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TITLE

THE SUASORIAE OF SENECA THE ELDER
TEXT INTRODUCTORY ESSAY TRANSLATION EXPLANATORY NOTES
being the "Liber Suasoriarum" of the work entitled
"L. Annaei Senecae, Oratorum et Rhetorum, Sententiae,
Divisiones, Colores."

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in whole or in part in English, nor
any European language since the Middle
Ages. Indeed it is quite remarkable
and deserves so little attention from
the author and has almost entirely
still, completely untranscribed. As
referred to an English the historian,
him from his son, however the poet
inter. He is frequently seized to say
of rhetoric in Rome. Professor Hirsch
of Roman literature gives an account of
book which is un-aesthetic, inaccurate
and perverse. Berlin's classical text

THE SUASORIAE
OF
SENECA THE ELDER.
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

1. The full title of Seneca's book, which might be ^{described} ~~be~~ ^{gener-} ~~erally~~ as "Reminiscences of the Roman Orators and Declaimers" is "Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae, Divisiones, Colores." It consisted of ten books of Controversiae and one of Suasoriae, but only the latter ^{is} are here reproduced. No apology seems necessary for the attempt, as the book has never before been annotated in whole or in part in English, nor till 1902 in any European language since the Elzevir edition of 1672. Indeed it is quite remarkable that this work has received so little attention from English scholars. Its author has been almost entirely ignored, or, worse still, completely misrepresented. He is usually ~~re-~~ referred to as Seneca the Rhetorician, to distinguish him from his son, Seneca the philosopher, Nero's minister. He is frequently stated to have kept a school of rhetoric in Rome. Professor Simcox in his History of Roman Literature gives an account of him and of his book, which is unsympathetic, inaccurate, superficial and perverse. Smith's Classical Dictionary speaks

as if he were the author of the extracts from the Declaimers which he merely records. His style is criticised as if it were a jumble of all the qualities of the men from whose declamations he quotes. ~~The Encyclopaedia Britannica is unaware of his existence.~~

Mr. J.D.Duff,¹ in his edition of three of the son's dialogues, is the only English scholar who, so far as is known to me, gives an account which, though brief, is both true and accurate. In English the only really satisfactory account of the book and its author is found in the translation of Teuffel and Schwabe's History of Roman Literature.² It has been exhaustively studied, on the textual side mainly, in Germany; for its subject matter in all its aspects, in France. It was very popular in the Middle Ages, as is proved by the number of MSS. of the Excerpta or Extracts from it, as well as by the traces of its themes in the *Gesta Romanorum* and later European literature.³ Professor Mayor⁴ in his edition of Juvenal tells us that the book is well worth reading. Schott, Faber, and Gronovius, and other Renaissance scholars thought worlds of it. In Schott for example we find the following among many other equally flattering notes:- "De cuius scriptoris stylo ita iudicare non dubitem, nihil esse

1. *L.A. Senecae Dialogorum Libri X, XI, XII.* J.D.Duff, Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. XXXVII-XI.

2. Vol. I pp. 567-570.

3. See note to pp. VII and VIII of text by H.J. Müller, Praef., and Bornecque, *Les Déclamations et les Déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le père*, p. 32.

4. Mayor, *Juvenal*, Vol. I, note on Sat. I, 16.

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in lingua Latina cum a Cicerone Fabioque discesseris
scriptum purius aut elegantius;" and Schott is right.

2. First then to eliminate error - Seneca was not a rhetorician, that is, he was not a professional teacher of rhetoric. There is not a single indication that he ever declaimed or taught declamation, there is not a particle of evidence that he ever kept school in Rome, or anywhere else. His own style as opposed to the style of the quotations is not of the silver age, but much nearer to that of the classical period. A study of the prefaces to each book of the work at once reveals this; it is to these especially that Schott refers. The decadence of style is seen in the extracts, not to anything like the same extent in Seneca's own writing. It is quite wrong to state that the book is perfect in form and worthless in ideas. Such a statement reveals an entire misconception both of its form and purpose.

3. It is attractive to assume with M. Boissier² that when Seneca's children were approaching man's estate, being according to the fashion of the time deeply enthusiastic in the pursuit of eloquence, their father and they had many discussions on the great orators of the day and ^{on} those of former times. They ^{took} ~~dragged~~ him

1. See Smith's Classical Dictionary, Article on Seneca.

2. See M. Boissier's brilliant article in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. II, 1902, pp. 480-508, on "Les écoles de déclamation à Rome."

to hear their favourite rhetoricians.¹ They must have debated whether the newer, sparkling, pointed, antithetic style or the older, rounded periods were the better. According to Seneca they continually ^{urged} pressed their father to set down for them what he remembered of the older orators and rhetores of whom they had no personal knowledge.² This is what the old man undertakes to do. He will, in his wistful, humorous phrase, go back to school,³ and recall what he regards as the better part of his life.⁴ At the same time he will show how eloquence has declined.⁵ He will record the great sayings of these old rhetores, and publish them so that the world may not entirely forget them:⁶ for no true records of the greatest declaimers are extant,⁷ and in these days people are so slothful or so dishonest⁸ that they produce the ideas of these declaimers as their own, and their plagiarism passes quite undetected.

4. While he is really writing a serious work for the public⁹ he adopts and maintains the artistic illusion that he is writing merely to gratify the curiosity of his children.¹⁰ This enables him to employ a personal and conversational style which is very charming. In each preface he gives a vivid picture of one

1. C.X. Praef., 2 and 9, cum vos me illo perdurissetis. 2. C.I., Praef., 1+4; C.VII, Praef., 1; C.IX, Praef., 1; C.X, Praef., 1. 3. C.I. Praef. 4, mistatur senex in scholas. 4. C.I. Praef., 1, meliores ad annos respicere.

5. C.I. Praef., 6 et seq. 6. C.I., Praef., 10 and 11. 7. C.I., Praef., 11, fere enim aut nulli commentarii maximorum declamatorum exstant, aut, quod peius est, falsi.

8. C.I. Praef. 10. 9. C.I. Praef. 10. populo deducabo.

¹. See beginning of C.I., VII, IX, X, Praef.

or more of these older rhetoricians,¹ with some analysis^{and criticism} of the main qualities of their style. In the subsequent controversiae or suasoriae he first states the theme, and then quotes with the name of the rhetor prefixed the most striking passages that he remembers.

He does not confine himself to quotations from those rhetors only whose characters he has sketched but adds quotations from others for comparison or contrast.

Then he analyses and criticises the plan^(divisio) they pursued in their treatment of the topic, and concludes with the 'colores' they employed. These will be explained later.

He does not ^{confine himself to} ~~quote only~~ passages or sentences to be admired: he quotes expressions also that he condemns.

The book is in a way an anthology of the oratory of the rhetoricians, but it is an anthology, if one may so use the term, both of what is good and of what is bad.² It is a collection of the remarkable, not of the excellent. He relieves the book with sound and shrewd literary criticism, with witticisms, with anecdotes.³ He for his part never forgets that this declamation is not a serious thing.⁴ It is only a school exercise to develop the art of expression. It is play, not earnest. The serious, solid things are history and oratory.

1. C. I. Praef. Porcius Latro; C. II. Praef. Fabianus, style of Fuscus; C. VII. Praef. Albius; C. IX. Praef. Volienus Montanus; C. X. Praef. Scaurus, Labienus and others; C. III. Praef. Sidelights thrown by C. Severus on Cestius, Passienus and Silo Pompeius.

2. C. II, 4, 12; aequae vitandarum rerum exempla ponenda sunt quam sequendarum.

3. For examples cf. S. I, 5, 6, 7, 12; II, 12, 17, 14, 26; III, 6; IV, 4, 5; VII, 13, 14.

4. S. V, 8; S. VI, 16; C. X, Praef. 1; C. I, 8, 16; still from S. II, 10, we see declamation had its serious side, (non esse ludere sed ludere).

5. When he feels that the work is now long enough, and that he has accomplished his purpose, he still keeps up the illusion. He implores the young men to let him be, he pretends that he is tired of the task, that he has sported with trifles too long'. He does so to point the criticism, which his age needs, that declamation is a thing which is not to be carried too far, that it is not an end in itself, but merely a preliminary stage in the progress to genuine oratory. And then the superficial^{reader} asserts that Seneca himself felt at last that the subject was silly and that he was sorry that he had undertaken it. Could misconception go farther astray?

6. Such readers criticise without really doing the author the justice of trying to understand his aim and of judging how nearly he has attained it. Seneca desired to make the great rhetores of his day known to the public; to record their most famous sayings; to give examples of what sound taste would follow and what avoid; to expose the dangers that declamation brought in its train; to show its weaknesses as well as its uses and to set it in right relation to true culture. To lighten the subject, which

1. C. X, Praef. 1.

might become arid and uninteresting, he introduces those jests, stories, anecdotes and quotations, and the whole he combines in this beautiful setting of a series of talks to his sons, entered upon with joy, and finally abandoned with a pretended weariness, when the task is done. There is a singular charm about these prefaces to the controversiae.

Before going more fully into what is known of Seneca's life and character it would seem desirable to give a short résumé of the origin of declamation, and ^{to show} how it arrived at the peculiar development of Seneca's day.

7. Oratory in Rome was in its origin thoroughly practical. The Romans for a long time were not so ^{much} interested in its theory as the Greeks were. Still practical speakers must soon have discovered that while the truth was the truth, there ^{were} methods of presenting it that made it more persuasive. Cato the Elder wrote a manual of the art, of which only two quotations survive, his definition of the orator 'vir bonus dicendi peritus,' and the well-known adage 'rem tene verba sequentur.' The Ad Herennium is ^{in Latin} the first complete Art of Rhetoric that we possess. Cicero's works, the De Oratore and the Orator with his Partitiones Oratoriae and Topica

contain the fruits of his experience as a successful orator, and in spite of the popular form ^{constitute} ~~make~~ his *τέχνη*. Quintilian's work is the most scientific and profound in Latin, and at the same time the most elegant and charming. Later, as can be seen from the *Rhetores Latini Minores* (edited by Halm) there was no lack of manuals, as the theory became more and more technical, and through over-refinement lost most of its interest and usefulness.

8. But it is not relevant to this work to go into detail regarding the development of the theory of rhetoric in Rome. About the same time as Cato produced his manual, Greek teachers of rhetoric began to appear in Rome. They were at first attached to the houses of the nobles: and ^{long as} ~~as~~ they remained there they must have been safe. The Scipionic circle and the Gracchi must have come into contact with Greek professors of the art. When however the latter tried to open schools and teach in public, they became the objects of persecution. We know that Pomponius¹ the praetor secured a decree of the senate against them. The Censors,² Crassus and Antonius, had them expelled: but as often as they were driven out they returned. It was, however,

1. Suetonius, *De Rhetoribus*, §. 1.

2. Suetonius, *ibidem*; Aulus Gellius, *XV*, 11; Cic. *De Oratore*, *III*, 20.

the Latin rhetores against whom Crassus directed his attack, his on the ground that they were sciolists, that they taught the youth to idle, and that their schools were schools of impudence, and on the grand old conservative plea that what they taught was praeter mor-
em majorum. It may be that the party of reaction was hostile to the spread of popular education, and did not desire the teaching of rhetoric to become popular and open to all, as it would be if its doctrines were enunciated in Latin. However that may be, after L. Plotius Gallus¹ first opened a school in which rhetoric was taught in Latin, the success of the new method was not long in becoming so pronounced that it was impossible to withstand it; and when the Roman knight Blandus² took up the profession it became of course respectable and it was no longer 'turpe docere quod honestum erat discere'.² The Latin schools went on flourishing more and more. Cicero,³ himself, was eager in his young days to go to these newer and more attractive teachers, but was persuaded to confine himself to the Greek professors, and to practice⁵ in Greek, as otherwise he could not have had his errors corrected so well.

By Seneca's day there were numberless schools and a

1. Suet. De Rhet., 2; Seneca, C. II, Praef. ⁵/₄; Quin., Inst. Or., II, 4, 42.

2. Seneca, loc. cit.

3. Suet. De Rhet., 2; Cic. Brutus, 90 (310).

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host of teachers flourishing in Rome!

9. ² It would appear that before Cicero's time the school exercise was what is called thesis, a discussion of a general question such as "Ought one to marry?" "Is town life better than country life?" In Cicero's day the theme was called causa: and was generally framed on some historical incident or modelled on a cause that had been actually pleaded in the forum. At the same time Cicero ^{undoubtedly} ~~actually~~ did declaim, or at anyrate knew topics ³ quite like those that form the subject of Seneca's *controversiae*. After Cicero's time the exercise received the name controversia; the newer term in Seneca's day was scholastica. The change of name indicates in each case a change either of subject matter or of method of treating it.

10. Declamatio is always, in actual fact, at the beginning and till Cicero's day a speech for practice, and in theory at any rate the same till Seneca's time. Aeschines, ^{the rival of} Demosthenes, seems to have started the practice at Rhodes; ⁴ Demetrius of Phalerum, ⁵ is also credited with its initiation. Quintilian employs the term in this sense, but from Seneca's time onwards the emphasis is laid on its meaning as 'a speech for display.'

The verb declamare up ^{to} till Cicero's time denotes something derogatory, ⁶ and is often a term of reproach,

1. Seneca mentions more than 100 rhetores in his work.

2. For this paragraph see Seneca, C. I., Praef., 12.

3. Cic. De Oratore, II, 100; Seneca, C. I., 1, 7; Cic. Tusc. I, 4, 7; Ep. Ad Att. XIV, 2; Ad Fam. IX, 18, 1; IX, 16, 7; Seneca, C. I., Praef., 11; Quin. Inst. Or., XII, 11, 6; Suet. De Rhet., 1.

but to Cicero in the technical sense it merely means to exercise¹ oneself in private in the art of speaking.

This is the sense it has when we hear of Antony declaiming for several days in ~~his~~^{Scipio's} villa² at Tibur, of Pompey declaiming in order to meet Curio, and of Octavian³ doing the same before Mutina. It is the sense also in which Cicero declaimed with Hirtius and Pansa. To Cicero the public delivery of a speech was dictio.⁴ So far there is nothing startling in the idea of delivering speeches in private on purely fictitious themes, or on subjects taken from the law-courts or from history, in order to develop one's mastery of the art: but this is not the declamation that Seneca⁵ says he has known from its earliest beginnings.⁵ This statement of Seneca's has caused difficulty, but to me it seems perfectly clear. It is the peculiar subject matter that is new, and the fashion of delivering speeches of this nature in public. Here and there in the controversiae we note the conservative characters refusing to declaim in public, Pollio,⁶ Labienus,⁷ Cassius Severus,⁸ Montanus.⁹ They regard the practice as one of trivial and ostentatious.¹⁰ They dislike its lack of reality, and count it for many reasons a bad preparation for the forum.¹¹

1. Cic. De Fin., V, 2; Brutus, 90 (310) f. 2. Cic. Phil., II, 17, 42.
3. Suet. De Rhet. 1. 4. Seneca, C. I., Praef., 12. 5. Ibidem.
6. Seneca, C. IV. Praef. 2. 7. C. X., Praef. 4. 8. C. III., Praef., 1.
9. C. IX. Praef. 1. 10. C. X. Praef., 4. 11. See the views of Cassius Severus in C. III., Praef., and of Montanus in C. IX. Praef.

// What was originally a school exercise, or one for private practice, by a curious development has become, *in the early life of Seneca* ~~growing, as Seneca grew a to Man's estate,~~ a formal, elaborate, and in the hands of masters, an almost perfect work of art,—a speech not aiming at a victory in a court, but at giving pleasure to the spectators or rather auditors. A controversia or suasoria aims at being a work of the highest art, aims at beauty, and is constructed in accordance with the strictest and most elaborate rules. It is a speech on a fictitious topic, it is true, but the topic is only the framework on which the orator is to weave a fabric as beautiful, as intricate, as fine-spun, as glittering, as dazzling as he can make it. It is a speech that gives him an opportunity of showing all the cleverness, wit and eloquence of which he is capable. It gives him, too, an opportunity of showing how far he can suit his delivery, tone, voice, look, gesture to the subject of his speech. For the declamation, like the oration, is to the Roman the expression of the whole man. It is not a mere (a) matter of words. Words, tone and gesture must all be in harmony. That, if anything, as regards oratory is perfectly clear from Cicero's rhet-

orical works, and just as clear in Quintilian. If the precepts regarding the management of the voice, regarding the use of action in delivery, later on become extravagant, theatrical and ridiculous, this ~~de~~ decline is in keeping with the decline in style, in subject matter, and in national taste in everything else.

12. How is it that what was at first merely an exercise of the schools of rhetoric, or the term applied to the private practice of a distinguished orator, has become in the early years of Augustus's reign a fashionable and public performance, a thing practised for itself, and to such an ~~that~~ extent that all classes of society are enthusiastic about it? The cause must be found in the changed political conditions. The republic was extinct at Philippi; ^{the} the power of Augustus finally established at Actium. The prince had concentrated all power in his own hands; the assemblies of the people were now infrequent or of no political importance; the deliberations of the senate had lost significance and reality; the decision might be forestalled at any moment by the Emperor's personal intervention. Free oratory on great themes, such as ^{had} inspired the eloquence of Cicero, was no longer heard.

Genuine pleading where the decision could be affected by the advocate was confined to the centumviral courts and to causes that did not lend themselves to oratory. The 'winged word' no longer might lead to the highest prizes in the state; it was better to practise the art of gaining the Emperor's favour, than ^{that} of swaying the passions and winning the suffrage of the ^{once} sovereign people.

13. One may say, though with some qualification, that there was no really significant stage, no tragedies, no comedies, only mimi and pantomimi, vulgar farces or ballets with dumb show. At the same time one must remember that Roman society had neither reviews, magazines nor daily papers. Books were few, but no doubt accessible. There were literary coteries centring round prominent nobles like Maecenas and Messala. The luxurious banquets must often have given opportunity for literary, philosophical or historical discussions. The energetic must still have had their daily exercises in the gymnasia, in the baths, or in the campus: but all this was not enough to satisfy the intellects and emotions that had lived and struggled in the free, passionate life of the old republic.

14. Barred from its natural and most attractive arena the Roman aptitude for oratory had to find another

1. C. X, Praef. 15, 'Latro numquam solebat disputare in convivio aut alio quam quo declamare poterat tempore? Seneca would not say this if Latro were not an exception.'

field for its display.

