadiensis; de-
 cesserit libri.
 iam liquata] Kayser; liquata Or.;
 indicata M; fort. indicata.
 id] M Klotz; et vett.
 4. civis] quis M¹.
 putaram] putabam Wes.
 tibi] om. M¹.

EP. 38 (ATT. II. 10).

simus] sumus M.

EP. 39 (ATT. II. 11).

1. diem] E; die M.
 2. Haec igitur. Cura ut valeas]
 Klotz; post igitur habet et M sed
 deletum; Haec igitur cura et ut valeas
 Ingram; Haec igitur ego; tu cura] ut
 valeas Reid.

EP. 40 (ATT. II. 13).

2. siletur] M(marg.); silotibo M.
 qui] om. M¹.
 Magnus] Hoc verbum et Divitis infra
 uncinis inclusit Boot.
 litteras ad Sicyonios] sI; ad Sicy-
 onios litteras M.

EP. 41 (ATT. II. 14).

1. Bibuli] Publi Boot.
 ita] cito con. Plugers.
 ut ad] Udalbinus; ad M; quasi ad
 Müller.
 quom se] vulg.; quem se M.

2. †At (ad M) quam partem... Aemilium] CM; at quam parem... Aemilium Bosius; atque imparem basilicam tribui Aemiliae audacius Boot; fort. at quoi aequiparem basilicae tribum Aemilium.

'sed—omitto . . . sunt'] Haec ita interpunximus ut haec verba essent Attici iocose a Tullio rescripta. Pro omitto fort. mitto scribendum: cf. Ep. 46, 1.

Ecce] fort. Ecce tibi. Vide Comm. ad Ep. 35, 1.

Vides] M²; vide M¹, quem sequitur Boot.

O] add. Müller.

Ep. 42 (Att. II. 15).

1. iuveniri] Ascensius; iuvenire codd.

2. ut illo tu careas] Malimus ut illo loco tu non careas.

sive ruet sive eriget] Corradus; siveru et get remp C; sive ruet remp $\Sigma\Delta$ (lacuna sex litterarum in M post ruet); sive ruet sive geret remp. Reid.

3. potuero] potuero ero Boot.
usque ad a. d.] Btr.; usque ad M;
usque a. d. Or.

4. publicanis] vett.; publicanos CM.

Ep. 43 (Att. II. 16).

1. Primo] M¹C; primum M²; sed primum non nisi in enumerando ponitur apud Tullium. Paullo post igitur primum ex eo recte se habet.

egomet] C Lamb.; ego M.
homines] M; hominum M (marg.); vide Comm.

2. adduci] I; addici codd.; adigi Lehmann.

se leges] Lamb.; si leges MZl.
necne sibi] nec ignes sibi M¹.
se] ins. Bücheler.

3. videatur] vulg.; videbatur codd.

4. quod scribis] CM; quod scribit Crat.

discedere] discutere Or.; ita discedere Wes.; decidere Madvig, qui ne pro ut non dici posse negat.

ne] ut ne Reid.
contemniam. Quod extremum est: te] contemniam quod extremum est. Te vulg.

Ep. 44 (Att. II. 17).

1. Turbat] Pius; turbatur M. Vide Comm.

Di immortales] Haec verba post tranquillo animo habet M; ante verum transposuit Hervagius, ante animo Reid.

2. Nosse] om. M¹.
vacuus sum] C; vacuus est M;
vacuum est Vict.

Iacet enim] C; hac etenim M.
πῶσι] Bosius; phocis codd.; Φωκᾶς Curiana (quo sensu viderit Oedipus) Boot; ῥῆσι Seeck.

3. expiscere] Vict.; expiscere C;
respicere (sed re- in rasura) M.

Arabarches] codd.; Alabarches Zb, sed vide Comm.
adferes] C; adferre M.

Ep. 45 (Att. II. 18).

1. averes] M marg.; haberes (i.e. haveres) M.

hic status qui nunc est] Wes. coll. Ep. 46, 2; om. nunc est codd.; hic status quasi Schiche; hic est status qui Boot Locum ita refigit Reid minora quam (pro atque) hic status qui.

2. de singulis rebus] cum Bentivolio seclusimus.

in contione] Haec verba post execrationem habent codd.; transponenda esse ante mentionem suspicatur Boot, post mentionem Müller.

laute] CM²I; recte M¹.
3. Displiceo . . . dolore] Versiculum sagaciter odoratur Orellius. Dubitationem adfert δ correptum in scribo quod a temporum Tullianorum usu abhorrere videtur.

apud] ad Reid.
pudorem] MZl; furorem Pius.
ego] ergo Or.
scit quisquam] sit scit quisquam Wes.; scio quid sequar coni. Or.; certi quicquam coni. Boot.

4. ego vel] Müller; egove codd.

Ep. 46 (Att. II. 19).

1. Cetera in magnis rebus; minae] M; cetera ut in magnis rebus, minae Reid; Cetera $\epsilon\upsilon$ αἰνυτοῖς Or.

quae] om. M.
tangunt] angunt Wes.
2. peraeque] C; peraequi Zl; de reque M¹; denique ENO²PM²s.

putaram] Aldus; -arem M.
restituit] -at Lamb.
amores] C; amore M.
tenent] tenet Schütz.
utor via] media utor via coni. Wes.

3. Nostra . . . Magnus] Hunc versum adfert *ῥυθμικώτερον* Val. Max. vi. 2, 9, *miseria nostra Magnus es*; fort.

— U — U — U nostra miseria tu Magnus es,

ut tres hi versus unum metrum (troch. septenarium) sequantur.

Eandem] om. Val. Max.

gemas] *gemas* Val. Max., quem sequi malit Wes.

et] secludunt Lamb. alii.

Si neque leges neque mores cogunt] *ἀμείψας* libri; *si neque leges te neque mores* Ribbeck; fort. *si leges neque mores cogunt. venisset mortuo*] 'an venisset inter-

mortuo' Or.; fort. *venit semimortuo.*

transiri] Man.; -ire M.

4. inimicus est] secl. Ern. ut ex Ep. 48, 6 interpolata, praeter necessitatem; *inimicus* coni. Boot.

sat] Reid coll. Landgraf ad Rosc. Am. p. 299; *satis* codd.

studium] om. M¹.

Id erat vocari] fort. *Id erat vere vocari.*

5. vult] Vict.; *volet* M.

Ep. 47 (Att. II. 20).

1. possum] Rom. I; *parum* M¹; *par* est M².

volgo] Bücheler; *volo* M¹; *a dolo* coni. Or.; *ut video* Rom.

πραγματικοί] Or.; *pragmatici* M. Vide Comm.

2. Simul et] M; *simul ac* Rom.; *simul ut* Lamb.; *simul atque* Baiter; sed vide Comm.

3. publica] om. M.

5. mete Furium] Klotz; *et Furio* M; *ut Furio* Or.; *me ut Furio* Boot.; *te Furium* (omisso me) Rom. I.

6. centiens] *centum* Mal. (i.e. centum millia).

libros] *Alexandri* ins. Wes. coll. 49, 7. ineptus] *ineptus est* coni. Wes. cf. Em. Alt. p. 93.

et tamen] M; *nec tamen* Man. vulg. Vide Comm.

nihil] *non nihil* Wes.

Ep. 48 (Att. II. 21).

1. quam reliquisti] *quam cum reliquisti* coll. Ep. 22, 11, Boot; sed ne in illo quidem loco inserendum est *cum*.

sit] *sint* Bosius, quem sequitur Boot coll. Ep. 49, 6.

3. noster amicus] Σ; *amicus noster* Δ.

populi] NM²s; *publi* M¹PO¹.

4. item] Asc. (ed. 2); *idem* M.

potius] post lapsus Σ; post progressus Δ. dilexi nimis] CEHPM²; *dileximus* NM¹s.

5. qui cum] *quin cum* Mal.

6. res ad tempus] *res ac tempus* Ern.

aut cum . . . molestia] Man.; *aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia* M; *aut sine molestia certe aut etiam cum summa gloria* Kayser; *aut certaturos cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia* Wes. Vide Comm.

Ep. 49 (Att. II. 22).

1. Mansisses] ins. Bosius. *Quam vellem Romae! Mansisses profecto* Mal. *Quam vellem Romae mansisses! Profecto* alii.

denuntiat] *multa* (vel *vim*) *denuntiat* Boot; vide Comm.

eorum et] coni. Orelli; *eorum et vim* Ant. F. Crat.; *eorum vim* NEHI; *et vim* M.

bonos] Wes.; *nos* codd.

2. referebat] *deferebat* Wes.; *perfererebat* Reid.

3. nostra] fort. transponendum post *utuntur opera*.

opera] secl. Baiter.

5. Pompeium Crasso urgente] *Pompeio Crassum urgente* Schütz; fort. *Pompeium a Crasso urgeri, at si*. Vid. Comm.

quid tempus] om. M¹.

6. Pompeium vehementerque] vulg.; *Pompeiumque vehementer* M, tum *ipsum* ad Clodium refertur.

7. prudentem] M; *prudenter* F Wes.

Ep. 50 (Att. II. 23).

2. posse inveniri nullam puto] Ita Lamb. ex Z (sed is *post pro puto*) neque aliter HN (sed hi *posse vel possum pro puto*); *possem invenire nullam* OPMs unde *possum invenire nullam* Graevius, cf. Lehmann 'Att.', p. 175.

3. in multa] om. in M¹.

si ingrederis] *si non ingrederis* M¹; *si vero ingrederis* M², fort. recte.

et] add. vulg.

quodque] Rom.; *quod* M vulg.; *et quod* Kayser.

Ep. 51 (Att. II. 24).

1. celeritatem] M; *κέλευσιν* Bosius. quam sit . . . anxius] *omnis* om. M¹,

sed supplet margo; corrector ille Medicei versiculum, ut videtur, adgnovit.
aditu] Vict.; auditu MZL.; adventu Reid.

2. Vettius ille, ille noster] alterum ille del. Wes. ut Ep. 22, 5.

insinuatus] vulg.; in sinu aut M; insinuavit Or.; se insinuavit Wes. constituisse] C; restituisse M; constituisse Or.; rem constituisse Reid.

Reclamatum] haud reclamatum Bosius. Q] Corradus; Cn. M.

3. emisisset eum] Btr.; eum emisisset M¹; eum emisisset, eum M².

factum] Ern.; actum codd.

Hic ille omnia quae voluit] libri; hic omnia ille (Caesar) quae voluit coni. Or.

ut] Pius; et M.
L] add. Wes.

4. soleremus] Klotz; solemus M; solemus coni. Or.

non . . . sed] ins. Wes.

quam] Rom. I; que M; quem metum Madvig (A.C. iii. 169).

ea quam] vulg.; ea inquam M¹; eam quam M²; ea vis quam Wes.; fort. ea, ea inquam quam cotidie; cf. cruz, cruz inquam Verr. v. 161.

infortunatius, nihil] add. Lamb.

thoc tempore] libri; mortis tempore Lamb.; occasus tempore Schütz; quod tempore Or.; fort. quod tempore periit.

honestissimeque et dignitatem] libri; ante et supplet quietem Kahnt coll. Ep.

43, 3; honestatenuque et dignitatem Boot coll. Att. vii. 11, 1 (304); honestissimeque et dignitatem et auctoritatem Otto.

5. atque eo] atque adeo coni. Müller.

Ep. 52 (Att. II. 25).

1. volam] om. M¹.

ad illum] ad ipsum Ern.

mibi] M²; nihil M¹C Rom. I.

non quo faceret] CZ; om. ΣΔ.

Hortalus] Zl; hortatus M.

quam plena] (superscr. 'al. quasi') M.

Ep. 53 (Q. Fr. I. 2).

1. iri] M²; erit M¹; esse I.

tui] sui Schütz.

2. Quod] Quod si cod. Balliolensis.

3. istius] Vict.; illius M.

prudētia] prudentia Or.

ἀφελῶς] 1; ἀσφαλῶς M.

posuisse] Nipperdey; potuisse M; protulisse I Btr.

vellent] Ern.; velint M.

severitati] vett.; veritati MI.

4. quoi] qui M.

Blaundeno] vulg.; blainde M; Plannindeno C.

Dionysopolitas] Ursinus; Dionysitas CM.

mei] secl. edd. post Manutium.

Hephaestium] Or.; ephestium M.

5. elicere] M²; eligere M¹

ultro] Rom.; ultra M (sed deletum).¹

prope . . . suam] quam pro civitate sua Shuckburgh.

6. fumo] libri; furno Ursinus; in furno Wes.

Quid vero ad] Quid vero? Ad Wes.

renuntiari] vulg.; -are M.

7. mearum] vulg.; mecum M Rom.; mearum tecum Wes.; mecum mearum coni.

Or.

Et mediocri] sed mediocri Wes.

audiam] audio Ern.

C] add. Or.

magnifacis] Rom.; magnificis (superscr. 'al magni facis') M; magni fis vel magnificus es coni. Müller.

imperio] in imperio Lamb.

8. ut] vett.; om. M.

exorabilem] Man.; inexorabilem M.

ad] M²; a M¹.

sint] essent Wes.

9. tam esse quam audio] tam . . . esse quam audio Kayser (cum lacuna); sed vid. Comm.

epistulam, quam ipse] ipse epistulam, quam Wes.

10. tenerem] texerem coni. Boot coll. Fam. ix. 21, 2 (497).

via] M: vis Müller. Vide Comm.

incommodaturum] C Madvig; incommoda laturum M; incommoda adlaturum Gronovius.

11. id] M; et Ern.; itaque Wes.

praescribas] M; perscribas, Oratander, sed vid. Comm.

et] secl. Faernus; id te Klotz.

13. erunt] secl. Wes.

† quae sunt] questus sum Wes.; fort. quaerunt vel desunt.

non nulla . . . parva] non nullae sed tamen mediocres et parvae Rom.

cum] add. Lamb.

monitione] admonitione Rom.

14. Hypaepenus] Or.; hyphemenus M; ὑπεμῆνως Gurlitt.

Publicii] Schütz; Publiceni M; fort. Publicii e. r. (= equitis Romani) cf. Asconium in Verr. p. 135, Or.

tragoedi] secl. Or.; cf. Fam. vii. 1. 2 (127).

Licinus] Boot; Licinius M.

an in] Rom.; vel in MI.

potest] nos; est M; *potes* Bentivoli; om. vett.

vel tecum deducas] ante haec verba excidisse statuit *vel Romam mittas* simileve aliquid quod a *vel* inciperet Wes. (Em. Alt. p. 62).

tam] Or. coll. Pers. i. 122; iam M. sit] *est* Wes.

15. Cato] *C. Cato* Wes.

privatum] Rom.; *privatus* M.

16. Equidem . . . pertimescam] Kl.; *equidem cum spe summa maxima tum maiore etiam anima sperent superiores fore nos confidunt animo ut in hac rep. ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam* M; *Dedimus in textu correctionem Klotzianam*; sed haud scimus an melius locum constituerit Madvig qui legit:—*Equidem cum spe summa maxima tum maiore etiam animo; spe, superiores fore nos; animo, ut in hac rep. ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam.* Boot (Obs. crit. 31) locum ita constituit:—*Equidem cum spe summa maxima tum maiore etiam animo, ut sperem superiores fore nos, confidam tantum, ut in hac re ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam.*

dixerit] *Clodius dixerit* Crat.; sed cf. Lehmann 'Quaest. Tull.' p. 12.

optime] *optimos* Wes.

acerrimos] M²; *acerbissimos* M¹.

alios] M; *alios, sed hos* I vulg.; *alios hos* Or.

EP. 54 (FAM. XIII. 42).

CVLLEOLO] vulg.; *luccio* MH et indices; *lucio* D.