If there are no great causes to set the forum on fire, still there are great teachers declaiming daily in the schools. The public in increasing numbers flock to these. There they may hear eloquence comparable in style to the best of old days and speakers like Porcius Latro, who, if born under a happier star, might have commanded the applause of senates. The subjects of the declamations are no doubt fictitious, unreal, bizarre in the extreme, but ~~they~~st afford endless opportunity for the display of wit and ingenuity. There they may hear to their heart's content 'keen arrowy rhetoric.' There, as they have no romances to read, they may be ~~wrapped~~^{rapt} into worlds of fancy, and see pirates with chains standing on the shore, disinherited heroes launched on stormy seas in crafts with neither sails nor oars, tyrants^{throned} in their impregnable citadels issuing cruel decrees, or, as the licence for digression is unrestrained, they may hear eloquent denunciations of the vices of the age,² of the inordinate^{love} of money, of the unnatural craving for unnatural things, of the insensate and extravagant luxury in building, in dress, in eating and drinking; or, if it is a

1. De Quincey, *Essay on Rhetoric*.

2. For examples see C. II, 1, 4 et seq. (*Fuscus*) where wealth, luxury, foppery, effeminacy, gluttony, lust and drink are condemned, while poverty is extolled; and C. II, 1, ^{10, 11} ~~2~~, where Fabianus condemns great wealth, wars to secure it, proscriptions, extravagance in buildings and furnishings, all reminding us of Juvenal; see also C. II, 6, 2.

suasoria that is afoot, they may launch on perilous seas with Alexander,¹ stand with the Spartans at Thermopylae,² anguish with Agamemnon over the sacrifice of Iphigenia,³ or hear a last echo of the old republic in the eloquent advice given to Cicero⁴ to die rather than bend the knee to Antony.

There is hardly a topic debated in the world of the day that may not find its expression in these declamations.

15. Throughout the whole time of the republic, and especially after the barriers of birth were broken down, and the highest offices were open to all, it is quite easy to understand the great value put upon the art of public speaking. The highest honours in the state were the prizes of successful oratory, What is rather harder to understand is how, when oratory no longer lead to power and influence, the passionate pursuit of it grew and expanded. One would not have been surprised if, as the power of Augustus was consolidated and was more openly displayed, the interest in oratory and in the schools had flagged. A decline in the number of successful teachers, a falling off in interest and in the number of students, a closing down of the schools would have caused no surprise: but it took

1. S. I 1. 2. S. II. 3. S. III. 4. S. VI and VII.

some time, and Augustus's crafty dissimulation helped this, for the changed conditions to be appreciated. Parents and pupils did not realise all at once that the old prizes were no longer open to success, or that, if open in name, they were empty in substance, and gave only the pomp and not the reality of power. By the ^{time the} facts of the case were too patent to be ignored the schools were firmly established and had created an interest of their own. The young people of the day had to have their natural and national liking for the beauty of the spoken word satisfied. The declamation as a work of literary art had become an end in itself. The whole art of expression was taught in the schools, and the subject matter embraced every topic of interest to the intellects of the time - philosophy, social and political history, literary criticism and poetry.

16. The subjects of the declamations, whether those of the school or of the public displays, were of little importance. It was the manner of treating them that counted, and this as we can see gave endless opportunity for displays of wit, ingenuity, analytic power, for digressions, even for expression that rises often to

the height of genuine eloquence. The comparatively small number of themes and the frequency with which the same one was treated compelled originality in thought and expression and made eloquent digressions inevitable. The wide range of topics that might be introduced, all studied with a view to finding the most effective expression, made the schools an excellent preliminary education for all purposes. They aimed at perfecting the the instruments of expression, and that being achieved the transition was easy to any other of the liberal arts. So says Seneca himself with perfect truth.

17. By the time then that oratory might have declined as no longer leading to distinction in the state, the study of the art of expression as crystallised in the schools had become the higher education of the day. Such careers as were still open to the young and ambitious necessitated this preliminary training, as the whole of society had it and there was no other. Whether we approve of the system or not, for four or five centuries it remained the system of Roman education, ^{embodying} ~~carrying~~ in it the elements of all the culture of the time. It spreads to Gaul, to Spain and to Africa. Its rhetorical quality colours all subsequent literature.
1. C. II, Praef., 3, *facilis ab hac in omnes artes discursus est.*

ture; no writer afterwards seems to be able quite to get away from the idea that he is speaking and trying to impress an audience, and the idea is reflected in his methods and in his style.'

18. After the civil wars then declamation as an end in itself rapidly became fashionable. The schools of rhetoric quickly increased in numbers, and individually flourished. The number of famous teachers, both Latin and Greek, was very great. We find ^{praetors,} ~~consuls~~ and ^{Senators and consuls} ~~praetors~~, ² even among the pupils; we find a class growing up, the scholastici, who spend their whole time in the schools; we hear of the emperor Augustus, with Maecenas and Agrippa, being present at declamations.³ Pollio,⁴ if not in public, still declaims at home, and joins in the discussions upon the declaimers. Messala⁵ is obviously interested in them too. In fact the older orators who had seen the free republic, like Pollio, Messala, Cassius Severus and Labienus are jealous of the schools and of their popularity.⁶ They may object to the new fashion as frivolous and ostentatious, but they are impelled to give displays in private if not in public, and later the orators are always declaimers as well.

1. For the influence of the schools of rhetoric on Ovid, see two very interesting chapters (III & IV) in 'La Jeunesse d'Ovide' by La Ville de Mirmont.
2. C. I, 2, 22 (a praetor); C. I, 3, 11 (a senator); C. IX, 4, 18. (a consul).
3. C. II, 4, 12 & 13; C. VI, 8, (end); C. IV. Praef., 7; C. X, 5, 21.
4. C. IV. Praef., 2; criticisms by ^{Pollio} ~~him~~ of the declaimers are scattered throughout the *Controversiae*.
5. S. III, 6; C. II, 4, 8 & 9.
6. See especially Prefaces to C. III and IX.

19.

When we try to investigate more deeply and find out particulars of the work of the schools in detail the task is not very easy. It appears that after the pupil had completed his course with the grammaticus, (whom we might ^{call} the teacher of grammar and literature), could read, write and spell correctly, had perfected himself in the simplest kinds of composition, such as short narratives, paraphrases of the poets, ethopoeiae, descriptions, and had read and studied the chief historians and poets, he went to the rhetor,[†] (the teacher of the art of public speaking). The transition appears to have taken place at 12 - 15 years of age, or even later. With the rhetorician the pupil begins with suasoriae, an exercise akin to the genus deliberativum of oratory. These were supposed to be easier than the other exercise, the controversiae-allied to the genus iudiciale.

20.

Apparently the procedure on a class day was this. The rhetor entered and took his seat at his desk, which was set on a kind of platform. He propounded the theme, gave some hints as to how to treat it, and outlined the main divisions of the argument. The pupil then composed and wrote out his version, after

which he brought and read it to the master. The latter corrected it phrase by phrase, and when these corrections had been incorporated in the version, the pupil then learned it by heart and delivered it standing up in his place with appropriate tone and gesture. After hearing the pupils the rhetor made some preliminary remarks upon the theme and the manner in which it had been handled. Then in most cases he delivered a version of his own, as an example of how he considered the subject should be treated. We construct this outline from various indications in Seneca and Quintilian and scattered references in poets and other writers.¹ We cannot be sure that the practice was the same throughout the whole period of the writers mentioned; it must have varied both in procedure and in detail. We may be certain that the rhetor also delivered lectures either formally or incidentally on the theory and principles of the art. Probably it was in these that he criticised the methods and the actual speeches of other declaimers.² From what Juvenal says we may infer that the continued hearing and correction of the same exercise must have been just as great a bore to the rhetor as the correction of school exercises is to the teacher

1. See *Quin. Inst. Or.*, I + II; *Persius*, III, 45; *Juvenal*, I, 16; *Quin.*, X, 5, 21; *Statius, Silvae*, V, 3, 216; *Juvenal*, VII, 154, et seq. See also 'La Jeunesse d'Orde' by Mirmont, and *Les Écoles de Déclamation à Rome*, by Boissier.

2. As an example take *Cestius on Albucius*, C. VII, Praef., 8+9.

of today. Curiously enough two of the greatest professors of the art, Latro¹ and Nicetes, (the latter a Greek) seem to have refused to listen to their pupils. They merely lectured and declaimed: and in consequence their pupils were called in derision, auditores, a term which subsequently became the name for any student: but it was only the most distinguished that could behave thus, and in general the pupils insisted that their efforts should be heard, and the parents judged the efficiency of the school from the number of declamations that their sons delivered.²

21. It is not likely that the school was always open to the public,⁵ although probably it was always open to parents and relatives of the pupils. It is certain that there were definite occasions on which the general public could enter.³ These would probably be occasions of display either by the pupils or by the master. No doubt the rhetorician also would on occasion hire a hall, and give a display of his art to in order to make himself known to the public. It was probably on a great occasion like this that Latro delivered his declamation in the presence of Augustus, Agrippa and Maecenas.⁴

1. C. IX, 2, 23.
2. Quin. Inst. Or., II, 7, 1; X, 5, 21.
3. Note Cassius Severus and Cestius, C. III, Praef. 16.
4. C. II, 4, 12-13.
5. C. VII. Praef. 1.

22. The rhetorician's class was by no means homogeneous : we might divide it roughly into three groups. There were the ordinary pupils, their pedagogues¹ or attendants, and the occasional visitors. Among the pupils there were both pueri and iuvenes; and we even hear of senators, praetors and consuls attending the schools of rhetoric, and submitting themselves to the criticism of the rhetorician. This criticism could be sarcastic and harsh:² and the atmosphere of the schools seems to have been distinctly lively at times. The rhetorician could be interrupted both by bursts of applause³ or disapproval, and even by interjected remarks.^{3 4} The pupils applauded or hissed one another, although they were more inclined to show approbation in the expectation of having the compliment returned. Such were the subjects, such the schools, and such the public displays that had grown up and become fashionable during the life of Seneca, till at last Declamation as distinct from an actual speech on a real theme had come to be pursued as an end in itself, as a thing to give pleasure, as an artistic work like poetry or drama, aiming at a beauty and an effect all its own.

23 Let us now see what is known of the life of Seneca, and what we can gather of his character, before con-

1. Suet. *De Gram.*, 23. 2. for example, Cestius to Quintilius Varus, *C. I.*, 3, 10, and *S. IV*, 5.

3. *C. I.*, 1, 21; *I.*, 7, 14; *II.*, 1, 36, and many others.

4. *C. III.*, Praef., 16.

the rhetorical style of the Latin orators and
the Latin style is really into three groups. There
were the ordinary people, their predecessors in style
and the occasional visitors. Among the ordinary
there were both Greek and Italian; and we have
to remember, preceptors and compositors attending the schools
of rhetoric, and submitting themselves to the criticism
of the rhetoricians. This criticism was

1 cont.
sarcasm and humor; and the difference of the

thinking of the custom by which grandchildren received the
praenomen of the grandfather. The two grandsons of the
elder Seneca were called Marcus, but the custom was not
invariable. All editors followed Raphael for three cen-
turies. Identity of praenomen would be another reason for
the confusion between the two and their works.

2. The prefaces to the *Controversiae* always begin: "Seneca
Novato, Senecae, Melae filii salutem." (1) Novatus,
the eldest, adopted by Tullius Gallio, and took his name, was
proconsul of Achaia when Paul came to preach at Athens.
(2) Seneca, the second son, the philosopher, Nero's minister.
(3) Mela, father of the poet, Lucan.

cluding with an explanation of the scope and character of his work, and of its peculiar title.

We do not know much about the life of Seneca.¹ We can make a few safe inferences from his book, but it does not contain many direct statements, as it was addressed to his sons² who did not require such information. The ancient writers preserve a profound silence about him. This is easily explained in the case of Tacitus, for that part of his work in which naturally he would have mentioned Seneca is lost; but the silence of Quintilian is remarkable. Is it that Seneca was merely an amateur, who wrote only a book of reminiscences? Was he regarded not as a serious writer, but merely as a writer of a book for pastime? We do not know. At any rate we can draw a few conclusions about him from statements here and there in his son's works, from what Tacitus says about his children, from Suetonius and from Martial. Apart from detail, however, his own book sheds a very vivid light on his character, and contains by implication the portrait of one of the most charming and lovable characters in Roman history.

24. He appears to have been^{born} in Cordova, a Spanish colony.
1. Seneca's full name is L. Annaeus Seneca (according to the best Mss). At the renaissance he and his son were confused, and their works also. Raphael Volaterranus first saw that there were two different persons. Justus Lipsius proved it. Raphael, however, called the father Marcus not Lucius, possibly

(see back of preceding page).

ony,¹ to have been of equestrian rank,² and to have been very wealthy.³ He tells us himself that he might have heard Cicero declaim to his consules designati (Hirtius and Pansa) but for the fact that he was detained by his parents in Spain because of the civil wars then raging throughout the whole world.⁴ This gives us good ground for inferring that in 43 B.C. Seneca was old enough to have heard Cicero declaim. Most editors have inferred from this that in that year he was of an age to leave the grammaticus and go to the rhetor. We have seen that this transition took place as a rule between the age of twelve and fifteen years. This would place Seneca's birth in 55⁸ - 55⁵ B.C: but it is not really necessary to put his birth so early. We know that his son Seneca the philosopher was brought to Rome when quite young,⁵ probably when two or three years old. The fact that as ^{the younger} he himself states he remembered Pollio,⁶ who died in 5 A.D., has caused his birth to be set as early as 5 B.C., and as late as 3B.C. It is not necessary to put it any earlier than 3B.C. If Seneca the younger could be brought to Rome at the age of two or three, why should it be unlikely for the father to be brought to Rome at a comparatively early

1. *Martial*, Ep. I, 61, 8; *Seneca*, S. VI, 27.

2. *Tac. Ann.* XIV, 53; *C. II*, Praef. 3 (end).

3. *Seneca*, phil., *Ad Helviam*, XIV, 3.

4. *C. I*, Praef., 11.

5. *Seneca*, phil., *Ad Helviam*, XIX, 2. (see J.D. Duff's note, op.cit.)

6. " " *De Tranq.* XV, 13.

age? When he said that he might have heard Cicero why should he be considered to be referring to an age of more than six or seven? Had he been referring to a time when he was twelve to fifteen would he not rather have made some reference to the fact that he might have heard the ^(it was more spoken) 'divine Philippic'? He surely means that he was too young to go to the forum, but old enough to have heard the great orator at home. It does ^{not} appear necessary then to put Seneca's ^{birth} at any earlier date than 50 B.C. The son of a wealthy family, who was precocious or promising, might quite well be brought to Rome at a younger age than usual to enjoy the superior educational facilities of the capital, even to attend the school of a more competent or ^{more distinguished} grammaticus than could be found in his native town. We know that he and Latro attended in Rome the school of Marullus, a rhetorician sprung from their town, and that the class probably contained two hundred pupils! ²

25. In the fragment of that remains of the life of Seneca written by his son we read that the elder wrote a History of Rome and brought it down almost to the day of his death. ³ As apparently Suetonius ⁴ quotes this history for one version of the death of Tiberius, Sen-

1. C. I., Praef., 22; C. II., 2, 7; C. VII., 2, 11.

2. C. I., Praef. 2 (end).

3. L. Seneca, De Vita Patris (Vol. III, 436, Haase).

4. Suet. Tiberius, 73. (see Life of Suetonius, by A. Macé, p. 264, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1900, N° 82).

eca must have lived beyond 37 A.D. How far beyond we cannot say. Seneca the younger was exiled to Corsica in 41 A.D., and we know from the *Consolatio ad Helviam* (written about 43) that the elder was then dead. Indeed the death of the father is there alluded to as an event the sorrow for which has had time to cool. We must then place Seneca's death in 38 or 39 A.D.

26. He heard Pollio probably in Rome *'et viridem et postea iam senem'*.² He heard Ovid declaiming to Arellius Fuscus.³ He heard Latro declaiming in the presence of Agrippa, Maecenas and Augustus,⁴ and from internal evidence we can date the declamation as taking place in 17 B.C. He may have been present in Spain when Latro broke down in the law/court, which was held open air, and could not proceed till the court was removed to one of the covered rooms.⁵ As his children^{apparently} were born shortly before the dawn of our era it is inferred that he had gone back to Spain shortly before that to find a wife. We know that he married Helvia,⁶ a Spanish lady. He might have done so in Rome, and he might have done so many years before his children were born. Such inferences are interesting and not improbable, but by no

1. *Seneca, phil., Ad Helviam, II, 4 & 5.*

2. *C. IV, Praef. 3.*

3. *C. II, 2, 8*; The elder was probably a pupil of Fuscus, *S. II, 10.*

4. *C. II, 4, 12.*

5. *C. IX, Praef. 3.*

6. For her character see *Ad Helviam, XVI, 3; XVII, 3 & 4.*

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that there were 200 altogether, starting from the last
he could repeat them all in order.

6. S. II, Praef. 3+4.

again /

means certain. All that can with certainty be gathered from these facts is that Seneca was in Rome about ²⁹⁻24 B.C.¹, also about 3² B.C., certainly in 17 B.C.³, and ^{a a}again before 5 A.D.⁴ His movements in the intervals are ^{unknown.} ~~shrouded in~~ obscurity.

27. He was a wealthy man, a man of culture, not a professional rhetorician, not so far as we know an imperial official, but the first would certainly necessitate his frequent presence in Spain to look after his estates, and the second certainly necessitated long periods in Rome. He has an intimate knowledge of the schools, and of the rhetoricians, a knowledge which must have taken a long time to acquire; he was familiar with many of the nobility of the day, with Messala and Pollio for example: he has a copious fund of social and literary anecdote, and his reminiscences infer a long period of intimate relation with the varied life of the capital.⁵

28. When did he write his book? From one passage,⁶ that in which he affectionately praises Mela for his leaning to rhetoric and a private life, and expresses the desire to keep him in the harbour while his brothers embark on the perilous sea of politics—we infer that

(see back of preceding page).

- 1. Ovid declaiming. 2. Seneca, the younger, brought to Rome, ^{after} ~~and~~ Latro's death. 3. Latro declaiming before Augustus. 4. Before Pollio's death.
- 5. Seneca's claim to an almost miraculous memory may be noted here. He says (C.I. Praef. 2.) that he could repeat 2000 names in the order in which they were uttered to him; and when each of his fellow pupils had repeated a line of poetry so

that part was written when the elder sons were about 25 years of age. This would mean about 20 A.D: but the book contains references to the fall of Sejanus in 31 A.D.,¹ and to the death of Scaurus in 34 A.D.² and to some events even later.³ J.D.Duff thinks that Seneca ~~that-~~ kept the book by him and made additions to it.⁴ It does not give one the impression of being a hasty or ill-considered work, and Seneca may have kept it by him for quite a long time. It shows no evidence of senility, although one might find in it here and there, especially in the Suasoriae, (the last part to be written)⁵ a tendency to garrulousness. Still Seneca's own style is well-formed, lucid, strong and balanced, and singularly pure. The form of the work, artistic in the extreme, indicates long and careful consideration. Everywhere he speaks to his sons as to young men, just entering on the serious things of life, and the general impression left on the reader, from the main parts of the work, is that it refers to the time when they were comparatively young men. Their tastes still show the eagerness, the bias and the immaturity of youth. They love striking thoughts, they care neither for jests nor ⁶ for anecdotes, they prefer

1. C. IX, 4, 21. 2. S. II, 22. 3. S. III, 7; possibly S. II, 22; the statement on the burning of books, C. X, Praef., 5, was probably not written till Tiberius was dead, and the work of Crematius Cordus, burnt under Tiberius, was probably not available till after the same date (S. VI, 19 + 23).

4. Seneca, Dialogues, Introd. xxxix. 5. especially, S. I, 5 + 6.

6. C. VII, Praef., 9.

20
rhetoric to history.¹ One fails to convince oneself
that the book^{as a whole} was written after 34 A.D., that is,
when his sons were forty, and he himself was at least
eighty-four years of age. There are too many eviden-
ces against that.

29. We do not know when the book was published. Ap-
parently it was not published before its author's
death. With the exception of the short period of
liberal reaction under Caligula there were few periods
when it would not have been dangerous to be related to
the author of this book. The sentiments have often
too much of the candour of the old republic.² It does
not appear to have been published when Seneca the young-
er began to write the biography of his father.³ It pro-
bably saw the light when Nero, as well as his victims,
the whole house of Seneca, was no more. There was then
a brighter time, and no one of the blood of the author
left to expiate his frankness. Seneca the son would
certainly not have liked this book to be on sale in
Rome during the days of Claudius and Nero.

30. If we do not^{know} many details of the life of Seneca, his
book leaves a very vivid and detailed impression of his
character, of his likes and dislikes and of the quality

1. S. VI, 16.

2. The attitude, and many of the references, to Cicero, S. VI-VIII,
and the burst of eloquent indignation at the burning of books,
C. x, Praef, 6.

3. Fragment of the 'Life' already mentioned, 'si quaecumque composuit
pater meus ab edi voluit iam in manus populi emissem... etc.'

of his judgment and taste. If we cannot rank him among 'Rome's least mortal minds,' if he is ^{neither} ~~not~~ a great original writer, nor a brilliant stylist, he is yet a person of real culture, and one who does credit to his age and country. While his contemporaries and the younger generation ~~in-generation~~ are tending towards what is meretricious, ingenious, and startling in style and thought, descending to luxury and effeminacy, and to every form of extravagance, exalting to the rank of the supreme literary type a preliminary exercise, which however highly developed can be no more than a charming or beautiful pastime at the best, forgetting that it can never rival poetry, history or philosophy through the lack of reality in its subject matter, Seneca preserves his own balance, and shows few, if any, traces of the prevailing vices of his age. He dislikes, nay hates, the luxury, effeminacy and slothfulness of the youth of the day. He pours out his contempt upon them, exposes their licence and their ignorance, and concludes that it is hopeless to look for orators among them!

31.

For what is an orator? In the words of Cato the Elder, Seneca's ideal, whom he regards almost as an

1. C. I., Praef., 7-10.

oracle, 'Orator est, Marce fili, vir bonus dicendi peritus.'¹ The emphasis on the moral quality is significant of the Roman and in particular of Seneca. He has no regard for the misplaced ingenuity that would attempt to make the worse appear the better cause. The high moral tone of this passage in Seneca's work illuminates the lofty sincerity of his character, just as a famous passage later rises to real eloquence,² as the writer expresses his belief in gods who are just avengers of human sin, and sure if slow punishers of cruelty and persecution.

32. Seneca's character has undoubtedly the gravitas, dignitas and constantia of the old Roman. His son talks of his father's antiquus rigor,³ old-fashioned austerity. In that luxurious and sophisticated age he is indeed a surprising example of Roman simplicity. He appears to have disliked philosophy,⁴ but this, I think, refers to the new-fangled ideas that were fashionable towards the end of his life, to the faddists and cranks that overflowed Rome, not to the austere study to which Fabianus devoted himself.⁵ He hates what is obscene,⁶ trivial⁷ or bombastic: he dislikes the Greeks for their licence and extravagance.⁸ He

¹ quoted by Seneca, C. I, Praef. 9. ² C. X, Praef. 6, 'sunt di immortales lenti quidem, sed certi vindices generis humani.'

³ Ad Helviam, XVII, 3. ⁴ Sen. phil. Epis. 108, 22.

⁵ C. II, Praef. 1. ⁶ C. I, 2, 23; I, 5, 9.

⁷ C. VII, Praef. 3-4. ⁸ C. X. 4, 16+23; S. III, 6; CX, 5, 23.

condemns the judgment that would sacrifice sense to sound, substance to form.¹ He yields to his son's² desire to hear sententiae, to study ingenious colores, to know how the most famous rhetoricians analysed their topics. He probably^{enjoyed} these displays of intellectual acuteness, but he has a greater enthusiasm ~~for~~ for history and real oratory, and he tries, although he feels he has little hope of success, to turn his sons to the pursuit of these higher studies.³

33.

He is a provincial; but, he has a burning enthusiasm (for Rome and things Roman) that surpasses that of the true sons of the eternal city. He worships the greatness of the empire, and Cicero for being worthy of its greatness, - the one Roman that can be opposed to insolent Greece and its Demosthenes.⁴ Sallust is comparable to Thucydides.⁵ Vergil has so sure a place that Seneca feels he does not^{need} to assert it.⁶ He cannot bear that the Greeks should ever surpass the Romans in anything,⁷ and in general he quotes them only to decriy them. The old free spirit of Rome seems to echo most fondly² in his soul.⁸ He has acquiesced in the new regime, he appreciates the mildness, toleration, magnanimity of Augustus,⁹ he hardly sympathises with

1. C. VII, 4, 10. 2. C. VII, Praef., 9. 3. S. VI, 16.
4. C. I, Praef., 6 + 11. 5. C. IX, 1, 13 6. See general
tone of references to Vergil, S. II, 20 and S. III, 5.
7. C. X, 5, 28, sed nolo Romanos in ulla re vinci
8. S. VI and VII 9. C. II, 4, 13; C. VI, 8.

Pompeian sentiments when the benefits of the principate are so clearly established.¹ But nevertheless we may be sure that the eloquence of the passages quoted from the rhetoricians, in the Suasoriae dealing with Cicero, reflects Seneca's fondness for the independence and courage of the old free state.

34.

He is a man of culture, but no pedant. He recognises that genius is above rules: he will have nothing^{to do} with pettifogging criticism.² He makes no ostentatious display of erudition. He knows the rules of the game of declamation. He can^{enjoy} its tours de force, ⁺ its rhythymical effects, its lux^xuriant descriptions, its eloquent invective. It is the human interest, however, that chiefly attracts him. He has been all his life a shrewd critic of men and things. He loves a jest, an anecdote, an aphorism, a pointed retort. He can paint a vivid picture in a few sentences. He has an eye for the essential. He can sum up and decide the point at issue in a ~~few~~ sentence~~s~~. Can Roman literature show a more vivid portrait than that of his great friend Porcius Latro,³ a masterly sketch of character, which rescues, ~~the great~~ as he intended it should, the great declaimer for ever from oblivion?

1. C. X. Praef., 5.

2. S. II, 13.

3. C. I. Praef., 13 et seq.

Arellius Fuscus, Cestius, Cassius Severus and Labienus are almost ^{as} clearly drawn, and many others characterised, if not fully defined. Think of the vivid sidelights thrown on the characters of Messala, of Pollio, of Maecenas, of Augustus. Nearly a hundred rhetoricians orators are mentioned: it is a crowded stage and yet there is no confusion. As was said before, if not one of the greatest of literary geniuses, Seneca must rank high for his sincerity, his moral fervour, his humour, his sanity of judgment, his power of portraiture, - qualities in startling contrast to those favoured by the fashion of his day.

35.

The title of Seneca's work is, according to the MSS., "L. Annaei Senecae, Oratorum et Rhetorum, Sententiae, Divisiones, Colores."^T It is divided into ten books of Controversiae and one of Suasoriae. There was originally at least one other book of Suasoriae, but it has not been preserved.¹ Even the beginning of the book that remains is not extant. In the codices the book of Suasoriae comes first, but there is no doubt that it was composed last.² To each book of Controversiae there was a preface, but the prefaces of books V. VI. VIII are lost, as well as the books themselves.

1. *Mss. B.V.D end the book of Suasoriae thus: liber primus explicit, incipit liber secundus.*

2. See C. II, 4, 8: *quae dixerit, suo loco reddam, cum ad suasorias venero.*

The preface to the book of Suasoriae has also not been preserved. The loss of these prefaces is in the highest degree regrettable, as it just these in which we are most interested, for the controversiae in themselves are wearisome to modern readers. A writer in the 4th or 5th century of our era made extracts from the controversiae, and all these Excerpta as they are called are preserved. From them we can gather the themes of the lost controversiae and ^{of} many of the sententiae. It is not remarkable that although ^{Seneca} wrote the book of Suasoriae last, this book appears first in our MSS., as some subsequent scribe would quite naturally invert the order, because suasoriae were always practised by the pupil of the rhetorician first, before he proceeded to the more difficult controversiae.

36. Of the three main species into which ancient oratory was usually divided - the genus deliberativum, genus demonstrativum, and genus iudiciale, - the suasoria is allied to the first, and the controversia to the third. The suasoria is a fictitious deliberative speech in which the speaker gives advice to an historical or semi-historical character regarding his future conduct;

whereas the controversia is a fictitious speech in an assumed civil or criminal suit. At the head of his extracts Seneca states the subject or theme of the controversia. There may be in addition a statement of the law^{or laws} under which the suit falls, and sometimes there is a title. Then follows a brief narrative in outline of the case. As an example let us take the 8th controversia of Book I:-

Qui ter fortiter fecerit, militia vacet.

Ter fortem pater in aciem quarto volentem exire retinet: nolentem abdicat.

The assumed law is: 'He who has thrice distinguished himself in battle is to be free from military service.' The narrative is: "One who had distinguished himself thrice desired to go out to battle a fourth time. His father tried to detain him. When he refuses his father disowns him."

37. The 6th of the first book has an interesting and romantic theme, which inspired Scudéry's story "Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa." The theme is as follows:-

"A man who had been captured by pirates asked his father to ransom him, but was refused. The captain of the pirates had a daughter who induced the captive

38

to swear that if released he would marry her. She abandoned her father and followed the youth on his escape. He went back to his father and married her. An heiress comes on the scene. The father commands the son to divorce the pirate's daughter and marry the heiress. When the son refuses the father disowns him." One more example may be given to illustrate a theme taken from alleged Roman history: it is of interest as it is referred to in one of the suasoriae:-

De moribus sit actio.

Popillium parricidii reum Cicero defendit; absolutus est. proscriptum Ciceronem ab Antonio missus occidit Popillius et caput eius ad Antonium rettulit. accusatur de moribus.

"Cicero defended Popillius when accused of parricide. P. was acquitted. When Cicero was proscribed Popillius was sent by Antony to slay him. He brought back Cicero's head to Antony. He is now accused 'de moribus' ²⁹

38. There appears to be little or no foundation for this story nor for the others which are taken from Greek or Roman history. The majority of the topics are indeed purely fictitious, laws and all. The laws sometimes have analogues in Greek law or custom, but seldom have

39

any connection with the Roman system. The characters are stock characters or types, like those in the new comedy. We have pirates, tyrants, tyrannicides, vestals who have broken their vows, adulteresses, poisoners, ravished maidens, and so on. It has been objected that the characters and topics are unsuited to the minds of youth. The objection cannot be met. At the same time it may be noted that there ^{are many} ~~plenty of~~ precedents for these topics in the historical and criminal records of the time. The schools are merely reflecting the age. Those who would like to pursue this interesting aspect of the subject farther must be referred to the controversiae themselves, or to the exhaustive analysis of M. Bornecque.² The declaimer takes whatever side he pleases in the controversia, accusation or defence. He must not alter the facts as stated in the theme. He may plead in defence one day, in accusation the next. He may assume what he pleases as having been advocated against him. He cannot be refuted as there is no one to reply. The facts are admitted, there is no evidence, no witnesses to examine or cross-examine. His whole task is limited to that of construction of the facts. He does not speak in his own

39. 1. See K.V. Morawsky, *Wiener Studien*, 1882, Vol. IV. pp. 166-168.

2. *Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le père*, H. Bornecque, Lille, 1902.

person but as one of the persons engaged in the suit. Hence he is partly an actor and he must speak as his assumed character would speak, that is, he is part dramatist as well. His speech is always a serious composition, at least for the great displays. It may be a very long thing, and does not appear ever to be short. Latro declaimed on one topic for three days!¹ Albucius declaimed on occasion for at least six hours.² The technique of these speeches in the hands of a great rhetor must have been masterly; the performance must have been artistically satisfying. We cannot believe that great statesmen like Augustus, Maecenas, Agrippa, and all the wits and men of genius in Rome throughout the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius would have interested themselves in this literary form, had it been quite so trivial and foolish as Mr Simcox would have us believe. The subject matter was of just as much importance as the plots of many of our novels, and surely it will not be denied that many of these are trivial enough. The fact that the same topics remained the stock themes over so many years shows conclusively that they could not have furnished the main interest, but that the manner of treatment was everything.

1. C. II, 4, 8.

2. C. VII, Praef. 1:- saepe declamante illo ter bu-
cinarit, sometimes taken as implying 9 hours,
but the trumpet may have sounded thrice in just
over six hours.

40

Seneca never quotes a declamation in its entirety. He records only short extracts or quotations. It is extremely dangerous to infer from ^{these} the general character of anyone's style. The quotations are only of the striking or abnormal passages. They are never fair samples of the work as a whole. What opinion would be formed of the style of Macaulay from twenty pages of examples of his use of antithesis, and nothing else? A declamation cannot have been all point, all epigram. The declaimer must have used the ordinary language of men some of the time.

41.

If, however, the subject matter of the controversiae, and the nature of the extracts that Seneca quotes, and especially the qualities that he illustrates, render them not very attractive to most modern readers, the same cannot be said of the suasoriae. Their subject matter has most attraction for us. The characters are either historical or semi-historical, are generally well-known to us, and the situations are romantically or dramatically interesting. We have only ^{seven} of the common topics left in Seneca's work; but we know from other sources many others. Quintilian quotes quite a number, and many more can be gathered from

1. For example, Quin., Inst. Or., VII, 1, 24, deliberat Numa
an regnum offerentibus Romanis recipiat; III, 5, 13,
an sibi uxor ducenda sit deliberabit ^{Cato} Numa.

Philostratus.¹ Juvenal quotes one that has Sulla for its chief character.² Perseus refers to one on Cato the younger.³ Of the seven on which Seneca's notes are left, two relate to Alexander the Great, two to the Persians' invasions, one to Agamemnon, and two to Cicero. Whatever we might have thought of ^{any} one of these declamations, as it was delivered in its entirety by a great master, we cannot deny that Seneca's seven chapters as they stand have a varied and absorbing interest. The actual quotations do not constitute the chief interest. We are fascinated more by the digressions, the anecdotes, the jests, the sidelights thrown on Antony, on Messala, on Augustus, on Tiberius, on Pollio and on Vergil. The two poetical quotations, eloquent or rhetorical as they are, make us wish that more of the poems from which they come had survived: and the quotations from the historians regarding the character and death of Cicero are precious reliques. To mention only two, the passages from Arellius Fuscus in the second ^{and sixth} suaseria, ~~and from Haterius in the sixth~~, by their eloquence enable us to conjecture what a complete suaseria was like.

42.

The words sententiae, divisiones, colores in the title require a more particular reference. They are

1. *Lives of the Sophists*, I, 20 (514) "The Spartans debate whether they shall fortify themselves by building a wall." I, 24 (528), "A Spartan advises the Lacedaemonians not to receive the men who had returned disarmed from Sphacteria." II, 5 (574), "Advice to the Scythians to return to their former life as nomads, since their health is declining through their residing in cities."
2. *Juv. Sat.* I, 16.
3. *Persius*, III, 45.

^{must}
have been an intellectual pleasure in this display of acuteness. Mental gymnastics seem to me as defensible and useful as any other form.² That our taste rejects them does not necessarily condemn them absolutely.

44. Lastly we have the colores. These from the nature of the case cannot appear in the suasoriae, as will be evident at once if we briefly explain what they are. The colores are the pleas alleged by the accused in explanation or extenuation of his act, or by the accuser to make the accused appear guilty or more guilty, to deepen as it were the shade of his guilt.¹ They constitute the colour given to the act by the speaker. As in a suasoria you merely have a speaker pointing out to some historical character the advantage or disadvantage of a future course of action, you cannot have colores. The color can be found anywhere in the speech implicit or explicit. It will naturally be an important element in the general impression produced by the whole speech. Pollio is really stating this when he maintains that the color should be merely indicated in the narratio (narrative of the facts of the case) and developed in the argumenta (the reasoning in support of the speaker's view of the facts).² ~~Juvenal is referring to this interest when he writes, 'dic, Quintili-~~

1. See Mayor, *Tac. Sat.* VII, 155 note.

2. *C. IV*, 3.

45

From this time on the students of rhetoric were intensely interested in colores.¹ Juvenal is referring to this interest when he writes, 'dic, Quintiliane, colorem'² and this again is quite naturable² and inevitable, as the declaimer in his colores had another field for the exercise of his ingenuity. To sum up the whole matter, as the subject was given, was hackneyed and had been handled scores of times, the interest of the declamation rested on the originality with which the ideas were expressed, the novelty of the line of argument, and of the colores. These being the three main topics of interest are chosen by Seneca as the three heads under which to give his reminiscences of the orators and declaimers.

45. The works of Seneca's son were, as we are told, probably preserved through the belief that the latter had had some connection with the apostle Paul. The works of the father in turn were preserved because for a long time they were believed to be part of the literary remains of his son. Such are the chances of the tradition. The rhetoricians travelled all over the Roman world, to Gaul, to Spain, to Africa; and whatever we may think of them and their exercises, the latter were
1. Seneca mentions rather contemptuously four books of Colores, edited by Tullius Otho, C. II, 1, 33.

2. Tuv. Sat. VI, 279.

26

the vehicle by which the ideas of Roman philosophy, literature and literary expression, in short all the culture of the time, were spread everywhere. Higher education flowed on in this form for five or six centuries, and we even find suasoriae on biblical subjects, once Christianity had ousted the old religion. When the dark ages begin to lighten we find Seneca's works and its topics very popular. They give themes to many of the tales of the 'Gesta Romanorum.' M. Boissier finds in them the source of the Discours of the French colleges. As scholarship becomes ignorant and uncritical, as men of genius become rarer, as the world settles into barbarism, it is little wonder that these exercises become more arid, more wearisome, more sterile, and lose all merit, till the very name of rhetoric becomes a term of reproach. But this is no more true of the declamation than of all other literary forms. We no longer ^{regard} it as a form of fictitious literature worth cultivating. It ^{may} ~~would~~ be doubted whether we ^{sh} ~~would~~ not do better to cultivate a little more our sense of beauty and propriety in public speaking. If we have the best of matter for eloquent expression, it is to be regretted that we do not devote more pains to finding the best expression for our matter. At any rate we should

New par. 46.

not disparage so much as we have done and still do,
these declamations that in Seneca's time were culti-
vated by the best intellects of the day with an enthu-
siasm almost too great for pastime.

For the following brief notice on the MSS., and which
I am extremely indebted to Voltaire's celebrated in-
struction in the edition of the text.

The MSS. are all very old. (1) Those which the
contains the full text of the surviving Contravention
and Disposition. (2) Those which contain only the text
to be extracted from the Contravention. (apparently
made in the 14th or 15th century for school use) with
some of the evidence. As these latter contain

Excerpts from the Contravention it is not necessary
to mention them separately. (3) Those which contain
only the text to be extracted from the Contravention.
As these latter contain

THE TEXT.