Bulliones] libri, cf. Plin. H. N. iii. 145; *Bullidenses* vett. Wes., cf. Caes. B. C. iii. 12, 4 et Cic. Pis. 96.

EP. 55 (FAM. XIII. 41).

1. commodasse] HD; *commendasse* M.

2. quin] HD; *qui* M.

EP. 56 (ATT. III. 3).

Equidem] NHOPM¹s; *quidem* M². sed eo] codd.; *scilicet eo* Wes.; *sed* del. Kayser. Vide Comm.

EP. 57 (ATT. III. 2).

in fundo] Asc. (ed. 2) Crat.; *in fundum* codd.; *fundum* C.

si te] *si iter* codd.; *si recte* M²; de M¹ non liquet.

tota] *tanta* Wes.

Narib. Luc.] Klotz; *Naris Luc.* codd.; *ad Naris Luc.* Boot; *in oris Luc.* Bosius.

EP. 58 (ATT. III. 4).

correctum] C; *confectum* codd.

ultra] M¹; *intra* M².

quingenta] Boot (Obs. crit., pp. 45, 46) coll. Plut. Cic. 31, 1 et Dion. Cass. xxxviii. 17, 7; *quadringenta* codd.

Illo] O Boot; *illuc* HP; *illec* N; *illo* M¹; *illo cum* M²; *illinc* vel *illa* vel *illa via* Gurlitt. Magno opere dolemus quod in textu lectionem interpolatam M²s incuria reliquimus. Debuimus lectionem a Lehmanno et Sternkopffio approbatam adhibere et, ut illi viri docti, ita interpungere ut *mihī ultra quingenta milia liceret esse, illuc (vel illoc) pervenire non liceret. Statim iter, &c.* Vide, sis, Addenda ad Comm. Not. vi.

et quod] om. M¹; fort. delenda sunt haec verba.

EP. 59 (ATT. III. 1).

consequerere] Wes.; *consequare* codd. quod eo] Crat. Lamb. Bos.; om. codd.

EP. 60 (ATT. III. 5).

ut eodem] codd.; om. *ut* vulg.; *tu eodem* Wes.; *nunc eodem* Müller.

iii.] Corradus; viii. codd. praeter M (Hofmann); vii. M.

Thuri] HOPMs; *Thuriis* Klotz; *Eburi* Nissen. Vide Comm.

EP. 61 (ATT. III. 6).

pertinuit: in eis] NO¹PM²; *pertinuit meis* M¹HO²s; *pertinuisset* M³.

et ut] M; *ut et* Man.; sed vide Comm.

Tibi meos] Σ ; *meos tibi* Δ .

xiii.] codd.; xiii. (Crat.) vel xii. Wes.

EP. 62 (FAM. XIV. 4).

1. fuisse] HD; *fuisse* M.

si haec] codd.; *sin haec* ed. Neap.

2. prae] MD; *pro* HF. Vide Comm.

3. II. Kal.] Rutilius; *prid. Kal.* Schütz; *V Kal.* codd. Vide Comm.
 Quid nunc] *Quid enim?* Wes.
 rem] codd.; *re* Lamb.; *Romae* Koch.
 deest] HDF; *est* M.
 Iste vero sit . . . complexu meo] fort.
tuo pro meo vel est pro sit.
 4. liberata] *liberanda* Wes.
 abisset] *Lambini amicus; abisset* codd.
 pertineret] *Gronovius; -erent* codd.
 5. ut potes honestissime. Viximus]
 Madvig; *ut potes. Honestissime viximus*
 Baiter.
 non sunt] HDF; *sunt* M (om. non).
 Atque] *Atqui* Wes.
 6. Sallustius] vulg. forma melior; cf.
 indices Inscriptionum; *Salustius* codd.
 vincit] vett.; *vincet* codd.
 quod potes] *quoad potes* vett. Wesen-
 berg; sed vide Comm.

Ep. 63 (Att. III. 7).

1. XIV] om. M¹.
 Esset consilium] *Bentivolius; set con-*
silium codd.
 sed itineris] M²; *sit* (vel sic) *itineris*
 M¹; *si itineris* EN. Fort. hic at sic et
 supra pro *esset consilium* legendum et *con-*
silium sive *sed ut consilium . . . sic*
itineris.
 2. tam . . . quam] EMs; *iam . . . sed*
 Zb; *tam . . . sed* NHOP.
 3. accedemus] EM²s; *accedamus*
 M¹NHOP.
 nec ubi visurus nec quomodo dimis-
 surus] *Nos et olim Iunius; nec modo*
visurus nec ubi (ui NHπ; cui E) dimis-
surus NHπEO²Ms. Ante modo om. quo
codd., add. M². In archetypo erat ui unde
ut Bosius, uti Orelli, quae defendi pos-
sunt. Vide Comm.
 sim] s; *sum* ceteri codd.
 Brundisi] codd.; *Brundisio* Klotz coll.
 62 fin., qui supra *Thuriis* pro *Thurii*
 scribit et infra sexies *Thessalonica* pro
 codicum lectione *Thessalonicae*. Res valde
 dubia. Vide Comm. ad 60.

Ep. 64 (Att. III. 8).

1. Brundisio proficiscens] In codd. voc.
proficiscens cum ep. superiore coniungitur;
 corr. Bosius. *Brundisio* om. codd. Btr.
 itinere] vett.; *itineris* M.
 2. tu altera] M marg.; *tua litera*
 M¹; *tua* M².
 audiri] Zb; *audire* M; *audire te* Lamb.
 postularetur] Bosius; *postularet* M.

conturber] codd. praeter H; *conturbor*
 H vulg.
 illo] codd.; *Illo* F Madv.; *Atho*
 Reid. Vide Comm.
 3. Nunc ad ea] *Nunc audi ad ea* Wes.
 4. inconstantia] M²; *constantia* M¹.
 motum . . . commotus] *qui, etsi . . .*
adfectus, sum tamen non tam ex miseria
. . . commotus Btr., bene, sed vide Comm.
 ad Ep. 63 fin.
 simus] M²; *sumus* M¹.
 maerori] *errori* Madvig.
 eventi] *eventum* Wes.
 Iunias] M²; *Maia* M¹.

Ep. 65 (Att. III. 9).

1. discessisset] *decessisset* Wes.
 adfectas] *adfectus* Reid coll. 10, 2;
 Phil. ix. 12; *adfecti* Pluygers. Vide
 Comm.
 evelleretur] M¹; *avelleretur* M² vulg.
 2. omnia] om. ZIEI.
 ista] Schütz; cf. Deiot. 17; *ita* codd.
 infirma sunt] I; *firma sunt* M; secl.
 Cobet.
 tempore] Rom.; *genere* CM.
 3. beneficiorum] *comitiorum* Gronovius.

Ep. 66 (Q. Fr. I. 3).

1. ceciderunt] M (de iucundis, cp.
 Att. iii. 1 (59), Caes. B. C. iii. 73, 4);
acciderunt Lamb. (marg.) Madvig (A. C. iii.
 193) coll. Att. i. 5, 1 (1).
 utinam te . . . reliquisset] *Verba*
vitae et dignitatis transponenda esse censet
Ern.; sed etiam post transpositionem
laborat sententia. Fort. scripsit Tullius
utinam te non dignitatis sed vitae super-
stitem reliquisset. Vide Comm.
 2. Qua in re] C; *quare* M.
 iracundiam causam] Lamb.; *iracun-*
diae causa M.
 3. certo] C; *certe* M.
 suavitate fratrem prope aequalem]
 Ern.; *suavitate prope fratrem prope*
aequalem M Rom.; *suavitate prope aequalem*
Petrarcha; fort. suavitate aequalem. Vide
Comm.
 Quod filium] Wes.; *quid filium* M;
Quid quod filium Lamb.
 miser iam] M marg.; *miseriam* M.
 Quod vero] Wes.; *quid* M; *Quid vero*
quod Lamb.
 imaginem] vulg.; *quid ymaginem* M.
 quem] Man.; *quam* M.
 4. in praesidio] Madvig (A. C. iii. 194,
 coll. 65, 1); *praesidio* (om. in) codd. vulg.

miserius] *miseriusve* Bücheler; *ac miserius* vulg.

5. agi] M² superscriptum; *agere* M¹; *agere te* coni. Wes.

6. genere ipso pecuniae] *genero ipso, pecunia* Man.; sed *refragatur verborum ordo*, et *friget pecunia post copiis*.

7. tu de visceribus] *tu ins.* Wes. Fort. tamen legendum *sentio quid sceleris admiserim <quod> quom de visceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturum sis quibus debes, ego . . . dissiparim*.

et M. Antonio] M²; et inde Antonio M¹; inde et Antonio Wes.

et] add. Lamb.

8. Q.] Wes.; *quoque* M.

praeceptis] *inductus ac* Lamb. (marg.); *deceptus* Boot coll. Rosc. Am. 117.

destitutus] vulg.; *-tis* M.

9. ne] add. Baiter; *non* vulg.; om. M. in quibus] Ern.; *in quibus non modo* M; *in quibus omni modo* Or.; *in quibus omnibus* Klotz.

patiat] M; *patiatur* I.

Ep. 67 (ATT. III. 10).

1. usque ad a. d.] Btr.; *usque ad* codd.; *usque a. d.* Or.

sin, ut tu scribis] *ut tu scribis; sin* Schütz, vix recte. Vide Comm.

2. tam ex amplo statu, tam in] cod. Helmstadtiensis Rom.; *tam extemplo a statu in M* (in rasura); *ex tam amplo statu in tam I*.

aut non] *non aut* Madvig, fort. recte. *non amitterem*] codd.; *non* secl. Crat. quem secuti sumus. Vide Comm.

3. eoque] M²; et *que* M¹. quod et maerore impediore et quod expectem] *Durior est ellipsis particulae coniunctivae quod ante quod expectem; fort. legendum quod et maerore impediore et quod expecto istinc magis quam habeo quod ipse scribam; cf. Ep. 69 fin.*

Ep. 68 (ATT. III. 11).

tenebat] codd.; *tenebant* M² vulg. *te certiore]* om. M¹.

Ep. 69 (ATT. III. 12).

1. liceat: itaque siletur] *liceat, itaque sileri* coni. Mal.

2. ei] om. Rav. I.

posse] M marg.; *esse* M.

3. ut scribis] *ut scis* coni. Or.; post

intellego transposuit Schütz, sine causa uterque. Vide Comm.

Scilicet] Madvig; *Licet* codd.

significaram] Madvig; *-arem* codd.; *-arim* Vict.

†si donatam ut] *id omittam, ut* coni. Turnebus; *id omittamus* Madvig; *Dodona tamen* Mal.; *in Macedoniam tamen* Popma; *dudum tamen* Koch; *res si idonea tamen, nunc* Munro; *sed opera tua mihi* Müller; *si inclamarem* Reid.

te istie] *te re istie* vett.

Ep. 70 (ATT. III. 14).

1. etsi] Bos. Mal.; et codd.

correxerit] Lamb.; *-erint* M.

2. ii] EMs; *ivi* Nπ; *veni* Zb v.c. HP. universi] *adversi* Koch, iam a Malaspina reiectum.

si] M; *nisi* Man.

Ep. 71 (ATT. III. 13).

1. meque] *neque* Mal.; *neque me* Ern. vulg.

non moleste] *nos et Otto; moleste* codd.

2. audieris] *audieris magis* Wes.

perferentur] I; *perferuntur* M.

Ep. 72 (Q. FR. I. 4).

1. ne, si] M²; *nisi si* CM¹.

facto] M Wes.; *fato* Rom. I.

miseriaeque] Lamb.; *misericordiaeque* M.

putaram] Crat.; *-arem* M; *-abam* Ern.

cautum] *aut cautum* Frederking.

defuit] Mal. Frederking coll. Ep. 73, 5; 78, 1; *fuit* M.

3. Curius] Pighius; *curtius* M.

Fabricius] Man. coll. Post Red. in Sen. 22, Sest. 75; *gratidius* M Rom. quod non prorsus spernendum: cf. Ep. 30, 10; Flacc. 49.

4. arma] *arma Clodi vel arma inimicorum* Bücheler.

laboremque] Rom.; om. *-que* M.

quantum] *in quantum* Schütz, sed vide Comm.

si levare potest] Vict.; *si relevare potes* I; *a se levare potest* CM.

5. vere] *vera* C.

velle] M marg. sed deletum; *vel* M.

Quamquam . . . difficiliora] vulg.; *quamquam sed non sunt facta* verbis

difficiliora M, verbis non sunt additis in marg.; fort. *ququam*—sed non sunt facta verbis *difficiliora* de qua ἀποσιωπήσει vide Comm.

dispexerit] *despexerit* M; fort. *respexerit*. Vide Comm.

tecum] Rom.; *meum* MI; ut *meum* Schütz; fort. *tecum ut meum*.

rebus] add. Or. coll. Ep. 66, 10.

Ep. 73 (Att. III. 15).

1. et rogas] Ant. Σ; om. Δ.
2. quo] vulg.; et quo M; *ecquo* Mal. rescindam] Graevius; *scindam* codd.; *incendam* vel simile Reid.

scripsi] EO·M²; scribo M¹; scribis NHPs.

quod] Zl codd. Bosii; quos codd. probati] ZENOPsM marg.; *purgati* HM¹ Rom. vett.

4. luxerunt] *eluxerunt* Or.

ac] aut Ern.

si quantum] PM²; om. si ENHOM¹. tantum amare deberes ac, debuisses]

tantum amorem re exhibuisses (adhibuisses Kayser); om. *amare* Madvig (A. C. iii. 170). Vide Comm.

perferri] CM²; *proferri* M¹. tamquam] *tamquam esses* Or.

potuit] oportuit Or. aut occubuisse honeste] M²; om. Zl codd.

restituor] *restituor* nos olim. 5. te cum Culleone] Fort. *tecum Culleone*. Vide Comm.

sic] ΣΔ; s.c. (=senatus consulto) Madvig; *quid* CZb Lamb. (marg.) v. c. firmius] CZb Lamb. (marg.) v. c. Δ; *firmus* NOP.

quam] secl. Schütz. defuit] Ante hoc verbum add. *non solum* Or., sed cf. Boot ad hunc locum et x. 16, 6 (402).

agetur] Lamb.; *ageretur* codd. 6. In quo ipso] Zb; in quo ipsa Ant. FNO; *quo ipsa* M (sed *erasum*).

multa. Multa occultant] nos; *multa occultant* vulg.

At] s Müller; *ast* M in rasura, sed cf. ad 22, 17, et Reid in 'Classical Review' xiii (1899) 311; *as* OP; *aut* N.

quoddam] *quondam* Ern. idque] *id quod* Klotz.

7. iam] Or.; in me codd.; *mire* Otto; secl. Btr.

me meos meis] Bosius; *me meos* ENOP; *me meis* M¹; *me meosque* HM²s; *me meos me* v. c.; *me meosque meis* Wes.;

me meos mea Lehmann coll. Fam. vi. 3, 4 (539).

communiter] *comiter* Lamb. me a te] Crat.; om. *me* codd.

Ep. 74 (Att. III. 16).

aliud aliquid] Wes.; *aliud quid* M, sed is in versu priore post *nam* aberrando *aliud aliquid* (linea subducta postea deletum) non *aliud quid* addiderat.

quae] M²; *quam* M¹; *quod* Z. lectae] M; *laetae* Z; *conlatae* coni.

Reid; lacunam ita supplevit Lehmann *quae cum laetae sint dum leguntur, cum lectae sunt tum*. Vide Comm.

attulerunt] *-erant* Ern.

scies] Wes.; *scis* M. ut putabis] add. Bosius ex Z; post *scribas* haec verba ponenda esse putat Wes.

Kal.] vett.; *Kal. Apriles* M.

Ep. 75 (Att. III. 17).