The text in this edition of the Suasoriae is based on that of H. J. Müller, Vienna, 1887. M. Bornecque in his edition of the Controversiae and Suasoriae (Garnier Frères, Paris, 1902) reviewed the text, and made a large number of alterations in Müller's. The latter, however, remains the standard. I have compared the two, and where they differed chosen that reading which so far as I was able to judge seemed preferable. I have also seen all or almost all of the articles published in the various Classical periodicals since 1902 on this subject.

For the following brief notes on the MSS. and editions I am ^{mainly} ~~entirely~~ indebted to Müller's elaborate introduction to his edition of the text.

The MSS. fall into two classes, (1) Those which the- contain the full text of the surviving Controversiae and Suasoriae, (2) those which contain only the Excerpta or Extracts from the Controversiae, (apparently made in the 4th or 5th century for school use) with some of the prefaces. As these latter contain no Excerpta from the Suasoriae it is not necessary to say much about them here. I will merely add that they are ~~f~~ very numerous, belong to the 9th to the 15th

centuries, and by their number testify to the great popularity of the book in the middle ages.

The MSS. of the first class contain only Books I, II, VII, IX, X, of the *Controversiae*, and the Book of *Suasoriae*.

They omit the Prefaces to the 1st and 2nd Books. The Preface to the Book of *Suasoriae* is totally lost, a loss much to be regretted. I add a short enumeration of the chief of these MSS:-

1. Codex Antverpiensis, denoted by the letter A.

in the State Library at Antwerp, written in the 10th century.

2. Codex Bruxellensis, in the Royal Library at Brussels, 10th century. (B).

3. Codex Vaticanus, in the Vatican Library, end of 10th century., (V).

A.B.V. are from the same non-existent Archetype (C), according to Müller, a conclusion which he arrives at from their similarity in corrections, in omitting words, and in the writing of the Greek quotations.

A.B. he also concludes are much more closely related to one another than to V. He infers that A.B. derive from one copy of the archetype which he calls X, from V from another which he calls X', and that A B are nearer the archetype.

4. Codex Toletanus, in the Royal Library, Brussels, written in the 13th century from V. (T).
5. Codex Brugensis, in the Royal Library, Brussels, written in the ¹⁵16th century from T. (Br).
6. Codex Bruxellensis, in the Royal Library, Brussels, 15th century. (D).

Müller also considers the corrector of the codex Toletanus ^(16th cent.) (7) as of importance for the text, as he seems ^{had} to have a good text from which to correct his MS.

EDITIONS.

1. Editio Veneta. Suasoriarum et Controversiarum Libri, first published at Venice, 1490, and again in 1492. Greek wanting.
2. Editio Frobeniana, edited by Erasmus, printed at Basle, 1515.
3. Edition of J. Hervagius and B. Brandus, Basle, 1557. Greek wanting.
4. Edition of Muretus, Rome, 1585. Muretus was the first editor who tried to decipher the hieroglyphics (as Müller calls them) in which the Greek quotations were written. He died before completing more than those in the Suasoriae.

editors

The editors of these editions all thought that the work was by Seneca the son.

In the following editions the works of the father are separated from those of the son:-

5. Edition of Nicholas Faber, Paris, 1587.
6. Andreas Schott, Douai, 1603.
7. J. F. Gronovius, Leyden, 1649.

Faber and Gronovius did much for the elucidation of the text, and Schott considering the corrector of the Codex Toletanus of high value put his corrections in the text. Thence they got ^{into} to the Gronovian edition and so to the Vulgate.

8. The Vulgate (so called). Editio Elseviriana, Amsterdam, 1672. This is the best and most important of the old editions. It contains the complete prefaces of Faber, and Schott and Gronovius and their notes, as well as notes of J. Schultingh, unpublished up till that time. With the exception of the brief notes in Bornecque's edition, these are the only notes available to a modern editor. I found them very useful.

Then for nearly two centuries the book was neglected, until in the middle of the 19th century the interest rose again:-

9. Edition of Conrad Bursian, Leipzig, 1857.
10. " Adolph Kiessling " 1872.
11. " H. J. MÜLLER " 1887.
12. " H. Bornecque Paris, 1902.

M. Bornecque published the critical notes on his edition of the text (as the nature of the series in which his work was published did not permit of such) in the *Revue de Philologie*, Vol., XXVI, 1902. He explains that he introduces corrections in the ends of phrases (when these are not in accordance with the laws of prose rhythm) as often as the most frequent faults in the MSS. of Seneca seem to justify these corrections. For his views on the laws of prose rhythm see his article in the *Revue de Philologie*, 1902, p. 117 et seq. His other corrections return to the MSS. readings or to conjectures already made. He also added many corrections made since 1894, especially those of Emile Thomas of Berlin, published in 1900, *Philologus*, Supp., 8th volume, pp. 159 - 258.

What of the emendations suggested by Gertz, often referred to later?

Notes on the Declaimers.

Of the 120 orators or declaimers mentioned in the whole work of Seneca only some 50 are represented in the *Suasoriae*. The majority are by origin from Italy or Rome, but a very large number came from other parts of the Empire. Thus Latro, Marullus, Gallio, Statorius Victor are from Spain, probably from Cordova. Cestius was born at Smyrna, Moschus at Pergamum; Arellius Fuscus and Argentarius are Greeks from Asia Minor. Of those who speak only in Greek, Diocles is from Euboea, Lesbocles and Potamon from Mitylene, Damas from Tralles, and Hybreas from Mylasa in Caria.

Hybreas, Marullus, Menestratus and Nicetes are older than Seneca; Albucius, Arellius Fuscus, Cestius, Haterius and Latro, among many others, are his contemporaries; Argentarius, Gallio, Fabianus and others are his juniors.

They vary greatly in capacity, from masters like Latro to botchers like Murrelius. Not all keep school. Not all speak Latin. Nicetes declaims only in Greek.

The rhetoricians, generally speaking, range themselves in two camps, the Attici and the Asiani. There is a further cleavage among them into Theodorei and Apollodorei; the difference between whom is rather obscure.

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Seneca places four of the declaimers in a class by themselves, which he calls the tetradeum, the "quartet" or tetrad, (C. x. Praef., 13). These supreme four are Latro, Fuscus, Albucius and Gallio. He makes the peculiar comment, 'hi quotiens confluxissent, penes Latronem gloria fuisset, penes Gallionem palma,' which means, I suggest, that had they competed with one another, Latro would have shown himself more brilliant, Gallio would have carried off the prize, i.e. the latter was the more effective speaker, the former the more brilliant.

A few notes are given on the 'tetrad' first, then the notes on the others follow in alphabetical order:

- / C. Albucius Silus, born about 60 - 55 B.C. at Novaria, where he became aedile, ^{then} came to Rome, and opened a school. One of the most competent declaimers, he was also advocate, in the latter rôle not too successful. His love of figures of speech led him into trouble on one occasion, ^{C.} (vii, Praef. 6-7), his independence on another (Suet. de Rhet., 6). He starved himself to death about 10 A.D. to escape from a painful malady. Seneca says he was 'homo summae probitatis qui nec

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facere iniuriam nec pati sciret (C.vii, Praef. 7). Excellent portrait of him and criticism of his style in C. vii, Praef. He does not figure much in the Suasoriae.

2. Arellius Fuscus, probably born in Greece, or in one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, 60 - 55 B.C. He came to Rome and opened a school where he had as pupils, possibly Seneca himself, certainly Ovid and Fabianus. He was alive after the publication of the Aeneid 17 B.C., but we do not know how long. He was very famous. He figures largely in the Suasoriae, and his style is brilliant and throbbing with passion. He has the faults and the merits of the Asiatic school. See note on S. II.(28.2).
3. L. Junius Gallio, born about 30 B.C., - probably came from Spain, a great friend of Seneca and Ovid, adopted Seneca's son, Novatus, after Seneca's death. He was a senator and on intimate terms with Tiberius, with whom, however, he ultimately fell into disfavour. Seneca calls him a master of the familiar style, but probably is too partial to him. He was too continually straining after effect, after originality, and is accused of excessive use of figures of rhetoric, especially antithesis, hence Tacitus Dial. de Or. 26, 'tinnitus Gallionis'.

4. M. Porcius Latro, born in Spain, probably at Cordova, contemporary of Seneca, and his most intimate friend. He committed suicide in 3 or 4 B.C. to escape from the pain of a quartan fever. He was Seneca's fellow-pupil both with the 'grammaticus' and in the school of Marullus. His reputation was very great, as he and Nicetes were the only two rhetoricians of whom we know that they merely lectured and declaimed and refused to listen to their pupils' efforts. In the preface to C.I. Seneca gives a brilliant portrait of him, of his character, his restless energy, his extraordinary memory and his methods of work and play. He seems to have been more sober and sound in judgment than his contemporaries, always striving to restrict them to what was natural and probable.
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5. Antonius Atticus, S.II.16, mentioned only once, and condemned for puerility.
6. Apaturius, Greek rhetorician, mentioned twice, S.I.11: S.II.21.
7. Argentarius, born in Greece, pupil of Cestius, mentioned S.I, 2; S.III, 2; S.IV, 6; S.VI, 7; S.VII, 7; the last passage quite eloquent.

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8. Asilius Sabinus, Seneca calls him disertus, and urbanissimus homo, in the *Suasoriae* (II, 12) venustissimus inter rhetoras scurra.
9. Attalus Stoicus, (S.II, 12), the well-known Stoic philosopher of the reign of Tiberius, teacher of Seneca the younger, characterised here by Seneca as the most acute and eloquent of the philosophers of the day.
10. Barbarus, a Greek rhetor. (S.I, 13, where unfortunately his quotation is lost.)
11. Catius Crispus, S.II, 16, only this and one or two quotations in the *Controversiae* known of him.
12. L. Cestius Pius, born at Smyrna, 65 - 60 B.C., came to Rome and opened a school, died after 9 A.D., defeat of Quintilius Varus by Arminius, note the anecdote of him and the younger Cicero in S.VII, 13. The main qualities of his character are revealed in the *Controversiae* or the *Suasoriae*. He was homo nasutissimus (S.VII, 12), mordacissimus (C.VII, Praef. 8), nullius ingenii nisi sui amator. His inordinate conceit made him rank himself above Cicero, which raised the ire of C. Severus and of Cicero the younger. He was highly successful,

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perhaps just because he was imbued with the fashionable literary vices.

13. M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, grandson of Pollio who considered him the heir of his own literary genius.
14. Cornelius Hispanus, a rhetorician known only from Seneca's work: mentioned in the *Suasoriae* in II, 7; II, 9; III, 2; VI, 7; and several times in the *Controversiae*.
15. Corvus, known only through Seneca, see S.II, 21.
16. Damas, surnamed *Scombrus*, Greek declaimer, born at *Tralles* in *Caria*. S.II, 14; S.I, 13.
17. Diocles, of *Carystus* in *Euboea*, highly praised by Seneca in the *Controversiae*.
18. Dorion, Greek rhetorician, mentioned in S.I, 12; S.II, 22; and S.II, 11, but the quotation is in each case lost.
19. Gargonius, S.II, 16; S.VII, 14, usually mentioned by Seneca only to be condemned.
20. Gavius Sabinus, S.II, 5: little known of him except Seneca's quotations.

21. Glycon, surnamed Spyridion, a Greek. In S.I, 11; S.I, 16; S.II, 14, he is mentioned twice with approval, once with disapproval.

22. Q. Haterius, the orator celebrated for his eloquence and adulation of the Emperor under Tiberius; senator, perhaps consul, born about 63 or 62 B.C., died about 26 A.D. He was voluble and impassioned and lacked restraint. Hence Augustus said he needed the curb, and Gallio said "^{drag}et ille erat plena deo" (S.III, 7, where see note). He seems to have preferred Suasoriae, and the passages in VI and VII are quite eloquent.

23. Hybreas, famous Greek orator and declaimer, born at Mylasa in Caria, played a great rôle in his native town, born about 80 B.C.

24. Lesbocles, Greek orator of Mitylene, where he had a school, (S.II, 15), according to Seneca justly famous.

25. Licinius Nepos, (S.II, 16) mentioned by Seneca only to be condemned for bad taste.

26. Marullus, taught declamation at Rome, probably came from Spain, perhaps from Cordova, teacher of Latro and Seneca, not in the first rank. (S.I, 3; S.II, 5; S.III, 2).

27. Menestratus, Greek declaimer, of the generation preceding

Seneca, a mediocrity.

28. Murredus, mentioned by Seneca invariably with condemnation.
29. Musa, Latin declaimer, a freedman, favourite of Seneca's son, Mela, but not of Seneca. He was dead when Seneca wrote his book.
30. Nicetes, Greek rhetorician of the time of Augustus, flourished about 33 B.C.: came to Rome with a great reputation. Note the story of the visit of Gallio and Seneca to Messala after hearing him (S.III, 6 and note). He, like Latro, refused to hear his pupils' efforts. He obviously belonged to the Asiatic school. He must have been really great as Seneca always praises him though a Greek in the highest terms.
31. P. Nonius Asprenas, Latin declaimer, no details of life known.
32. Papirius Fabianus, born about 35 B.C., pupil of Arellius Fuscus and afterwards of Blandus, soon abandoned rhetoric for philosophy and opened a school of philosophy where he had the younger Seneca as a pupil. As a declaimer he had great success. (S.I, 4; S.I, 9).
33. Plution, Greek rhetorician, (S.I, 11), mentioned by St Jerome

as, in 33 B.C., a very famous teacher of rhetoric.

34. Pompeius Silo, born about 50 B.C., probably a moderate declaimer and first-rate advocate (S.I, 2; S.II, 7; S.VI, 4; S.VII, 5).
35. Potamon, famous Greek rhetor of Mitylene, son of Lesbonax, contemporary and rival of Lesbocles, born about 65 B.C., died about 25 A.D.: sent on embassies to Rome in 45 B.C and 25 B.C. by his native town, great orator, wrote works on rhetoric and history. (S.II, 15; S.II, 16).
36. Rubellius Blandus, born at Tibur, probably about 45 B.C. Fabianus was his pupil, and Latro probably his teacher, first Roman eques to teach rhetoric at Rome. (S.II, 8; S.V, 7).
- (Grandio)
37. Seneca, Latin rhetorician. See Seneca's portrait of him, S.II, 17.
38. Senianus, nothing known except that Seneca quotes him always with disapproval. (S.II, 18).
39. Statorius Victor, declaimer and writer of fabulae, quoted S.II, 18, in a foolish sententia.
40. Surdinus, declaimer who also translated some Greek fabulae into

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Latin, pupil of Cestius. In S.VII, 12, Seneca calls him ingeniosus adulescens, 'a talented youth'.

41. Triarius, Latin declaimer, probably a pupil of Cestius, born about 30 B.C. (S.II, 3; S.V, 7; S.VI, 5; S.VII, 6).
42. Tuscus, Latin declaimer and historian. S.II, 22, where see note.
43. Varius Geminus, orator and declaimer, no details of life known, seems to have been a pupil of Cestius; C. Severus heard him, and we know he pleaded a cause before Caesar. S.VI, 11 and 12.
44. Volcacius Moschus, born at Pergamum, pupil and fellow-townsmen of Apollodorus. Kiessling suggests that he was given the citizenship by the consul L. Volcacius Tullus in 33 B.C., and came to Rome about the beginning of Augustus's principate; was accused of poisoning about 20 B.C., defended by Pollio and Torquatus, but condemned and exiled. He opened a school in Marseilles, and on his death in 25 A.D. left all his wealth to that town. His contemporaries rallied him on his excessive use of the figures of rhetoric. (S.I, 2).

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- * Tacitus,
Dialogus de Oratoribus.
- * Q. Curtius Rufus and Arrian for the Suasoriae relating to
Alexander.
- * Cicero's Rhetorical Works, and the Philippics, especially the
Second.
- Petronius Arbiter, Satyricon.
- Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists.

no notes refer to the text of this edition by
ed line.
When the paragraphs are given they are given in
either a column or the text.
Other paragraphs are indicated on the

List of Abbreviations.

- A. = Codex Antverpiensis.
 B. = Codex Bruxellensis.
 C. = Codicum ABV Consensus.
 D. = Codex Bruxellensis.
 T. = Codex Toletanus.
 T̄ = Corrector of the Codex Toletanus.
 V. = Codex Vaticanus.
 Br. = Codex Brugensis.
-

- Schg. = Johannes Schultingh.
 Gr. = J. F. Gronovius.
 B° = Henri Bornecque.
 W. = Wernsdorf, (Poetae Latini Minores).
-

In the references to Seneca's work

- C. = Controversiae
 S. = Suasoriae
-

The notes refer to the text of this edition by page and line.

When the paragraphs are given they are those of Müller's edition of the text.

Müller's paragraphs are indicated on the right hand side of the text and translation.

The translation corresponds page for page with the text.

SENECA — SUASORIAE

II

TEXT

William A. Edward

Suasoria I.

Deliberat Alexander, an Oceanum naviget.

....desinunt^{*}: cuicumque rei magnitudinem natura
dederat, dedit et modum; nihil infinitum est nisi
Oceanus. aiunt fertiles in Oceano iacere terras ultraque
5 Oceanum rursus alia litora, alium nasci orbem, nec
usquam rerum naturam desinere, sed semper inde ubi
desisse videatur, novam exsurgere. facile ista
finguntur, quia Oceanus navigari non potest.
satis sit hactenus Alexandro vicisse, qua mundo
10 lucere Soli satis est. intra has terras caelum
Hercules meruit. stat immotum mare, quasi de-
ficientis in suo fine naturae, pigra moles: novae
ac terribiles figurae, magna etiam Oceano portenta,
quae profunda ista vastitas nutrit,^{Corr} circumfusa lux

* desinunt, Müller's correction of the reading of
the MSS, sinunt, omitted in the trans-
lation as little meaning can be got
from it without the context.

I

alta caligine et interceptus tenebris dies, ipsum
 vero grave et defixum mare et aut nulla aut ignota
 sidera. ea¹ est, Alexander, rerum natura: post omnia
 Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil.

5 Argentari.

2.

Resiste, orbis te tuus revocat; vicinus, qua
 lucet. nihil tantum est, quod ego Alexandri periculo
 petam.

Pompei Silonis.

10 Venit ille dies, Alexander, exoptatus², quo tibi
 opera dasset; idem sunt termini et regni tui et
 mundi.

ⁱ
 Moschⁱ.

Tempus est Alexandrum cum orbe et cum sole desinere.

15 quod noveram, vici; nunc concupisco quod nescio.
 quae tam ferae gentes fuerunt, quae non Alexandrum

1. B° haec.

2. B° exoptatus tuis,

I

posito genu adorarint? qui tam horridi
montes, quorum non iuga victor miles
calcaverit? ultra Liberi patris trophaea
constitimus. non quaerimus orbem, sed amit-
5 timus. immensum et humanae intemptatum exper-
ientiae pelagus, totius orbis vinculum terrar-
umque custodia, inagitata remigio vastitas, litora
modo saeviente fluctu inquieta, modo fugiente
deserta; taetra caligo fluctus premit, et
10 nescio qui, quod humanis natura subduxit oculis,
aeterna nox obruit.

Musae.