1. III.] add. Hand. Livineius] Vict.; *Livinus* C; *ei veniens* (sed *ei* deletum) M.

L.] Man.; M. M; om. C. qui] *tum a* vett.; *a* Q. Klotz; sed vide Comm.

Appi quaestio] M²; *appispectio* M¹. 3. hortor] M²; *hortor* M.

verere] Wes.; *vereri* Zl ('*quam postrema syllaba non admodum apparet*') sed *cave* cum infinitivo vix Ciceronis est; om. M.

Ep. 76 (Att. III. 18).

1. actorem] Zl; *auctorem* M. 2. Fac] *Nunc* vel simile aliquid Müller. me fac] *fac me* Btr.

Ep. 77 (Att. III. 19).

1. Quoad] Vict.; *quod* M. quae esset] addit Müller olim; *qualis esset* add. Wes. coll. Caes. B. G. i. 21, 1; codicum scriptura fortasse tolerari potest si *natura* ut ablativus intellegitur.

Vide Comm. qui] <*frui*>, qui Kayser.

ad] add. Bosius. Ero] om. M.

2. quantam] *in quantam* Ern.; sed vid. Comm. ad Ep. 72, 4.

agi] Schütz; *ago* M¹; *ego* M².
 mulieris] ante *Tulliolae* secl. Benti-
 volius; fort. ex *meae* ortum est.
 3. ut ipse] M²; si ipse M¹.
 et pueros] fort. et secludendum;
 secluit et in fine ep. sequentis Wes.;
 sed hic etiam magis offendit et, quod cum
 verbis affectus et perturbationis plenis
 nudum et frigidum de pueris mandatum
 copulat.

EP. 78 (ATT. III. 20).

1. amoenissimis] om. M¹.
 maxima] Corradus; *maxime* M.
 tamen] iam Otto.
 3. scribas tuosque omnis] C; scribas-
 que omnis M¹; scribas omnisque M².
 ferri] Crat.; *ferre* M.
 et] ante *id* secl. Wes.
 III] vi. Schiche.

EP. 79 (FAM. XIV. 2).

1. plura scripsit, cui puto] fort.
scripsit, plura cui puto.
 quid] quod vett.
 2. casum eius modi] casum esse eius
 modi Ern. haud male.
 3. partem te] HDF; parte M.
 conficitur] conficietur Wes.
 4. aut ad eos] ad eos secl. Wes.
 quoniam] D; quam M; quando HF.

EP. 80 (ATT. III. 21).

casum] Pius; causam M.
 v] ii Schiche.
 Novembris] *Novembris Thessalonica*
 codd. Bosii.

EP. 82 (ATT. III. 22).

2. adfert] affert M marg.; asserit M.
 speraret] M; sperasset Wes.; sperarit
 Ern.
 profectum] MI; perfectum Rom.
 3. luctu, desiderio] Fort. luctu desiderio
 (sine commate), vid. Comm.; cum luctu
 tum desiderio Zbl.
 cum omnium rerum tum meorum]
 coni. Baiter ex Rom. (sed is eorum pro
 meorum); cum omnium rerum (sed linea
 sub cum subducta) M; omnium meorum
 Stürenberg.
 fuerunt] vett: fuerant vulg.
 4. cuiusmodi] Vict.: cuiusmodo M:
 quoquomodo Rom.

EP. 82 (FAM. XIV. 1).

3. Piso] Man. Drumann: ipso codd.;
Hispo vett. Vide Comm.
 5. vendituram] HDF; venditurum M;
 ep. disputationem Auli Gellii i. 7.
 premet] cf. Ep. 79, 3; perimet Madvig
 (A. C. iii. 164).
 derit] M; perit HDF; deerit vulg.
 per fortunas] per te fortunas Or.
 perditum perdamus] perditum eamus
 Schottus.
 6. Dyrracchi] -io Or.
 7. ad te] ante ad te Starker; quo ad
 te vel atque ad te coni. Wes.

EP. 83 (ATT. III. 23).

1. Decembr.] Ascensius; Septembr.
 codd.
 quid putes] Ascensius; quid potest
 codd.
 perscribis] Ant. F²; scribis Δ.
 nostra] NHP; haec nostra O²M; hec
 iam nostra s.
 novis] Corradus, Malaspina; nostris
 codd.
 2. ut omnino] NOP; om. ut EMs.
 ipsum abrogatur] Lamb. (marg.) Ant.
 F²; ipsum abrogaretur Δ.
 quo minus] Klotz; quo modo codd.;
 quo non Zb Lamb. Malasp.; quom Reid.
 Vide Comm.
 3. quom et] O¹ Bosius; quod Ms; et
 quod N; quod et O²; quo modo et P.
 et quom] NOP; quom M. Totum
 locum ita dat Bücheler Hoc, quod re vera
 ita est, cum M.
 PLEBISVE SCITA] pl. ve. sc. codd.
 QVODVE EI] Ant. Augustinus; quod
 vel codd.
 ABROGAVIT, OBROGAVIT] add. Pitthoeus.
 4. collegi] conlegae Ascensius (ed. 2).
 cum] quod I Wes.
 praescriptum] P; perscriptum NOMs.
 quod si] quo si Madvig; sed vide Comm.
 uterentur] add. Ascensius.
 Ut] Mal.; aut codd.
 Nianium] Ant. F; ninium OPMs.
 Ingeniose sed audacter conicit Hofmann
 quo si opus esset omnes in abrogando uti
 mirum ut ceteros fugerit.
 attulerit] addiderit vel adiecerit Gro-
 novius.
 scilicet] Lallemand; sive OMs; sine
 NP; sive . . . <sive> Or.; sane quod
 Hofmann.
 fuerint] Bosius; fuerunt vel fuerant
 codd.

Visellius] Ascensius (ed. 1); *T.*
Visellius codd.
 perfringatur] *M*; *perfringantur* *I*
Wes.; *perfungatur* cod. Helmstadtiensis;
perfungamur Graevius; *perfringatis* con.
 Reid.
 quid eum] *E*; *quidem* OHNM.
 quoi] *M*²; *quo* *M*¹.
 tueare] *Man.*; *tuere* codd.
 ut se initia dederint] *ut initia ceciderint*
 con. Reid.

EP. 84 (FAM. XIV. 3).

1. meae me miseriae] *D*; *me miseriae*
M; *meae miseriae me* HF.
 2. conficior] *H*; *confitior* MD.
 3. tuto] *tutus* vel *in tuto* *Wes.* Vide
 Comm.
 in tantis] HDF; *instantis* *M*.
 4. statim ut] *H*; *statim ut ut* *M*;
statim huc ut Or.

EP. 85 (ATT. III. 24).

1. videretur] *Lamb.*; *videtur* *M*.
 ii qui] Or.; *et qui* *M*.
 vestra] *Corradus*; *nostra* *M*, fort. recte.
 cum] *vett.*; *ea* *M*¹; *cum ea* *M*²; *cum*
ei *Kayser*.
 sin velint] *Ern.*; *sin vellent* *M*.
 se] *M*; *eis* *I*, fort. recte. Vide Comm.
 in] *M*²; *ne* *M*¹.
 2. Quae erat] *M*; *qua erat* *vulg.*
 tamen] *M*; *cum* *I*; *cum tamen* *Ern.*;
 del. *Starker*.

EP. 86 (ATT. III. 25).

a me] *M*; *a meis* *Kahnt*; *a Roma*
Wes.; *ab urbe* *Klotz*; *iam* *Gurlitt*; del.
 Fr. Schmidt. Fort. *ad me*.
 aut ne] *M*²; *aut* *M*¹.
 hoc] Δ ; *haec* Σ *Lamb*.

EP. 87 (ATT. III. 26).

et, si] *et om.* *I* *Wes*.

EP. 88 (ATT. III. 27).

Haec ep. in *M* deleta est.

tui mei indigebunt] *Btr.*; *tui meis*
indulgebant *M*.

EP. 89 (FAM. V. 4).

2. fert] *feret* con. *Wes.*; sed vide
 Comm.
 mecum serves] *MG*; *me conserves* *R*.
 donares] *condonares* *Martyni-Laguna*.
 sin] *vulg.*; *si cum libris* *Wes*.
 magistratum] *-us* *Martyni-Laguna*.
 servandorum] *Lallemand*; *reservan-*
dorum codd. (fort. *re-ex-re-vocare* ortum
 est); *conservandorum* *Man.*; *cum velis*
reservare ipsum omnium conservatorem (i.e.
Ciceronem) *audacius* *Martyni-Laguna*;
 fort. *omnium reip. reservandorum*. *Mad-*
vig (*A. C.* iii. 157) pro *si volueris*
 prave dici *cum velis* declarans, locum sic
 scribit;—*vide ne tum velis revocare tempus*
omnium servandorum cum, quia qui servetur
non erit, non possis.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

- corr. = *correx*it; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
- fort. = *fortasse* (i. e. perhaps the right reading is "so-and-so"); *qu.* indicates a less degree of probability.
- om. = *omisit*.
- coni. = *coniecit* or *coniectura* (in all its cases).
- lect. = *lectio* (in all its cases).
- Comm. = *Commentarium* (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
- Adn. Crit. = *Adnotatio Critica* (in all its cases).
- del. = *delevit*.
- ins. = *inseruit*.
- M = codices Medicei; in Epp. ad Fam. 49, 9: in the other Epistles 49, 18.
See Introduction, pp. 94 ff., 101 ff.
- M¹ = codices M *a prima manu*.
- M² = codices M *a secunda manu*.
- marg. = codices M *secundum correctionem marginalem*.
- G = codex Harleianus 2773, formerly belonging to Graevius. (See Introd., p. 96.)
- R (in Fam.) = codex Parisinus 17812. (See Introd., p. 96.)
- T = codex Turonensis, 688. (See Introd., p. 97.)
- H (in Fam.) = codex Harleianus 2682. (See Introd., p. 97.)
- F = codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis. (See Introd., p. 98.)
- D = codex Palatinus Sextus. (See Introd., p. 99.)
- C = codices Cratandrini. (See Introd., pp. 100 and 113.)
- c = editio Cratandrina (1528).
- Crat. = Cratander.
- E = codex Ambrosianus, E 14.

- N = codex Florentinus, n. 49.
 H (in Att.) = codex Landianus, n. 8.
 π = codex Parisinus (Nouv. Fonds, 16, 248).
 O = codex Taurinensis, i. v. 34.
 P = codex Parisinus, 8536.
 R (in Att.) = codex Parisinus, 8538.
 Rav. = codex Ravennas.
 s = codex Urbinas, 322, bibl. Vatic.
 Σ = agreement of ENHOP or of EOR or ORP. (See Introd., pp. 107-112.)
 Δ = agreement of M and s.
 v. c. = codex (perhaps the Tornaesianus) referred to in the margin of the second ed. of Lambinus.
 W = codex Würzburgensis. (See Introd., p. 112.)
 Z = codex Tornesianus. (See Introd., p. 114.)
 Zl = codex Tornesianus teste Lambino.
 Zb = codex Tornesianus teste Bosio.
 Ant. = codex Antonianus.
 F = codex Faërninus.
 codd. = agreement of either all or most of the principal codices.
 vett. = the older editors.
 vulg. = the reading adopted in most editions.
 Rom. = editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
 I = editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
 Asc. = Ascensius (Paris, 1522).
 Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536-1571).
 Hervag. = Hervagius (Basle, 1540).
 Corrad. = Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.*, Venice, 1544).
 Mur. = Muretus (*Variae Lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559-86).
 Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
 Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1546; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
 Man. = Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
 Bos. = Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ad Att.*, Limoges, 1580).
 Grut. = Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
 Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
 Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
 Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
 Face. = Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
 Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).
 Bent. = Bentivoglio (Milan, 1820).
 Or. = Orelli (Zürich, 1845).

- Math. = Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
 k = Klotz (1st ed., Leipsic, 1858).
 Kl. = Klotz (2nd ed., Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
 Hofm. = Hofmann, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (6th edition, ed. Lehmann, 1892: 7th edition, ed. Sternkopf, 1898).
 Boot = I. C. G. Boot (*Epp. ad Att.*, Amsterdam, 1865: ed. 2, 1886).
 Boot, Obs. } = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).
 Crit. }
 Btr. = Baier & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
 Kays. = Kayser.
 Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).
 Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vol. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871-73; vol. iii., 1884).
 Euss. = Eussner (*Commentariolum Petitionis*, Würzburg, 1872).
 Wes. = Wesenberg (Leipsic, 1872, 3).
 Em. Alt. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae*, Leipsic, 1873.
 Lehmann } = Lehmann (K.), *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendan-*
 "Att." } dis, Berlin, 1892.
 Peerlk. = Peerlkamp.
 Pluyg. = Pluygers.
 Marquardt = Marquardt's (J.) *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (ed. 2), 1881.
 Lange = Lange's (L.) *Römische Alterthümer* (ed. 2), 1876.

ORDER OF LETTERS.

I.

PART I. *p. 123*

This Edition.	Vulg.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
1	Att. I. 5	December, 686	68	38
2	" I. 6	January, 687	"	"
3	" I. 7	February, "	"	"
4	" I. 8	" "	"	"
5	" I. 9	March or April, "	"	"
6	" I. 10	May, "	"	"
7	" I. 11	July or August, "	"	"
8	" I. 3	Nov. or Dec., "	"	"
9	" I. 4	First half 688	66	40
10	" I. 1	July, 689	65	41
11	" I. 2	Latter half "	"	"
12	{ Q. Cic. Comm. } Pet.	Beginning 690	64	42

PART II. *p. 177*

13	Fam. v. 1	January, 692	62	44
14	" v. 2	Jan. or Feb., "	"	"
15	" v. 7	June, "	"	"
16	" v. 6	December, "	"	"
17	Att. I. 12	January 1, 693	61	45
18	Fam. v. 5	January, "	"	"
19	Att. I. 13	January 25, "	"	"
20	" I. 14	February 13, "	"	"
21	" I. 15	March 15, "	"	"
22	" I. 16	July, "	"	"
23	" I. 17	December 5, "	"	"
24	" I. 18	January 20, 694	60	46
25	" I. 19	March 15, "	"	"
26	" I. 20	May, "	"	"
27	" II. 1	June, "	"	"
28	" II. 2	December, "	"	"
29	" II. 3	" "	"	"
30	Q. Fr. I. 1	" "	"	"

PART II.—continued. p. 280

This Edition.	Vulg.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
31	Att. II. 4	April, 695	59	47
32	" II. 5	" "	" "	" "
33	" II. 6	" "	" "	" "
34	" II. 7	" "	" "	" "
35	" II. 8	" "	" "	" "
36	" II. 9	" "	" "	" "
37	" II. 12	" "	" "	" "
38	" II. 10	" "	" "	" "
39	" II. 11	" "	" "	" "
40	" II. 13	" "	" "	" "
41	" II. 14	" "	" "	" "
42	" II. 15	" "	" "	" "
43	" II. 16	May, "	" "	" "
44	" II. 17	" "	" "	" "
45	" II. 18	June or July, "	" "	" "
46	" II. 19	July, "	" "	" "
47	" II. 20	" "	" "	" "
48	" II. 21	" "	" "	" "
49	" II. 22	" "	" "	" "
50	" II. 23	" "	" "	" "
51	" II. 24	October, "	" "	" "
52	" II. 25	" "	" "	" "
53	Q. Fr. I. 2	Nov. (about), "	" "	" "
54	Fam. XIII. 42	Month uncertain, "	" "	" "
55	" XIII. 41	" "	" "	" "
PART III. p. 249—fin. (Exil)				
56	Att. III. 3	Before April 8, 696	58	48
57	" III. 2	April 8, "	" "	" "
58	" III. 4	April 13, "	" "	" "
59	" III. 1	March (end), "	" "	" "
60	" III. 5	April 10, "	" "	" "
61	" III. 6	April 17, "	" "	" "
62	Fam. XIV. 4	April 29, "	" "	" "
63	Att. III. 7	" "	" "	" "
64	" III. 8	May 29, "	" "	" "
65	" III. 9	June 13, "	" "	" "
66	Q. Fr. I. 3	" "	" "	" "
67	Att. III. 10	June 17, "	" "	" "
68	" III. 11	June 27, "	" "	" "
69	" III. 12	July 17, "	" "	" "
70	" III. 14	July 21, "	" "	" "
71	" III. 13	August 5, "	" "	" "