Foeda beluarum magnitudo et immobile profundum.
testatum est, Alexander, nihil ultra^a esse, quod
15 vincas; revertere.

Albuci Sili.

3.

I

Terrae quoque suum finem habent, et ipsius
mundi aliquis occasus est; nihil infinitum
est; modum tu magnitudini facere debes, quo-
niam Fortuna non facit. magni pectoris est
5 inter secunda moderatio. eundem Fortuna vic-
toriae tuae, quem naturae, finem facit: impe-
rium tuum cludit Oceanus. o quantum magni-
tudo tua rerum quoque naturam supergressa est.
Alexander orbi magnus est, Alexandro orbis
10 angustus est. aliquis etiam magnitudini mod-
us est; non procedit ultra spatia sua caelum,
maria intra terminos suos agitantur. quid-
quid ad summum pervenit, incremento non relin-
quit locum. non magis quicquam ultra^a Alexan-
15 drum novimus quam ultra Oceanum.
Marulli.

I

Maria sequimur, terras cui tradimus? orbem
quem non novi, quaero, quem vici, relinquo.
Fabiani.

4

Quid? ista toto pelago infusa caligo navi-
5 gantem tibi videtur admittere, quae prospic-
ientem quoque excludit? non haec India est
nec ferarum terribilis ille gentium conventus.
inmanes propone beluas, aspice, quibus procel-
lis fluctibusque saeviat, quas ad litora-un-
10 das agat. tantus ventorum concursus, tanta
convulsi funditus maris insania est; nulla
praesens navigantibus statio est, nihil salu-
tare, nihil notum; rudis et imperfecta natu-
ra penitus recessit. ista maria ne illi qui-
15 dem petierunt, qui fugiebant Alexandrum. sac-
rum quiddam terris natura circumfudit Oceanum.

illi¹, qui iam siderum collegerunt meatus et
annuas hiemis atque aestatis vices ad cer-
tam legem redegerunt, quibus nulla pars ig-
nota mundi est, de Oceano tamen dubitant,

5 utrumne terras velut vinculum circumfluat an
in suum colligatur orbem et in hos, per quos
navigatur, sinus quasi spiramenta quaedam mag-
tudinis suae exaestu^{et}; ignem post se, cuius
augmentum ipse sit, habeat an spiritum. quid
10 agitis, commilitones? domitoremne generis hu-
mani, magnum Alexandrum, eo dimittitis, quod
adhuc quid sit disputatur? memento, Alexan-
der: matrem in orbe victo adhuc magis quam
pacato relinquis.

15 Divisio.

5

¹B° illi etiam.

¹B° censori nati, apud Aristot.

Divisio.

- Aiebat Cestius hoc genus suasoriarum alibi
aliter declamandum esse. non eodem modo
in libera civitate dicendam sententiam, quo
5 apud reges, quibus etiam quae prosunt, ita ta-
men, ut delectent, suadenda sunt. et inter
reges ipsos esse discrimen: quosdam minus, alios
magis osos veritatem; facile Alexandrum ex
iis esse, quos superbissimos et supra mortalis animi
10 modum inflatos accepimus. denique, ut alia
dimittantur argumenta, ipsa suasoria insolentiam
eius coarguit; *orbis* illum suus non
capit. itaque nihil dicendum aiebat nisi
cum summa veneratione regis, ne accideret idem
15 quod praeceptori eius, amitino Aristotelis
accidit, quem occidit propter intempestive
liberos sales; nam cum se deum vellet videri et

orbis/

*'B° censori ejus, amitino Aristotelis
praeceptoris*

vulneratus esset, viso sanguine eius philos-

phus mirari se dixerat, quod non esset ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε

δέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. ille se ab hac urbanitate

lancea vindicavit. eleganter in C. Cassi epistu-

5 la quadam ad M. Ciceronem missa positum: mul-

tum iocatur de st^ul^utitia Cn. Pompei adules-

centis, qui in Hispania contraxit exercitum

et ad Mundam acie victus est; deinde ait;

"nos quidem illum deridemus, sed timeo, ne il-

10 le nos gladio ἀντιμυκτηρίσῃ." in omnibus regibus

haec urbanitas extimescenda est. aiebat 6

itaque apud Alexandrum esse sic dicendam senten-

tiam, ut multa adulatione animus eius permul-

ceretur, servandum tamen aliquem modum, ne non

15 veneratio vider^eatur, sed adulatio, et accideret.

tale aliquid, quale accidit Atheniensibus,

- cum publicae eorum blanditiae non tantum
 deprehensae sed¹ castigatae sunt. nam
 cum Antonius vellet se Liberum patrem dici et
 hoc nomen statuis suis subscribi iuberet, habitu
 5 quoque et comitatu Liberum imitaretur, occurrerunt
 venienti ei Athenienses cum coniugibus et liberis
 et Διόνυσον salutaverunt. belle illis cesserat,
 si nasus Atticus ibi substitisset. ²dixerunt de-
 spondere ipsos in matrimonium illi Minervan suam
 10 et rogaverunt, ut duceret; Antonius ait ducturum,
 sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta.
 tum ex Graeculis quidam ait: κύριε, ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν μητέρα
 σου Σεμέλην ἄπαιον ^{ἔρχεν} ἔχειν. huic quidem impune fuit³ sed
 Atheniensium sponsalia mille talentis aestimata
 15 sunt. quae cum exigerentur, complures contume-
 liosi libelli proponebantur, quidam etiam ipsi

¹B° sed et.

²B° sed dixerunt

³B° fuit ausum.

Antonio tradebantur: sicut ille, qui subscriptus
statuae eius fuit, cum eod^em tempore et Octaviam
uxorem haberet et Cleopatram: "Οκταβία καὶ 7

Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀντωνίου· 'res tuas tibi habet.'" bellissimam

- 5 tamen rem Dellius dixit, quem Messala Corvinus
desultorem bellorum civilium vocat, quia ab Dola-
bella ad Cassium transiturus salutem sibi pactus
est, si Dolabellam occidisset, a Cassio deinde
transit ad Antonium, novissim^e ab Antonio transfu-
10 git ad Caesarem. hic est Dellius, cuius epistulae
ad Cleopat^{am} lascivae feruntur. cum Athen-
ienses tempus peterent ad pecuniam conferendam nec
exorarent, Dellius ait; "at tamen dicite illos ti-
bi annua, bienni, trienni die debere." longius me
15 fabellarum dulcedo produxit; itaque ad proposit-
um revertar. aiebat Cestius magnis cum laudibus 8

Cleopatram /

Alexandri hanc suasoriam esse dicendam, quam sic
divisit, ut primum dicer^et, etiamsi navigari posset
Oceanus, navigandum non esse; satis gloriae quae-
situm; regenda esse et disponenda, quae in tran-
5 situ vicisset; consulendum militi tot eius vic-
toriiis lasso; de matre illi cogitandum; et alias
causas complures subiecit. deinde illam quae-
stionem subiecit, ne navigari quidem Oceanum pos-
se. Fabianus philosophus primam fecit quaesti-
10 onem eandem; etiamsi navigari posset Oceanus,
navigandum non esse. at rationem aliam primam
fecit; modum inponendum esse rebus secundis.
hic dixit sententiam; illa demum est magna feli-
citas, quae arbitrio suo constitit. dixit deinde
15 locum de varietate fortunae, et, cum descripsisset
nihil esse stabile, omnia fluitare et incertis

¹
B° suis

motibus modo attolli, modo deprimi, absorberi terras et maria siccari, montes subsidere, deinde exempla regum ex fastigio suo devolutorum, adiecit "sine potius rerum naturam quam fortunam tuam de-
5 ficere". secundam quoque quaestionem aliter tractavit; divisit enim illam sic, ut primum negaret ullas in Oceano aut trans Oceanum esse terras habitabiles. deinde: si essent, perveniri tamen ad illas non posse; hic difficultatem navigationis, ignoti maris naturam non patientem
10 navigationis. novissime: ut posset perveniri, tanti tamen non esse. hic dixit incerta peti, certa deseri; descituras gentes, si Alexandrum rerum naturae terminos supergressum enotuisset;
15 hic matrem, de qua dixit: quo modo illa trepidavit etiam quod Granicum transiturus esset.

Glyconis celebris sententia est: τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι 11

Σιμόεις οὐδὲ Γράνικος· τοῦτο εἰ μή τι κακὸν ἦν
οὐκ ἂν ἔσχατον ἔκειτο. hoc omnes imitari voluerunt.

Plutonium dixit: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέγιστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι
5 αὐτὸ μὲν μετὰ πάντα, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ οὐθέν.

Artemon dixit: βουλευόμεθα, εἰ χρὴ περαιουῖσθαι.

οὐ ταῖς Ἑλλησποντῖαις ἡρσιν ἐφειστώτερες οὐδ' ἐπὶ
τῇ Παμφυλίῳ πέλαγος τὴν ἐμπρόθεσμον κατα-
δοκοῦμεν ἀμπωσιν· οὐδὲ Εὐφράτης τοῦτ' ἐστίν,
10 οὐδὲ Ἰνδός, ἀλλ' εἴτε γῆς τέμα, εἴτε φύσεως
ὄρος, εἴτε πρεσβύτατον στοιχεῖον, εἴτε γένεσις
θεῶν, ἱερώτερόν ἐστιν ἢ κατὰ ναῦς ὕδωρ.

Apaturius dixit: ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ναὺς ἐκ μιᾶς φορᾶς
<εἰς> ἀνατολὰς, ἐνθα δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀοράτους

15 δύσεις. Cestius descripsit sic: "fremit Oceanus,

quasi indignetur, quod terras relinquo." corr- 12

uptissimam rem omnium, quae umquam dictae sunt, ex

quo homines disertis insanire coeperunt, putabant

Dorionis esse in metaphrasi dictum Homeri, cum

excaecatus Cyclops saxum in mare reiecit, ^{*} οὐρος ἀπο-
σπᾶται καὶ χεῖρια βάλλεται νῆσους.
haec quo modo ex corruptis eo perveniant, ut

et magna et tamen sana sint, aiebat Maecenas apud

Virgilium intellegi posse. tumidum est:

5 ὄρους ὄρος ἀποσπᾶται. Vergilius quid ait?

rapit

haud partem exiguum montis.

ita magnitudini studet, ut non imprudenter dis-

cedat a fide. est inflatum: καὶ χεῖρια

10 βάλλεται νῆσους. Vergilius quid ait de navibus?

credas innare revolsas

²
Cycladas.

non dicit hoc fieri, sed videri. propitiis auri-

bus accipitur, ^mquavis incredibile sit, quod excus-

15 atur, antequam dicitur. multo corruptiorem sen-

13

tentiam Menestrati cuiusdam, declamatoris non

¹B^o quod ait quidem de navibus:

²B^o Cycladas,

* accepting Gertz's restoration of the Greek.

I

- abiectioni suis temporibus, nactus sum in hac ipsa
 suasoria, cum describeret beluarum in Oceano
 nascentium magnitudinem: . . . efficit hæc senten-
 tia, ut ignoscam Musæ, qui dixit ipsis Charybdi
 5 et Scylla maius portentum: "Charybdis ipsius ma-
 ris naufragium" et, ne in una re semel insaniret:
 "quid ibi potest esse salvi, ubi ipsum mare perit?"
 Damas ethicos induxit matrem loquentem, cum de-
 scriberet adsidue prioribus periculis nova super-
 10 venisse: Barbarus dixit, cum introduxisset
 excusantem se exercitum Macedonum, hunc sensum:
 Fuscus Arellius dixit: testor ante orbem
 tibi tuum deesse quam militem. Latro sedens¹
 hæc dixit; non excusavit militem, sed dixit:
 15 duc, sequor;² quis mihi promittit hostem, quis ter-
 ram. quis diem, quis aërem? da, ubi castra ponam,

¹ B° sequens.

² B° sequar.

ubi signa inferam. reliqui parentes, reliqui
 liberos, commeatum peto; numquid immature ab Oc-
 ceano? Latini declamatores in descriptione Ocea-
 ni non nimis viguerunt; nam aut minus descripse-
 runt aut nimis curiose. nemo illorum potuit tan-
 to spiritu dicere, quanto Peto, qui in navigante
 Germanico dicit:

iamque vident¹ post terga diem solemque relictum
 iam pridem² notis extorres finibus orbis
 10 per non concessas audaces ire tenebras
 ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi,
 nunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis
 qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saevas undique pristis
 aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.
 15 accumulatur fragor ipse metus. iam sidere limo
 navigia et rapido desertam flamine classem

¹ B^o and Müller, iam pridem

² B^o and Müller, iamque vident.

seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis
iam non felici laniandos sorte relinqui.
atque aliquis prora caecum sublimis ab alta
aera pugnaci luctatus rumpere visu,

5 ut nihil erepto valuit dinoscere mundo,
obstructa in talis effundit pectora voces:
quo ferimur? fugit ipse dies orbemque relictum
ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris.

ame alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes
10 atque alium flabris intactum quaerimus orbem?
di revocant rerumque vetant cognoscere finem
mortales oculos: aliena quid aequora remis
et sacras violamus aquas divumque quietas
turbamus sedes?

15 ex Graecis declamatoribus nulli melius haec suaso-
ria processit quam Glyconi; sed non minus multa

corrupte dixit quam magnifice; utrorumque faciam
 vobis potestatem. et volebam vos experiri non
 adiciendo iudicium meum nec separando a cor-
 ruptis sana; potuisset enim fieri, ut vos magis
 5 illa laudaretis, quae insaniunt. at nihilo mi-
 nus poterit fieri, quamvis distinxerim. illa
 belle dixit: . . . sed fecit, quod solebat, ut
 sententiam adiectione super^rvacua atque tumida
 perderet; adiecit enim: . . . illud quosdam dub-
 10 ios iudicii sui habet - ego non dubito contra sen-
 tentiam ferre - : ὑγίαινε γῆ, ὑγίαινε ἥλιε·
 Μακεδόνες ἄρα χάος εἰσάσσουσι.

1° *ana. Hellen, en Lacedaemone ? en Sparte?*

2° *his de monachis.*

3° *id.*

Suasoria II.

Trecenti Lacones contra Xersen missi, cum trecenti
ex omni Graecia missi fugissent, deliberant, an
et ipsi fugiant.

ARELLI FUSCI patris.

- 5 At, puto, rudis lecta aetas et animus, qui fran-
geretur metu, insuetaque arma non passurae manus
hebetataque senio aut vulneribus corpora. quid
dicam? potissimos Graeciae? an Lacedaemoniorum¹
electos? an repetam tot acies patrum totque ex-
10 cidia urbium, tot victarum gentium spolia? et nunc
produntur condita sine moenibus² templa? pudet con-
siliis nostri, pudet, etiamsi non fugimus, deliber-
asse talia. at cum tot milibus Xerses venit. o
Lacedaemonii, ite³ adversus barbaros; non refero
15 opera vestra, non avos, non patres, quorum vobis

¹ B° and Müller, an Lacedaemonios? an electos?

² B° his de manubiis.

³ B° ita.

II

exemplo ab infantia surgit ingenium. pudet Lacedaemonios sic adhortari: en, loco tuti sumus.
 licet totum classe Orientem trahat, licet metuentibus² explicet inutilem³ navium numerum: hoc mare,
 5 re, quod tantum ex vasto⁴ patet, urgetur in minimum, insidiosis excipitur angustiis vixque minimo
 aditus navigio est, et huius quoque remigium arcet inquietum omne, quod circumfluit, mare, fallentia
 cursus vada altioribus internata, aspera scopulorum
 10 et cetera, quae navigantium vota decipiunt. pudet, inquam, Lacedaemonios et armatos quaerere, quemadmodum tuti sint. non referam Persarum spolia? certe super spolia nudus cadam. sciet et
 alios habere nos trecentos, qui sic non fugiant et
 15 sic cadant. hunc sumite animum: nescio, an vincere possimus; vinci non possumus. haec non

¹ B° hoc loco.

² B° and Müller, intuentibus

³ Müller, ingentem

⁴ B° and Müller, ex vasto urgetur.

II

utique perituris refero; sed, si cadendum est,
 erratis, si metuendam creditis mortem. nulli natu-
 ra in aeternum spiritum dedit statque nascentibus
 in finem vitae dies. ex inbecilla enim nos ma-
 5 teria deus orsus est; quippe minimis succidunt
 corpora. indemnitiata sorte rapimur; sub eodem
 pueritia fato est, eadem iuventus causa cadit.
 optamus quoque plerumque mortem; adeo in securam
 quietem recessus ex vita est. at gloriae nullus
 10 finis est proximeque deos sic cadentes colunt; femi-
 nis quoque frequens hoc in mortem pro gloria iter
 est. quid Lycurgum, quid interritos omni periculo,
 quos memoria sacravit, viros referam? ut unum
 Othryadem excitem, adnumerare trecentis exempla
 15 possum.

Triari.

Non pudet Laconas ne pugna quidem hostium, sed
 fabula vinci? magnum est,² alimentum virtutis est
 nasci Laconem. ad certam victoriam omnes re-
 20 mansissent; ad certam mortem tantum Lacones. ne

¹ Müller, proximique deos sic Tageses agunt.

² B° deletes est.

II

sit Sparta lapidibus circumdata: ibi muros habet,
 ubi viros. melius revocabimus fugientes trecen-
 os quam sequemur. sed montes perforat, maria
 contegit. numquam solido stetit superba feli-
 5 citas, et ingentium imperiorum magna fastigia ob-
 livione fragilitatis humanae conlapsa sunt. sci-
 as licet ad finem bonum non pervenisse quae ad in-
 vidiam perducta sunt. maria terrasque, rerum
 naturam statione mutavit sua: moriamur trecenti
 10 ut hic primum invenerit, quod mutare non posset.
 si tam demens placitum consilium erat, cur non
 potius in turba fugimus?

FORCI LATRONIS.

In hoc scilicet morati sumus, ut agmen fugien-
 15 tium cogeremus. erimus inter fortes fugacissimi,
 inter fugaces tardissimi. rumori terga ver-
 titis? sciamus saltem, quam fortis sit iste,

II

quem fugimus. vix vel victoria dedecus elui
 potest: ut omnia fortiter fiant, feliciter
 cadant, multum tamen nomini nostro detractum est:
 iam Lacones, an fugeremus, deliberavimus.

5 atenim moriemur! quantum ad me quidem pertinet,
 post hanc deliberationem nihil aliud timeo,
 quam ne revertar. arma nobis fabulae excut-
 iunt? nunc, nunc pugnemus; latuisset virtus
 inter treceños. ceteri quidem fugerunt. si
 10 me quidem interrogatis, quid sentiam, et in
 nostrum et in Graeciae patrocinium loquar: el-
 ecti sumus, non relictí.

Gavi Sabini.

5

Turpe est cuilibet viro fugisse, Laconi etiam
 15 deliberasse de fuga.

Marulli.

In hoc restitimus, ne in turba fugientium
 lateremus. habent, quemadmodum se excusent
 Graeciae treceñi: "tutas Thermopylas putavimus
 20 cum relinqueremus illic Lacon^aes".

II

Cesti Pii.