PART III.—continued. *p. 385*

This Edition.	Vulg.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
72	Q. Fr. I. 4	Aug. (beginning), 696	58	48
73	Att. III. 15	August 17, "	"	"
74	" III. 16	August 19, "	"	"
75	" III. 17	September 4, "	"	"
76	" III. 18	Sept. 15 (about), "	"	"
77	" III. 19	September 15, "	"	"
78	" III. 20	October 4, "	"	"
79	Fam. XIV. 2	October 5, "	"	"
80	Att. III. 21	October 28, "	"	"
81	" III. 22	November 25, "	"	"
82	Fam. XIV. 1	" "	"	"
83	Att. III. 23	November 29, "	"	"
84	Fam. XIV. 3	" "	"	"
85	Att. III. 24	December 10, "	"	"
86	" III. 25	Dec. 20 (about), "	"	"
87	" III. 26	January, 697	57	49
88	" III. 27	February, "	"	"
89	Fam. V. 4	May (about), "	"	"

II. *with Corpora*

LETTERS TO ATTICUS.

Vulg.	This Edition.	Vulg.	This Edition.
Att. I. 1	10	Att. I. 16	<i>Mr.</i> 22
" I. 2	11	" I. 17	23
" I. 3	8	" I. 18	24
" I. 4	9	" I. 19	25
" I. 5	1	" I. 20	26
" I. 6	2		
" I. 7	3	Att. II. 1	27
" I. 8	4	" II. 2	28
" I. 9	5	" II. 3	29
" I. 10	6	" II. 4	31
" I. 11	7	" II. 5	32
" I. 12	17	" II. 6	33
" I. 13	19	" II. 7	34
" I. 14	20	" II. 8	35
" I. 15	21	" II. 9	36

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Cicero's
Life.

48

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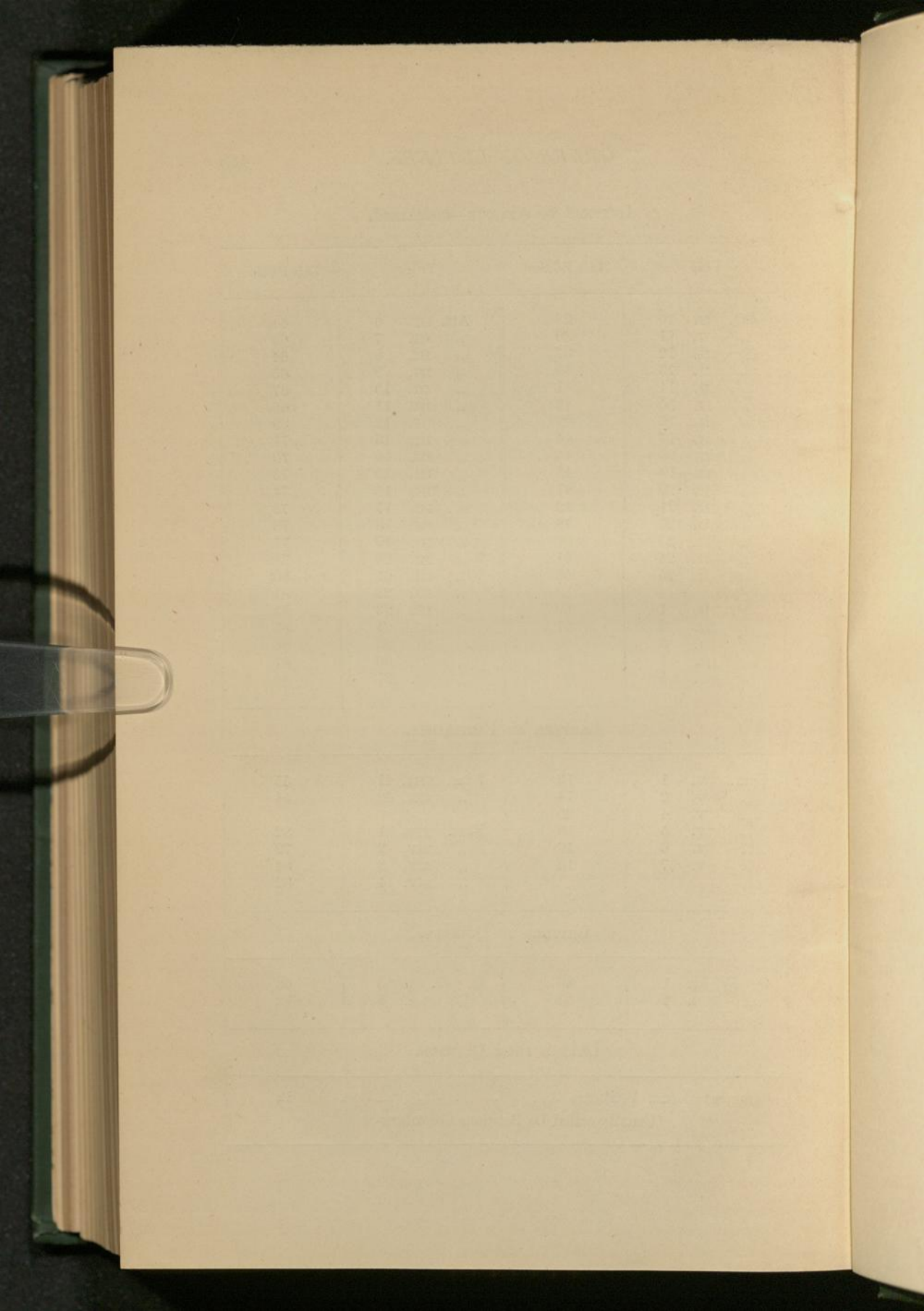
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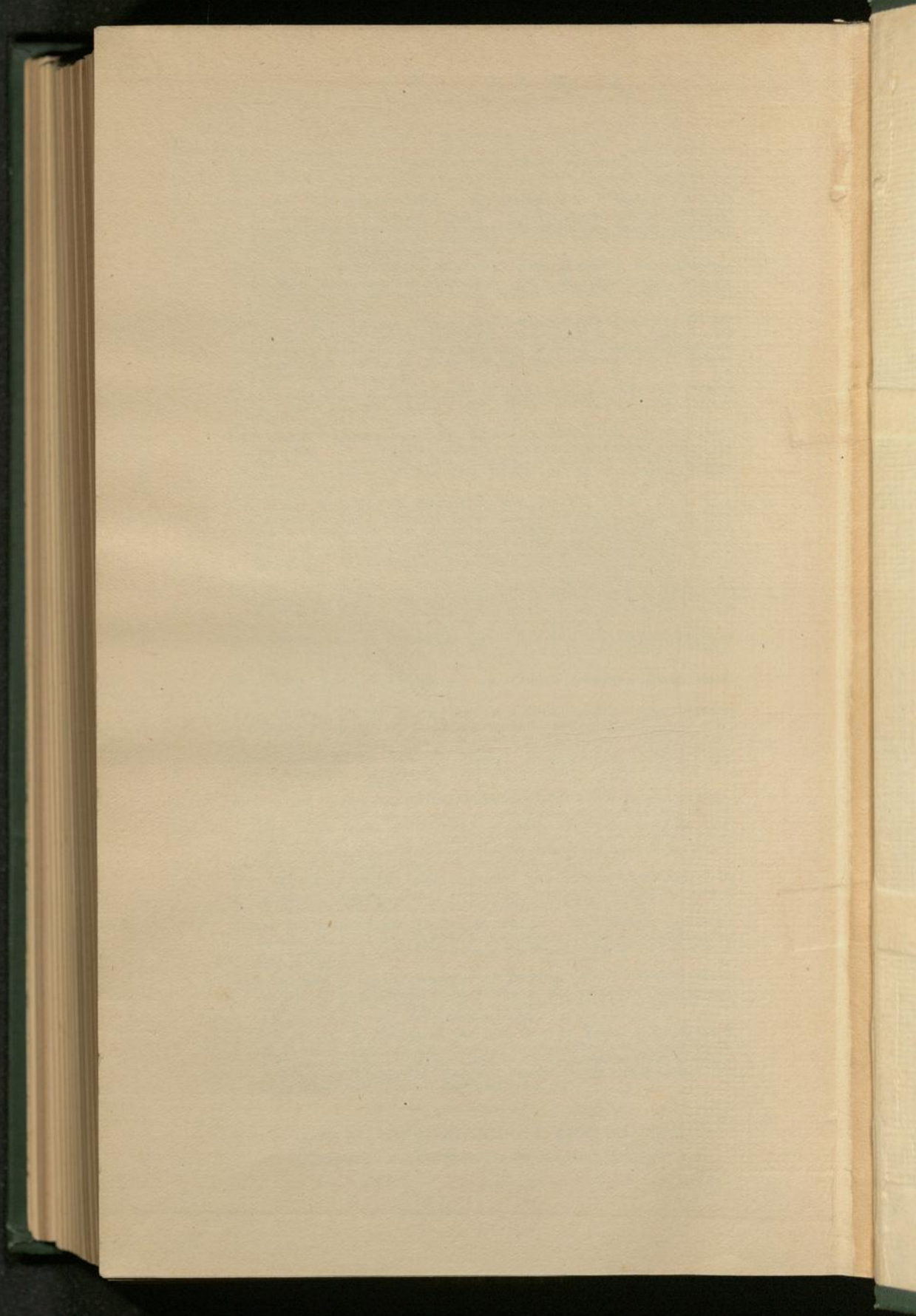
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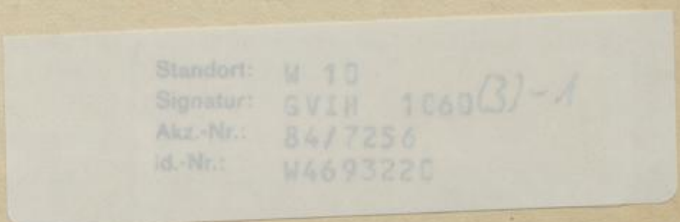
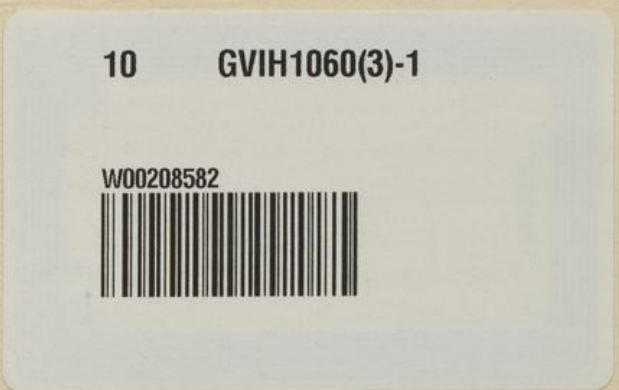
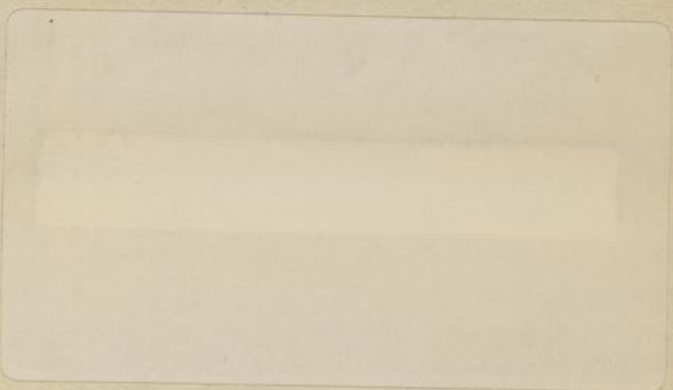
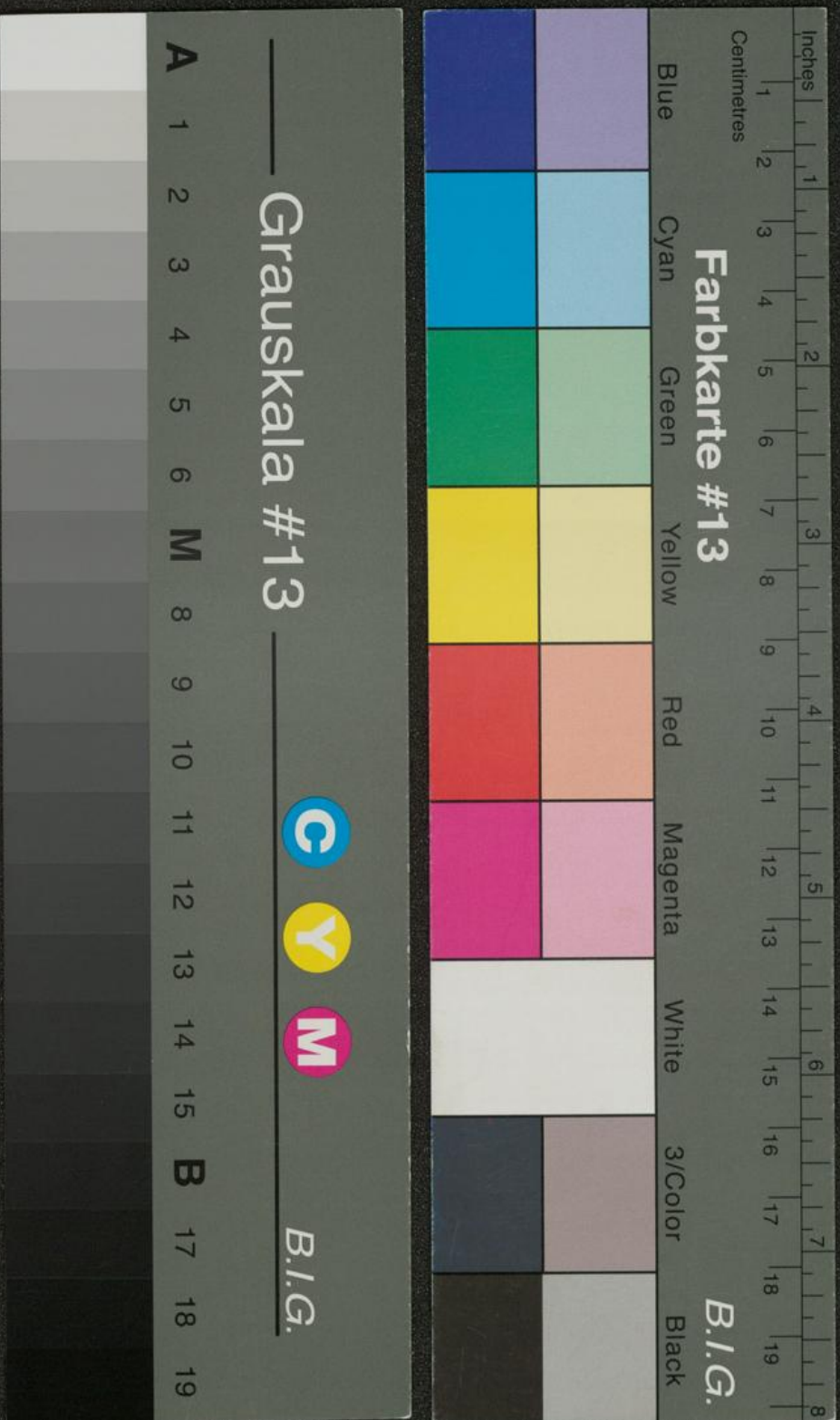
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