Quam turpe esset fugere, iudicastis, Lacones,
tam diu non fugiendo. omnibus sua decora sunt.
Athenae eloquentia inclinat^{ae} sunt, Thebae sacris

- 5 Sparta armis. ideo hanc Eurotas amnis circum
fluit, qui pueritiam indurat ad futurae mi-
liti^{ae} patientiam? ideo Taygeti
nemoris difficilia nisi Laconibus iuga? ideo
Hercule gloriamur deo operibus caelum merito:
10 ideo muri nostri arma sunt? o grave maiorum
virtutis dedecus! Lacones se numerant, non
aestimant. videamus, quanta turba sit, ut
habeat certe Sparta etiamsi non fortes milites
at nuntios veros. ita ne bello quidem, sed
15 nuntio vincimur? merito, hercules, omnia con-
tempsit quem Lacones audire non sustinent.
si vincere Xersen non licet, videre liceat;

¹ B° and Müller insert enitmur in.

II

volo scire, quid fugiam. adhuc non sum ex
 ulla parte Atheniensium similis, non muris nec
 educatione; nihil prius illorum imitabor quam
 fugam?

5 Pompei Silonis.

Xerses multos secum adducit, Thermopylae
 paucos recipiunt. nihil refert, quantas gentes
 in orbem nostrum Oriens effuderit quantumque
 nationum secum Xerses trahat; tot ad nos per
 10 tinent, quot locus ceperit.

Corneli Hispani.

Pro Sparta venimus, pro Graecia stemus;
 vincamus hostes, socios iam vicimus; sciat
 iste insolens barbarus nihil esse difficilius
 15 quam Laconis armati latus fodere. ego vero,
 quod treceni discesserunt, gaudeo; liberas
 nobis reliquere Thermopylas; nil erit, quod
 B° moribus.

II

virtuti nostrae se apponat, quod se inserat;
 non latebit in turba Laco; quocum^que Xer-
 ses aspexerit, Spartanos videbit.

Blandi.

8

- 5 Referam praecepta matrum: "aut in his aut
 cum his"? minus turpe est a bello inermem
 reverti quam armatum fugere. referam capti-
 vorum verba? captus Laco: "occide," inquit,
 "non servio". potuit non capi, si fugere vol-
 10 uisset. describite terrores Persicos; omni-
 a ista, cum mitteremur, audivimus. videat
 trecentos Xerses et sciat, quanti bellum aes-
 timatum sit, quanto aptus numero locus. rever-
 tamur ne nuntii quidem nisi novissimi. quis
 15 fugerit, nescio; hos mihi Sparta commilitones
 dedit.

' Müller, non potuit

II

descriptio Thermopylarum. nunc me delectat,
quod fugerunt treceni; angustas mihi Thermopylas
fecerunt.

Contra. Corneli Hispani.

9

5 At ego maximum video dedecus futurum rei publicae
nostrae, si Xerses nihil prius in Graecia vicerit
quam Laonias. ne testem quidem virtutis nostrae
habere possumus; id de nobis credetur, quod hostes
narraverint. habetis consilium meum; id est au-
10 tem meum, quod totius Graeciae. si quis aliud sua-
det, non fortes vos vult esse, sed perditos.

Claudi Marcelli.

Non vincent nos, sed obruent. satis fecimus
nomini, ultimum cessimus; ante nos rerum natura
15 victa est.

Divisio.

10

Huius suasoriae feci mentionem, non quia in ea
subtilitatis erat aliquid, quod vos excitare posset,

'B° fecerant.

II

sed ut sciretis, quam nitide Fuscus dixisset
vel quam licenter; ipse sententiam non
feram; vestri arbitrii erit, utrum explicationes
eius luxuriosas putetis an vegetas. Pollio As-
5 inius aiebat hoc non esse suadere, sed ludere,
recolo nihil fuisse me iuvene tam notum quam
has explicationes Fusci, quas nemo nostrum non
alius alia inclinatione vocis velut sua quisque
modulatione cantabat. at quia semel in mentionem
10 incidi Fusci, ex omnibus suasoriis celebres descrip-
tiunculus^a subtexam, etiamsi nihil occurrerit, quod
quisquam alius nisi suasor dilexerit. divisione 11
autem in hac suasoria Fuscus usus est illa vulgari
ut diceret non esse honestum fugere, etiamsi tutum
15 esset: deinde: aequè periculosum esse fugere
et pugnare; novissime: periculosius esse fugere:
pugnantibus hostes timendos, fugientibus et hostes
'B° et.

II

et suos. Cestius primam partem sic trans¹it,
 quasi nemo dubitaret, an turpe esset fugere; deinde
 illo trans¹it, an non esset necesse. haec sunt,
 inquit, quae vos confundunt: hostes,² sociorum fuga,
 5 vestra ipsorum paucitas. non quidem in hac suasoria
 sed in hac materia disertissima illa fertur sententia
 Dorionis, cum posuisset hoc dixisse trecentis Leonidam,
 quod puto etiam apud Herodotum esse: <ἀριστοποιεῖσθε ὥς
 ἐν Αἰδοῦ δειπνήσμενοι>....Sabinus Asilius, venus- 12
 10 tissimus inter rhetoras scurra, cum hanc sententiam
 Leonidae rettulisset, ait: ego illi ad prandium
 promississem, ad cenam renuntiassem. Attalus Stoicus,
 qui solum vertit a Seiano circumscriptus magnae
 vir eloquentiae, ex his philosophis, quos vestra
 15 aetas vidit, longe et subtilissimus et facund-
 issimus, cum tam magna et nobili sententia certavit
 et mihi dixisse videtur animosius quam prior:

¹B^o tractavit.

²B^o hostium copia, vestrorum paucitas.

paucitas.

II

occurrit mihi sensus in eiusmodi materia a
Severo Cornelio dictus tanquam de Romanis nescio
an parum fortiter. edicta in posterum diem
pugna epulantes milites inducit et ait:

5

stratique per herbam

"hic meus est" dixere "dies!"

elegantissime quidem adfectum animorum incerta
sorte pendentium expressit, sed parum Romani
animi servata est magnitudo; cenant enim, tanquam

10

crastinum desperent. quantum illis Laconibus
animi erat, qui non poterant dicere: "hic dies
est meus". illud Porcellus grammaticus arguebat
in hoc versu quasi soloecismum, quod, cum plures
induxisset, diceret: "hic meus est dies", non:

13

15

"hic noster est", et in sententia optima id accu-
sabat, quod erat optimum. muta enim, ut "noster"
sit: peribit omnis versus elegantia, in quo hoc
est decentissimum, quod ex communi sermone trah-
itur; nam quasi proverbii loco est: "hic dies

20

meus est"; et, cum ad sensum rettuleris, ne
grammaticorum quidem calumnia ab omnibus magnis

B^o poterant non dicere.

II

ingeniis summovenda habebit locum: dixerunt enim
non omnes simul tamquam in choro manum ducente
grammatico, sed singuli ex iis: "hic meus est
dies". sed ut revertar ad Leonidam et trecentos, 14

5 pulcherrima illa fertur Glyconis sententia :

in hac ipsa suasoria non sane refero memoria dig-
nam ullam sententiam Graeci cuiusquam nisi Damæ:

ποῖ φεύξεσθε, δπλῖται, τέχῃ; de positione loci ele-
ganter dixit Haterius, cum angustias loci facun-

10 dissime descripsisset: "natus trecentis locus".

Cestius, cum descripsisset honores, quos habituri
essent, si pro patria cecidissent, adiecit: per

sepulchra nostra iurabitur. Nicetes longe disertius

hanc phantasiam movit et adiecit: 'nitide nisi

15 antiquior Xerses fuisset quam ut illum Demosthenis ὄρον

hic dicere liceret. hanc suam dixit sententiam aut certe

non deprehensam, cum descripsisset oportunitatem loci et

tuta undique pugnantium latera et angustias a tergo positas,

' Müller, nisi antiquior Xerses fuisset quam
Demosthenes / CIPTOY cui dicere.

II

sed advers^a hostibus. Potamon magnus declama-
tor fuit Mitylenis, qui eodem tempore viguit, quo
Lesbocles magni nominis et nomini respondentis
ingenii; in quibus quanta fuerit animorum
5 diversitas in simili fortuna, puto vobis indicandum,
multo magis quia ad vitam pertinet quam si ad
eloquentiam pertineret. utrique filius eisdem
diebus decessit: Lesbocles scholam solvit;
nemo unquam postea declamantem audivit; ampliore
10 animo se gessit Potamon: a funere filii contulit
se in scholam et declamavit. utriusque tamen
adfectum temperandum puto: hic durius tulit
fortunam quam patrem decebat, ille mollius quam virum.
Potamon, cum suasoriam de trecentis diceret, tract-
15 abat, quam turpiter fecissent Lacones hoc ipsum, quod
deliberassent de fuga, et sic novissime clausit: . . .
insanierunt in hac suasoria multi circa Othryadem:
Murredius qui dixit: fugerunt Athenienses: non
enim Othryadis nostri litteras didicerant.

15

16

- Gargonius dixit: Othryades qui perit ut falleret,
revixit ut vinceret. Licinius Nepos: eius exemplo
vobis etiam mortuis vincendum fuit. Antonius Atticus
inter has pueriles sententias videtur palmam meruisse;
- 5 dixit enim: Othryades paene a sepulchro victor
digitis vulnera pressit, ut trophaeo Laconem inscrib-
eret. o dignum Spartano atramentum! o virum, cuius
ne litterae quidem fuere sine sanguine! Catus Cris-
pus, municipalis orator, caco^zelos dixit post relatum
- 10 exemplum Othryadis: aliud ceteros, aliud Laconas decet:
nos sine deliciis educamur, sine muris vivimus, sine
vita vincimus. Seneca fuit, cuius nomen ad vos potuit 17
pervenisse, ingenii confusi ac turbulenti, qui
cupiebat grandia dicere, adeo ut novissime morbo huius
- 15 rei et teneretur et rideretur; nam et servos nolebat
habere nisi grandes et argentea vasa non nisi grandia.

II

credatis mihi velim non iocanti, eo pervenit insania
 eius, ut calceos quoque maiores sumeret, ficus non
 esset nisi mariscas, concubinam ingentis staturae
 haberet. omnia grandia probanti inpositum est cog-
 5 nomem vel, ut Messala ait, cognomentum, et vocari
 coepit Seneca Grandio. aliquando iuvene me is
 in hac suasoria, cum posuisset contradictionem: "at
 omnes, qui missi erant a Graecia, fugerunt," sub-
 latis manibus, insistens summis digitis - sic enim
 10 solebat, quo grandior fieret - exclamat: gaudeo,
 gaudeo. mirantibus nobis, quod tantum illi bonum
 contigisset, adiecit: totus Xerses meus erit.
 item dixit: iste, qui classibus suis maria sub-
 ripuit, qui terras circumscripsit, dilatavit pro-
 15 fundum, novam rerum naturae faciem imperat, ponat
 sane contra caelum castra: commilit~~ones~~ habebo
 deos. Senianus multo ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ potentius dixit: terras
 18 armis obsidet, caelum sagittis, maria vinculis:

'Müller, potentius.

II

Lacones, nisi succurritis, mundus captus est.

decentissimi generis stultam sententiam referam

Victoris Statori, municipis mei, cuius fabulis

memoria dignissimis aliquis delectetur. is huius

5 suasoriae occasione sumpsit contradictionem:

"at" inquit "trecenti sumus"; et ita respondit:

trecenti, sed viri, sed armati, sed Lacones, sed

ad Thermopylas; numquam vidi plures trecentos.

Latro in hac suasoria, cum tractasset omnia, quae

10 materia capiebat, posse ipsos et vincere, posse

certe invictos reverti ait beneficio loci; tum

illam sententiam: si nihil aliud, erimus certe

belli mora. postea memini auditorem Latronis

Arbronium Silonem, patrem huius Silonis, qui

15 pantomimis fabulas scripsit et ingenium grande

non tantum deseruit sed polluit, recitare carmen,

in quo agnovimus sensum Latronis in his versibus:

ite agite, o Danai, magnum paeana canentes,

ite triumphantes: belli mora concidit Hector.

II

tam diligentes tunc auditores erant, ne dicam
 tam maligni, ut unum verbum surripi non posset;
 at nunc cuilibet orationem in Verrem tuto licet
 dicere pro sua. sed, ut sciatis sensum bene dic-

20

5 tum dici tamen posse melius, notate prae ceteris,
 quanto decentius Vergilius dixerit hoc, quod val-
 de erat celebre, "belli mora concidit Hector":

quidquid ad adversae cessatum est moenia Troiae,

Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium

10 haesit.

Messala aiebat hic Vergilium debuisse desinere:

quod sequitur

et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum

explementum esse, Maecenas hoc etiam priori con-

15 parabat. sed ut ad Thermopylas revertar, Diocles

Carystius dixit . . . Apaturius dixit . . . Corvo rhe-

21

tori testimonium stuporis reddendum est, qui dixit:

"quidni, si iam Xerses ad nos suo mari navigat, fu-

giamus, antequam nobis terra subripiatur?" hic

20 est Corvus, qui cum temperaret scholam Romae,

II

- Sosio illi, qui Iudaeos subegerat, declamavit
 controversiam de ea, quae apud matronas disserebat
 liberos non esse tollendos et ob hoc accusatur
 rei publicae laesae. in hac controversia senten-
 5 tia eius haec ridebatur: "inter pyxides et redo-
 lentis animae medicamina constitit mitrata contio".
 sed, si vultis, historicum quoque vobis fatuum
 22 dabo. Tuscus ille, qui Scaurum Mamercum, in quo
 Scaurorum familia extincta est, maiestatis reum
 10 fecerat, homo quam improbi animi, tam infelicis in-
 genii, cum hanc suasoriam declamaret, dixit: "ex-
 pectemus, si nihil aliud, hoc effecturi, ne in-
 solens barbarus dicat: "veni, vidi, vici," cum hoc
 post multos annos Divus Iulius victo Pharnace dixerit.
 15 Dorion dixit: *ἄνδρες*..... aiebat Nicocrates
 Lacedaemonius insignem hanc sententiam futuram fu-
 23 isse, si media intercideretur. sed ne vos diuti-
 us infatuem, quia dixeram me Fusci Arelli expli-
 cationes subiecturum, hic finem suasoriae faciam.

II

quarum nimius cultus et fracta compositio poterit
vos offendere, cum ad meam aetatem veneritis; in-
terim non dubito, quin nunc vos ipsa, quae offens-
ura sunt, vitia delectent.

10 et omnis aësa hostem nullo gravat; sublevis celum,
et urentem sibi terra non retinet; aësa iustorum
sideribus curans est, et variatur corpore, aësa

Suasoria III.

Deliberat Agamemnon, an Iphigeniam immolet ne-
gante Calchante aliter navigari fas esse.

Arelli Fusci patris.

Non in aliam condicionem deus fudit aequora, quam
5 ne omnis ex voto iret dies, nec ea sors mari tan-
tum est: caelum specta, non sub eadem condicione
sidera sunt? alias negatis ^bimribus excurrunt solum,
et miseri cremata agricolae lugent semina, et haec
interdum anno lex est; alias serena clauduntur,
10 et omnis dies caelum nubilo gravat; subsidit solum,
et creditum sibi terra non retinet; alias incertus
sideribus cursus est, et variantur ^atempora, neque

III

- soles nimis urgent neque ultra debitum im-
 bres cadunt; quidquid asperatum aestu est,
 quidquid nimio diffluit imbre, invicem tem-
 peratur altero; sive ista natura disposuit,
 5 sive, ut ferunt, luna cursu gerit - quae,
 sive plena lucis suae est splendensque pari-
 ter adsurgit in cornua, imbres prohibet, si-
 ve occurrente nubilo sordidiorem ostendit orbem
 suum, non ante finit quam lucem reddit -
 10 sive ne lunae quidem ista potentia est, sed
 flatus, qui¹ occupavere, annum tenent: quid-
 quid horum est, extra iussum dei tutum fuit
 adultero mare. at non potero vindicare adulteram;
 prior est salus pudicae. ne quid huius virgin-
 15 itati timerem, persequer bar adulterum: victa
 Troia virginibus hostium parcoam; nihil

¹B^o qui caelum

III

adhuc virgo Priami timet.

Cesti Pii.

2

Vos ergo, di immortales, invoco: sic reclusuri estis maria? obserate potius. ne

- 5 Priami quidem liberos immolaturus es. describe nunc tempestatem: omnia ista patimur nec parricidium fecimus. quod hoc sacrum est virginis deae templo virginem occidere? libentius hanc sacerdotem habebit quam victimam.

- 10 Corneli Hispani.

Infestae sunt, inquit, tempestates et saeviunt maria, neque adhuc parricidium feci. ista maria, si numine suo deus regeret, adulteris clauderentur.

- 15 Marulli.

Si non datur nobis² ad bellum iter, revertamur ad liberos.

¹B° nec adhuc

²B° nobis aliter

III

Argentari.

Iterum in malum familiae nostrae fatale revol-
vimur: propter adulteram fratris liberi pereunt.
ista mercede nolo illam reverti. at Priamus

5 bellum pro adultero filio gerit.

Divisio.

3.

Hanc suasoriam sic divisit Fuscus, ut diceret,
etiamsi aliter navigari non posset, non esse
faciendum. hoc sic tractavit, ut negaret fa-
10 ciendum, quia homicidium esset, quia parrici-
dium, quia plus impenderetur quam peteretur:
peti Helenam, inpendi Iphigeniam; vindicari
adulterium, committi parricidium. deinde dixit,
etiamsi non immolasset, navigaturum; illam enim
15 moram naturae, maris et ventorum, esse: deorum
voluntatem ab hominibus non intellegi. hoc Ces-
tius diligenter divisit; dixit enim deos rebus hu-
manis non interponere arbitrium suum; ut in-
terponant, voluntatem eorum ab homine non in-
20 tellegi; ut intellegatur, non posse fata re-
vocari. si non sint fata, nesciri futura; si

III

4

sint, non posse mutari. Silo Pompeius, etiamsi
quod esset divinandi genus certum, auguriis ne-
gavit credendum: quare ergo, si nescit Cal-
chas, adfirmat? primum scire se putat - hic
5 communem locum dixit in omnes, qui hanc adfec-
tarent scientiam - ; deinde irascitur tibi,
invitus militat, quaerit sibi tam magno testi-
monio apud omnes gentes fidem. in ea descrip-
tione, quam primam in hac suasoria posui, Fus-
10 cus Arellius Vergilii versus voluit imitari;
valde autem longe petit et paene repugnante ma-
terie, certe non desiderante, inseruit. ait
enim de luna: "quae, sive plena lucis suae est
splendens que pariter assurgit in cornua, imbres
15 prohibet, sive occupata nubilo sordidiorem osten-
dit orbem suum, non ante finit quam lucem reddit."
at ^eVirgilius haec quanto et simplicius et beatius 5
dixit:

"luna, revertentes cum primum colligit ignes,
20 si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aera cornu,
maximus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber."

¹B° materia

44

^{must}
~~have~~ been an intellectual pleasure in this display of acuteness. Mental gymnastics seem to me as defensible and useful as any other form.² That our taste rejects them does not necessarily condemn them absolutely.

44. Lastly we have the colores. These from the nature of the case cannot appear in the *suasoriae*, as will be evident at once if we briefly explain what they are. The colores are the pleas alleged by the accused in explanation or extenuation of his act, or by the accuser to make the accused appear guilty or more guilty, to deepen as it were the shade of his guilt.¹ They constitute the colour given to the act by the speaker. As in a *suasoria* you merely have a speaker pointing out to some historical character the advantage or disadvantage of a future course of action, you cannot have colores. The color can be found anywhere in the speech implicit or explicit. It will naturally be an important element in the general impression produced by the whole speech. Pollio is really stating this when he maintains that the color should be merely indicated in the narratio (narrative of the facts of the case) and developed in the argumenta (the reasoning in support of the speaker's view of the facts).² ~~Juvenal is referring to this interest when he writes, 'dic, Quintili-~~

1. See Mayor, *Tuv. Sat. VII*, 155 note.

2. *C. IV*, 3.

III

Græcis placuerat. quaerebat a Gallione Messala,
quid illi visus esset Nicetes? Gallio ait: "plena
deo". quotiens audierat aliquem ex his decla-
matoribus, quos scholastici caldos vocant, sta-
5 tim dicebat: "plena deo". ipse Messala num-
quam aliter illum ab novi hominis auditione ve-
nientem interrogavit, quam ut diceret: "num-
quid plena deo?" itaque hoc ipsi iam tam fami-
liare erat, ut invito quoque excideret. apud 7
10 Caesarem cum mentio esset de ingenio Hateri, con-
suetudine prolapsus dixit: "et ille erat plena
deo." quaerenti deinde, quid hoc esse vellet,
versum Vergilii rettulit, et quomodo hoc semel si-
bi apud Messalam excidisset et numquam non pos-
15 tea potuisset excidere. Tiberius ipse Theodo-
reus offendebar Nicetis ingenio; itaque delec-
tatus est fabula Gallionis; hoc autem dicebat

III

Gallio Nasoni suo valde placuisse; itaque fecisse illum² quod in multis aliis versibus Vergilii fecerat, non sub⁴ripiendi causa, sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo, ut vellet agnosci:

5 esse autem in tragoedia eius:

"feror huc illuc, vae, plena deo."

iam, si vultis, ad Fuscum revertar et descriptionibus eius vos statim¹ satiabo ac potissimum eis, quas in verisimilitudinis tract³ione^{at} posuit,

10 cum diceret omnino non concessam futurorum scientiam.

¹B° affatim

²B° illum suum

³B° in simili huic tractationi

Suasoria IV.

Deliberat Alexander Magnus, an Babylona intret,
cum denuntiatus esset illi responso auguris
periculum.

Arelli Fusci.

5 Quis est qui futurorum scientiam sibi vindicet?
novae oportet sortis is sit, qui iubente deo canat,
non eodem contentus utero, quo imprudentes nas-
citur; quandam imaginem dei praeferat, qui iussa
exhibeat dei. sic est; tantum enim regem tanti-
10 que rectorem orbis in metum cogit. magnus iste et
supra humanae sortis habitum sit, cui liceat terrere
Alexandrum: ponat iste suos inter sidera patres et
originem caelo trahat, agnoscat suum vatem deus; non
eodem vitae fine,¹ extra omnem fatorum necessitatem
15 caput sit, quod gentibus futura praecipiat. si
vera sunt ista, quid ita non huic studio servit
omnis aetas? cur non ab infantia rerum naturam
deosque qua licet visimus, cum pateant nobis sidera
et interesse numinibus liceat? quid ita in inut-
20 illi desudamus facundia aut periculosis atteritur
armis manus? an melius alio pignore quam futuri

¹ The MSS. after fine read aetate magna,
bracketed by Müller, emended to non aetate
maligna by Borneoëue.

IV

scientia ingenia surrexerint? qui vero in media 2
 se, ut praedicant, fatorum misere pignora, nata-
 les inquirunt et primam aevi horam omnium annor^{um}_{um}
 habent nuntiam; quo ierint motu sidera, in quas
 5 discucurrerint partes, contrane durus¹ steterit an
 placidus adfulserit Sol: plenam lucem an initia
 surgentis acceperit, an abdiderit in noctem abs-
 curum caput Luna; Saturnus nascentem ad cultum
 agrorum, an ad bella Mars militem, an negotiosum
 10 in quaestus Mercurius exceperit, an blanda adnuerit
 nascenti Venus, an ex humili in sublime Iupiter
 tulerit, aestimant: tot circa unum caput tumul-
 tuantis deos! futura nuntiant: plerosque diu 3
 dixere victuros, at nihil metuentis² oppressit dies;
 15 aliis dedere finem propincuum, at illi superfuere
 agentes inutilis animas; felices nascentibus
 annos sponponderunt, at Fortuna in omnem propere-
 vit iniuriam. incertae enim sortis vivimus:

¹B° dirus

²B° mox oppressit

unicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex fide
scientiae¹ eruuntur. erit aliquis orbe toto
locus, qui te victorem non viderit? Babylon
ei cluditur, cui patuit Oceanus?

5 Divisio.

4

In hac suatoria nihil aliud tractasse Fus-
cum scio quam easdem, quas supra rettuli, quaes-
tiones ad scientiam futuri pertinentis. il-
lud, quod nos delectavit, praeterire non pos-
sum. 10 declamitarat Fuscus Arellius controver-
siam de illa, quae, postquam ter mortuos pepe-
rerat, somniasse se dixit, ut in luco pareret.
valde in vos contumeliosus fuero, si totam
controversiam, quam ego intellego vos scire, fusius
15 exposuero². . . . Fuscus, cum declamaret et a parte avi
non agnoscentis puerum tractaret locum contra somnia
et deorum providentiam et male de magnitudine
eorum dixisset mereri eum, qui illos circa puerperas
mitteret, summis clamoribus illum dixit Vergili
20 versum:

"scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
sollicitat."

¹B° ex siderum scientia

²B° and Müller, me dicere..... Fuscus.

IV

auditor Fusci quidam, cuius pudori parco, cum
hanc suasoriam de Alexandro ante Fuscum dice-
ret, putavit aequè belle poni eundem versum
et dixit:

5 "scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
sollicitat."

Fuscus illi ait: si hoc dixisses audiente
Alexandro, scisses apud Vergilium et illum versum
esse:

10 "capulo tenus abdidit ensem."

et quia soletis mihi molesti esse de Fusco,
quid fuerit, quare nemo videretur dixisse cult-
ius, ingeram vobis Fuscinas explicationes. di-
cebat autem suasorias libentissime et frequentius

15 Graecas quam Latinas. Hybreas in hac suasoria
dixit: οἶον ἔσχηκε Βαβυλῶν μάντιν ὀχύρωμα.

Suasoria V.

Deliberant Athenienses, an trophaea Persica
tollant, Xerse minante redituum se, nisi
tollerentur.

Arelli Fusci.

- 5 Pudet me victoriae vestrae, si sic fugatum
creditur Xersem, ut reverti possit. tot caesa
milicia, nihil ex tanta acie relictum minanti,
nisi quod vix fugientem sequi possit; totiens
mersa classis; quid Marathona, quid Salamina
10 referam? pudet dicere: dubitamus adhuc, an
vicerimus. Xerses veniet? nescio quomodo
languet circa memoriam iacturae animus et
disturbata arma non repetit. prior enim metus
futuri pignus est et amissa, ne audeat, amis-
15 surum monent. ut interdum in gaudio surgit
animus et spem ex praesenti metitur, ita adver-

'B° omits non.'

V

sis frangitur, omnis deficit animum fides,
 ubi ignominia spem premit, ubi nullam meminit
 aciem, nisi qua fugerit; haeret circa damna
 sua et quae male expertus est vota deponit. si
 5 venturus esset, non minaretur: suis ira ardet
 ignibus et in pacta non solvitur. non demunti- 2
 aret, si venturus esset, neque armaret nos nuntio
 nec instigaret victricem Graeciam nec sollicita-
 ret arma felicia: magis superveniret improvidis;
 10 nam et antea arma indenuntiata moverat. quantum-
 cumque Oriens valuit, primo in Graeciam impetu
 effusum est: hoc ille numero ferox et in deos
 arma tulerat. extincta tot ante Xersen milia,
 tot sub ipso, iacent: nulli nisi qui fugerunt
 15 supersunt. quid dicam Salamina? quid Cynaegiron
 referam et te, Polyzele? et hoc agitur, an vicer-

V

imus? haec ego trophae^a dis posui, haec in
totius conspectu Graeciae statui, ne quis ti-
meret Xerseni minantem. me miserum! pugnante
Xerse trophaea posui: fugiente tollam? nunc
5 Athenae vincimur: non tantum credetur redisse,
sed vicisse Xerses. non potest Xerses nisi ³ pere
nos trophaea tollere. credite mihi, difficile
est attritas opes recolligere et spes fractas
novare et ex paenitenda acie in melioris even-
10 tus fiduciam surgere.
Cesti Pii.
Inferam, inquit, bellum. alia mihi trophaea
promittit. potest maior venire quam quem vic-
tus est?
15 Argentari.
Non pudet vos? pluris trophaea vestra Xerses
aestumat quam vos.
Divisio. 4
Fuscus sic divisit: etiamsi venturus est
20 Xerses, nisi tollimus, non sunt trophaea tollen-
da: confessio servitutis est iussa facere. si

¹B° deposui

V

venerit, vincamus: hoc non est diu colligendum;
de eo dico "vincamus", quem vicimus. sed ne
veniet quidem: si venturus esset, non de-
nuntiaret; fractus est et viribus et animo.

5 Cestius et illud adiecit, quod in prima parte
tractavit, non licere Atheniensibus trophaea
tollere: commune in illis ius totius Graeciae
esse; commune bellum fuisse, communem vic-
toriam. deinde ne fas quidem esse: numquam
10 factum, ut quisquam consecratis virtutis suae
operibus manus adferret. ista trophaea non sunt
Atheniensium, deorum sunt: illorum bellum fuit,
illos Xerses vinculis, illos sagittis perseque-
batur. hic omnia ad impiam et superbam Xersis
15 militiam pertinentia. quid ergo? bellum ha-
bebimus? habuimus et habebimus: si Kersem remo-
veris, inveniatur alius hostis: numquam mag-
na imperia otiosa. enumeratio bellorum prospere
ab Atheniensibus gestorum. deinde: non erit
20 bellum; Xerses enim non veniet. multo ti-

5

V

midiores esse, quom superbissimi fuerint. novis-
sime: ut veniat, cum quibus veniet? reliquias
victoriae nostrae colliget; illos adducet, quos
priori bello quasi inutiles reliquit domi et
5 si qui ex fuga conservati sunt. nullum habet
militem nisi ^{aut} fastiditum aut victum. Argenta-
rius his duobus contentus fuit: aut non ven-
turum Xersen aut non esse metuendum, si ven-
erit. his solis institit et illud dixit, quod
10 exceptum est: "tollite" inquit "trophaea." si vi-
cisti, quid erubescis? si victus es, quid im-
peras? locum movit non inutiliter: indicare
quidem se neque Xersen neque iam quemquam Per-
sarum ausurum in Graeciam effundi; sed eo magis
15 trophaea ipsis tuenda, si quis umquam illinc ven-
turus hostis esset, ut conspectu tropha^orum animi
militum accenderentur, hostium frangerentur.
Blandus dixit: repleat ipse prius Atho et ma-
ria in antiquam faciem reducat. apparere vult
20 posteris, quemadmodum venerit; appareat, quem-

6

7

V

admodum redierit. Triarius omni dimissa divisione tantum exultavit, quod Kersen audiret venire: adesse ipsis novam victoriam, nova trophaea. Silo Pompeius venusto genere sententiae usus est: "nisi tollitis" inquit "trophaea, ego veniam." hoc ait Kerses: nisi haec trophaea tollitis, alia ponetis.

Alteram partem solus Gallio declamavit et hortatus ad tollenda trophaea dixit gloriae nihil detrahi; mansuram enim memoriam victoriae, quae perpetua esset; ipsa trophaea et tempestatibus et aetate consumi; bellum suscipiendum fuisse pro libertate, pro coniugibus, pro liberis: pro re supervacua et nihil nocitura, si defieret, non esse suscipiendum. hic dixit utique venturum Kersen et descripsit adversus ipsos deos tumentem; deinde habere illum magnas vires: neque omnes illum copias in Graeciam perduxisse nec omnes in Graecia perdidisse; ti-

V

mendam esse fortunae varietatem; exhaustas
esse Graeciae vires nec posse iam pati alterum
bellum; illi esse immensam multitudinem ho-
minum. hoc loco disertissimam sententiam di-

5 xit, dignam quae vel in oratione vel in historia
ponatur: diutius illi perire possunt quam nos
vincere.

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Suasoria VI.

Deliberat Cicero, an Antonium deprecetur.

Q. Hateri. 1

Sciant posteri potuisse Antonio servire rem-
publicam, non potuisse Ciceronem. laudandus erit
5 tibi Antonius; in hac causa etiam Ciceronem verba
deficient. crede mihi, cum diligenter te custodieris,
faciet tamen Antonius quod Cicero tacere non possit. si
intellegis, Cicero, non dicit "roga, ut vivas," sed "roga,
ut servias." quemadmodum autem hunc senatum intrare
10 poteris, exhaustum crudeliter, repletum turpiter? intrare
autem tu senatum voles, in quo non Cn. Pompeium visurus es,
non M. Catonem, non Lucullos, non Hortensium, non Lentulum
atque Marcellum, non tuos, inquam, consules Hirtium ac
Pansam? Cicero, quid in alieno saeculo tibi? iam nostra
15 peracta sunt. M. Cato, solus maximum vivendi moriendique 2
exemplum mori maluit quam rogare - nec erat Antonium rogat-
urus - et illas usque ad ultimum diem puras a civili
'B° tuos denique consules.

sanguine manus in pectus sacerrimum armavit. Scipio,
 cum gladium in pectus abdidisset, quaerentibus qui in
 navem transierant militibus imperatorem "imperator" inquit
 "bene se habet." victus vocem victoris emisit. "vetat"
 5 inquit "me Milo rogare iudices"; i nunc et Antonium roga.
 Porci Latronis. 3

Ergo loquitur umquam Cicero, ut non timeat Antonius,
 loquitur umquam Antonius, ut Cicero timeat? civilis
 sanguinis Sullana sitis in civitatem redit, et ad trium-
 10 viralem hastam pro vectigalibus civium Romanorum mortes
 locantur; unius tabellae albo Pharsalica ac Mundensis
 Mutinensisque ruina vincitur, consularia capita auro
 rependuntur: tuis verbis, Cicero, utendum est: "o tempora,
 o mores!" videbisⁱ ardentes crudelitate simul ac superbaⁱ
 15 oculos; videbis illum non hominis, sed belli civilis
 vultum; videbis illas fauces, per quas bona^a Gn. Pom-
 'B° illos ardentes

pei transierunt, illa latera, illam totius corporis
gladiatoriam firmitatem: videbis illum pro tribunali
locum, quem modo magister equitum, cui ructare turpe erat,
vomitu foedaverat: supplex accadens genibus deprecaberis?
5 eo ore, cui se debet salus publica, humilia in adulationem
verba summittes? pudeat; Verres quoque proscriptus
fortius perit.

Claudi Marcelli Aesernini.

4

Occurrat tibi Cato tuus, cuius a te laudata mors est:
10 quicquam ergo tanti putas, ut vitam Antonio debeas?
Cesti Pii.

Si ad desiderium populi respicis, Cicero, quandoque
perieris, parum vixisti; si ad res gestas, satis vixisti;
si ad iniurias Fortunae et praesentem rei publicae statum,
15 nimium diu vixisti; si ad memoriam operum tuo^rum, semper
victurus es.

VI

Pompei Silonis.

Scias licet tibi non expedire vivere, si Antonius per-
mittit, ut vivas. tacebis ergo proscribente Antonio
et rem publicam laniante, et ne gemitus quidem tuus liber
5 erit? malo populus Romanus mortuum Ciceronem quam vivum
desideret.

Triari.

"Quae Charybdis est tam vorax? Charybdim dixi, quae, si
fuit, animal unum fuit; vix me dius fidius Oceanus tot
10 res tamque diversas uno tempore absorbere potuisset."
hinc tu saevienti putas Ciceronem posse subduci?

Arelli Fusci patris.

Ab armis ad arma discurritur; foris victores domi
trucidamur, domi nostro sanguini intestinus hostis incubat;
15 quis non hoc populi Romani statu Ciceronem, ut non vivat,
cogi putat? rogabis, Cicero, turpiter Antonium, rogabis
frustra. non te ignobilis tumultus abscondet; nec idem
virtutis tuae qui vitae finis est. immortalis humanorum

¹B° omits non.

VI

operum custos memoria, qua magnis viris vita perpetua
est, in omnia te saecula sacratum dabit; nihil aliud inter- 6
cidet quam corpus fragilitatis caducae, morbis obnoxium,
^{cas}saecibus expositum, proscriptionibus obiectum; animus
5 vero divina origine haustus, cui nec senectus ulla nec mors,
onerosi corporis vinculis exsolutus ad sedes suas et cognata
sidera recurret. et tamen, si ad aetatem annorumque num-
quam observatum viris fortibus numerum respicimus, sexaginta
supergressus es nec potes non videri nimis vixisse, qui
10 moreris rei publicae superstes. vidimus furentia toto
orbe civilia arma, et post Italicas Pharsaliasque acies
Romanum sanguinem hausit Aegyptus. quid indignamur in
Ciceronem Antonio licere quod in Pompeium Alexandrino licuit
spadoni? sic occiduntur qui ad indignos confugiunt.

VI

Corneli Hispani.

7

Proscriptus est ille, qui tuam sententiam secutus
est: tota tabula tuae morti proluditur; alter fratrem
proscribi, alter avunculum patitur: quid habes spei?

5 ut Cicero periret, tot parricidia facta sunt. repete
agedum tot patrocinia, tot clientelas et maximum bene-
ficiorum tuorum, consulatum ipsum: iam intelleges
Ciceronem in mortem cogi posse, in preces non posse.
Argentari. Explicantur triumviralis regni delicata
10 convivia, et popina tributo gentium instruitur; ipse
vino et sommo marcidus deficientes oculos ad capita
proscriptorum levat. iam ad ista non satis est dicere:
hominem nequam!

Divisio. Latro sic hanc divisit suasoriam: etiamsi 8
15 impetrare vitam ab Antonio potes, non est tanti rogare;
deinde: impetrare non potes. in priore illa parte

VI

- posuit turpe esse cuilibet Romano, nedum Ciceroni,
 vitam rogare; hoc loco hominum, qui ultro mortem ad-
 prehendissent, exempla posuit. deinde: vilis illi vita
 futura est et morte gravior detracta libertate. hic
 5 omnem acerbitatem servitutis futurae descripsit. deinde:
 non futurum fidei intemeratae beneficium. hic cum
 dixisset: "aliquid erit, quod Antonium offendat, aut
 factum tuum aut dictum aut silentium aut vultus," adiecit
 sententiam: haud enim² placiturus es. Albucius aliter 9
 10 divisit: primam partem fecit: moriendum esse Ciceroni,
 etiamsi nemo proscriberet eum. hic insectatio temporum
 fuit. deinde: moriendum esse illi sua sponte, quom
 moriendum esset, etiamsi mori noluisset; graves odiorum
 causas esse; maximam causam proscriptionis ipsum esse
 15 Ciceronem. et solus ex declamatoribus temptavit dicere
 non unum illi esse Antonium infestum. hoc loco dixit

¹ B° semper aliquid erit.

² Müller, aude perire; B°, haud enim

VI

illam sententiam: "si cui ex triumviris non es invisus,
 gravis es," et illam sententiam, quae valde excepta est:

"roga, Cicero, exora unum, ut tribus servias." Cestius 10
 sic divisit: mori tibi utile est, honestum est, necesse

5 est, ut liber et inlibatae dignitatis consummes vitam.

hic illam sententiam dixit audacem: ut numereris cum

Catone, qui servire ne Antonio quidem nondum domino

potuit.¹ Marcellus hunc sensum de Catone melius: usque

eone omnia cum fortuna populi Romani conversa sunt, ut

10 aliquis deliberet, utrum satius sit vivere cum Antonio an

mori cum Catone? sed ad divisionem Cesti revertamur.

¹ See note

dixit mori illi utile esse, ne etiam cruciatus
corporis pateretur: non simplici illum modo
periturum, si Antonii manibus incidisset. in hac
parte cum descripsisset contumelias insultantium

- 5 Ciceroni et verbera et tormenta, dixit illam multum
laudat^aam sententiam: tu mehercules, Cicero, cum
veneris ad Antonium, mortem rogabis. Varius Geminus 11
sic divisit: hortarer te, si nunc alterutrum utique
faciendum esset, aut moriendum aut rogandum, ut morer-
10 eris potius quam rogares; et omnia complexus est, quae
a ceteris dicta erant: sed addidit et tertium: adhorta-
tus est illum ad fugam: illic esse M. Brutum, illic C.
Cassium, illic Sex. Pompeium. et adiecit illam
sententiam, quam Cassius Severus unice mirabatur:

VI

quid deficimus? et res publica suos triumviros habet.
 deinde etiam, quas petere posset regiones, percucurrit:
 Siciliam dixit vindicatam^a esse ab illo, Ciliciam a pro-
 consule egregie administratam, familiares studiis eius
 5 et Achaiam et Asiam, Deiotari regnum obligatum bene-
 ficiis, Aegyptum et habere beneficii memoriam et agere
 perfidiae paenitentiam. sed maxime illum in Asiam et
 in Macedoniam hortatus est in Cassi et in Bruti castra.
 itaque Cassius Severus aiebat alios declamasse, Varium
 10 Geminum vivumⁱ consilium dedisse.

Alteram partem pauci declamaverunt. nemo ausus 12
 est Ciceronem ad deprecandum Antonium hortari; bene de
 Ciceronis animo iudicaverunt. Geminus Varius declamavit
 alteram quoque partem et ait: spero me Ciceroni meo
 15 persuasurum, ut velit vivere. quod grandia loquitur et
 dicit: "mors nec immatura consulari nec misera sapienti,"
 non movet me: idiotam gerit; ego belle mores hominis
 novi: faciet, rogabit. nam quod ad servitutem pertinet,
 non recusabit; iam collum tritum habet; et Pompeius illum
 1 B° unum

VI

et Caesar subegerunt: veteranum mancipium videtis.
 et complura alia dixit scurrilia, ut illi mos erat.
 divisit sic, ut diceret non turpiter rogaturum, non
 frustra rogaturum. in priore parte illud posuit,
 5 non esse turpe civem victorem rogari a victo. hic,
 quam multi rogassent C. Caesarem, hic et Ligarium.
 deinde; ne iniquum quidem esse Ciceronem satis facere,
 qui prior illum proscripsisset, qui hostem iudicasset:
 a reo semper nasci satisfactionem; audacter rogaret!
 10 deinde: non pro vita illum, sed pro re publica rogaturum:
 satis illum sibi vixisse, rei publicae parum.
 in sequenti parte dixit exorari solere inimicos: ipsum
 exoratum Vatinio Gabinioque reis adfuisse. facilius
 exorari Antonium posse, qui cum tertio esset, ne quis
 15 e tribus hanc tam speciosam clementiae occasionem
 praeriperet. fortasse ei irasci Antonium, qui ne tanti
 quidem illum putasset quem rogaret. fuga quam periculosa 14
 esset cum descripsisset, adiecit, quocumque pervenisset,
 serviendum illi esse: ferendam esse aut Cassii vi-

¹B° ac laesum rogari

olentiam aut Bruti superbiam aut Pompei stultitiam.

Quoniam in hanc suasoriam incidimus, non alienum
puto indicare, quomodo quisque se ex historicis adversus
memoriam Ciceronis gesserit. nam, quin Cicero nec tam
5 timidus fuerit, ut rogaret Antonium, nec tam stultus, ut
exorari posse eum speraret, nemo dubitat excepto Asinio
Pollione, qui infestissimis famae Ciceronis permansit.
et is etiam occasionem scholasticis alterius suasoriae
dedit: solent enim scholastici declamitare: deliberat
10 Cicero, an salutem promittente Antonio orationes suas
comburat. haec inepte ficta cuilibet videri potest.
Pollio vult illam veram videri: ita enim dixit in ea 15
oratione, quam pro Lamia edidit.

Asini, Pollionis. "Itaque numquam per Ciceronem mora
15 fuit, quin eiuraret suas, quas cupidissime effuderat,
orationes in Antonium; multiplicesque numero et accur-
atius scriptas illis contrarias edere ac vel ipse palam
pro contione recitare pollicebatur": adieceratque his

alia sordidiora multo, ut ibi facile liqueret hoc totum
adeo falsum esse, ut ne ipse quidem Pollio in historiis
suis ponere ausus sit. huic certe actioni eius pro
Lamia qui interfuerunt, negant eum haec dixisse - nec

5 enim mentiri sub triumvirorum conscientia sustinebat -,
sed postea composuisse. nolo autem vos, iuvenes mei, 16
contristari, quod a declamatoribus ad historicos transeo.
satis faciam vobis et fortasse efficiam, ut, his sen-
tentiis lectis, solidis et verum habentibus accedatis
10 aequiores! hoc si tamen recta via consequi non potero,
decipere vos cogar, velut salutarem daturus pueris
portionem, summa par^te poculi. T. Livius adeo retract-
ationis consilium habuisse Ciceronem non dicit, ut neget
tempus habuisse; ita enim ait.

15 T. Livi.

17

M. Cicero sub adventum triumvirorum urbe cesserat pro
certo habens, id quod erat, non magis Antonio eripi se
quam Caesari Cassium et Brutum posse; primo in Tuscul-
anum fugerat, inde transversis itineribus in Formianum

See note

ut ab Caieta navem conscensurus proficiscitur. unde aliquotiens in altum provectum cum modo venti adversi rettulissent, modo ipse iactationem navis caeco volvente fluctu pati non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et
5 vitae cepit, regressusque ad superiorem villam, quae paulo plus mille passibus a mari abest, "moriar" inquit "in patria saepe servata." satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum; ipsum deponi lecticam et quietos pati quod sors iniqua cogeret iussisse.
10 prominenti ex lectica praebentique innotam cervicem caput praecisum est. nec id satis stolidae crudelitati militum fuit: manus quoque scripsisse aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes praeciderunt. ita relatum caput ad Antonium iussuque eius inter duas manus in rostris positum, ubi ille
15 consul, ubi saepe consularis, ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium quanta nulla umquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiae auditus fuerat; vix attollentes lacrimis oculos humentes intueri truncata membra civis poterant.

Bassus Aufidius et ipse nihil de animo Ciceronis

18

dubitavit, quin portiter se morti non praebuerit tantum
sed obtulerit.

Aufidi, Bassi.

- 5 Cicero paulum remoto velo postquam armatos vidit, "ego
vero consisto;" ait "accede, veterane, et, si hoc saltim
potes recte facere, incide cervicem." trementi deinde
dubitantique: "quid, si ad me" inquit "primum venissetis?"
Cremutius Cordus et ipse ait Ciceronem secum cogitasse, 19

- 10 utrumne Brutum an Cassium an Sextum Pompeium peteret;
omnia illi displicuisse praeter mortem.

Cremuti, Cordi.

Quibus visis laetus Antonius, cum peractam proscriptionem
suam dixisset esse, quippe non satiatum modo caedendis

- 15 civibus sed differtus quoque, super rostra exponit. itaque,
quo saepius ille ingenti circumfusus turba processerat, quae
paulo ante aures praebuerat piis orationibus,¹ quibus mult-
orum capita servaverat, eo tum per artus sublatus aliter ac
solitus erat a civibus suis conspectus est, praependenti

¹ see note

VI

capiti orique eius inspersa sanie, brevi ante princeps
 senatus Romanique nominis titulus, tum pretium interfect-
 oris sui. praecipue tamen solvit pectora omnium in lac-
 rimis^a gemitusque visa ad caput eius deligata manus dextera,
 5 divinae eloquentiae ministra; ceterorumque caedes privatos
 luctus excitaverunt, illa una communem.

Bruttedi Nigri. "Elapsus interim altera parte villae 20
 Cicero lectica per agros ferebatur; sed, ut vidit adpro-
 pinquare notum sibi militem, Popili^lum nomine, memor defensum
 10 a se laetiore vultu aspexit. at ille victoribus id ipsum
 imputaturus occupat facinus caputque decisum nihil in ultimo
 fine vitae facientis, quod alterutram in partem posset notari,
 Antonio portat oblitus se paulo ante defensum ab illo."
 et hic voluit positi in rostris capitis miserabilem faciem
 15 describere, sed magnitudine rei obrutus est. "ut vero 21
 iussu Antonii inter duas manus positum in rostris caput

conspectum est, quo totiens auditum erat loco, datae
gemitu et fletu maximo viro inferiae, nec, ut solet,
vitam depositi in rostris corporis contio audivit,
sed ipsa narravit. nulla non pars fori aliquo actionis
5 inclutae signata vestigio erat; nemo non aliquod eius
in se meritum fatebatur: hoc certe publicum bene-
ficio palam erat, illam miserrimi temporis servitutem
a Catilina dilatam in Antonium."

Quotiens magni alicuius viri mors ab historicis
10 narrata est, totiens fere consummatio totius vitae et
quasi funebris laudatio redditur. hoc, semel aut iterum
a Thucydide factum, item in paucissimis personis usurpatum
a Sallustio, T. Livius benignus omnibus magnis viris
praestitit; sequentes historici multo id effusius fecer-
15 unt. Ciceroni hoc, ut Graeco verbo utar, ἐπιτάφιον
Livius reddit. T. Livi. Vixit tres et sexaginta annos, 22
ut, si vis affuisset, ne immatura quidem mors videri possit.
ingenium et operibus et praemiis operum felix, ipse fort-
unae diu prosperae; sed in longo tenore felicitatis

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magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exilio, ruina partium,
 pro quibus steterat, filiae morte, exitu tam tristi
 atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum
 erat tulit praeter mortem, quae vere aestimanti minus
 5 indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nihil
 crudelius passus erat quam quod eiusdem fortunae conpos
 victo fecisset. si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensa-
 rit, vir magnus ac memorabilis fuit et in cuius laudes
 exequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. ut est
 10 natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator
 T. Livius, plenissimum Ciceroni testimonium reddidit.
 Cordi Cremuti non est operae pretium referre redditam 23
 Ciceroni laudationem; paene¹ nihil enim in ea Cicerone
 dignum est ac ne hoc quidem, quod maxime tolerabile est;
 15 "proprias enim simultates deponendas interdum putabat,
 publicas numquam vi decernendas: civis non solum
 magnitudine virtutum sed ~~multitudine virtutum~~ sed multi-
 tudine quoque conspiciendus."

¹ B° omits paene and enim

² B° inserts per se

VI

Anfidi Bassi. Sic M. Cicero decessit, vir natus ad
rei publicae salutem, quae diu defensa et administrata
in senectute demum e manibus eius elabitur, uno ipsius
vitio laesa, quod nihil in salutem eius aliud illi,
5 quam si caruisset Antonio, placuit. vixit sexaginta et
tres annos ita, ut semper aut peteret alterum aut invicem
peteretur, nullamque rem rarius quam diem illum, quo
nullius interesset ipsum mori, vidit. Pollio quoque 24
Asinius, qui Verrem, Ciceronis reum, fortissime morien-
10 tem tradidit, Ciceronis mortem solus ex omnibus maligne
narrat, testimonium tamen quamvis invitus plenum ei
reddidit. Asini Pollionis. Huius ergo viri tot
tantisque operibus mansuris in omne aevum praedicare de
ingenio atque industria supervacuum est. natura autem
15 atque Fortuna pariter obsecuta est ei, si quidem facies
decora ad senectutem prosperaque permansit valetudo;
tum pax diutina, cuius instructus erat artibus, contigit;
namque ad priscam severitatem iudiciis exactis maxima

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noxiorum multitudo provenit quos obstrictos patrocinio
 incolum~~es~~ plerosque habebat; iam felicissima consul-
 atus ei sors petendi et gerendi magna, munere deum,
 consilio industriaque. utinam moderatius secundas res
 5 et fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utraq^e
 cum evenerant ei, mutari eas ^{non} posse rebatur. inde sunt
 invidiae tempestates coortae graves in eum certiorque
 inimicis adgrediendi fiducia; maiore enim simultates
 adpetebat animo quam gerebat. sed quando mortalium
 10 nulli virtus perfecta contigit, qua maior pars vitae
 atque ingenii stetit, ea iudicandum de homine est.
 atque ego ne miserandi quidem exitus eum fuisse iudic-
 arem, nisi ipse tam miseram mortem putasset. adfirmare 25
 vobis possum nihil esse in historiis eius hoc, quem
 15 rettuli loco disertius, ut mihi tunc non laudasse Cic-
 eronem, sed certasse cum Cicerone videatur. nec hoc
 deterrendi causa dico, ne historias eius legere concup-
 iscatis; concupiscite et poenas Ciceroni dabit. nemo
 tamen ex tot disertissimis viris melius Ciceronis mortem

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deploravit quam Severus Cornelius.

Corneli Severi.

26

"Oraque magnanimum spirantia paene virorum
in rostris iacuere suis; sed enim abstulit omnis
5 tamquam sola foret, rapti Ciceronis imago.
tunc redeunt animis ingentia consulis acta
iurataeque manus deprensaque foedera noxae
patriciumque nefas extinctum; poena Cethegi
deiectusque redit votis Catilina nefandis.
10 quid favor aut coetus, pleni quid honoribus anni
profuerant? sacris exulta quid artibus aetas?
abstulit una dies aevi decus, ictaque luctu
conticuit Latiae tristis facundia linguae.
unica sollicitis quondam tutela salusque,
15 egregium semper patriae caput, ille senatus
vindex, ille fori, legum ritusque togaeque,
publica vox saevis aeternum obmutuit armis.
informes voltus sparsamque cruore nefando
canitiem sacrasque manus operumque ministras
20 tantorum pedibus civis proiecta superbis
proculcavit ovans nec lubrica fata deosque
respexit. nullo luet hoc Antonius aevo.

hoc nec in Emathio mitis victoria Perse
nec te, dire Syphax, non fecit in hoste Philippo;
inque triumphato ludibria cuncta Iugurtha
afuerunt, nostraeque cadens ferus Annibal irae
5 membra tamen Stygias tulit inviolata sub umbras."

non fraudabo municipem nostrum bono versu, ex
quo hic multo melior Severi Corneli processit:

27

conticuit Latiae tristis facundia linguae.
Sextilius Ena fuit homo ingeniosus magis quam
10 eruditus, inaequalis poeta et plane quibusdam
locis talis, quales esse Cicero Cordubenses pe-
tas ait, pingue quiddam sonantis atque peregrinum.
is hanc ipsam proscriptionem recitaturus in do-
mo Messalae Corvini Pollionem Asinium advocave-
15 rat et in principio hunc versum non sine assen-
su recitavit:

deflendus Cicero est Latiaeque silentia linguae.
Pollio Asinius non aequo animo tulit et ait:

"Messala, tu quid tibi liberum sit in domo tua,
20 videris; ego istum auditorus non sum, cui mutus videor."

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atque ita consurrexit. Enae interfuisse recitationi Severum quoque Cornelium scio, cui non aequè displicuisse hunc versum quam Pollioni apparet, quod meliorem quidem, sed non dissimilem illi et ipse composuit. si
 5 hic desiero, scio futurum, ut vos illo loco desinatis legere, quo ego a scholasticis recessi; ergo, ut librum velitis usque ad umbilicum revolvere, adiciam suasoriam proximae similem.

Suasoria VII.

Deliberat Cicero, an scripta sua conburat promittente Antonio incolumitatem, si fecisset.

Q. Hateri.

Non feres Antonium; intolerabilis in malo ingenio
 5 felicitas est nihilque nocere cupientis magis accendit quam prosperae turpitudinis conscientia. difficile est; non feres, inquam, et iterum irritare inimicum in mortem tuam cupies. quod ad me quidem pertinet, multum a Cicerone absum; tamen non taedet tantum me
 10 vitae meae sed pudet. ne propter hoc quidem ingenium tuum amas, quod illud Antonius plus odit quam te? remittere ait se tibi, ut vivas, commentus, quemadmodum, eripiat etiam quod vixeras. crudelior est pectio Antonii quam proscriptio. ingenium erat, in quod nihil
 15 iuris haber^eant triumvralia arma. commentus est Antonius, quemadmodum quod non poterat cum Cicerone proscribi, a Cicerone prosciberetur. hortarer te, Cicero, ut vitam magni aestimares, si libertas suum haberet in civitate locum, si suum in libertate eloquentia, si non
 20 civili ense cervicibus illuderetur;² nunc, ut scias nihil
¹B° illi continere se difficile est.

²B° civibus luderetur: Müller, cervicibus luerentur.

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esse melius quam mori, vitam tibi Antonius promittit.
pendet nefariae proscriptionis tabula: tot praetorii,
tot consulares, tot equestris ordinis viri periere;
nemo relinquitur nisi qui servire possit.

5 nescio, an hoc tempore vivere velis, Cicero;
nemo est, cum quo velis. merito hercules illo
tempore vixisti, quo Caesar¹ ultro te rogavit, ut
viveres sine ulla pactione, quo tempore non quidem
stabat res publica, sed in boni principis sinum
10 ceciderat.

Cesti Pii.

2

Numquid opinio me fefellit? intellexit Antonius
salvis eloquentiae monumentis non posse Ciceronem
mori. ad pactionem vocaris, qua pactione meli-
15 or ante te pars tui petitur. adcommoda mihi
paulisper eloquentiam tuam; Ciceronem periturum
rogo. si te audissent Caesar et Pompeius, neque
inissent turpem societatem neque diremissent; si
uti unquam consilio tuo voluissent, neque Pompeius
20 Caesarem deseruisset neque Pompeium Caesar.
quid referam consulatum salutarem urbi, quid ex-
ilium consulatu honestius, quid provocatam inter

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initia adolescentiae libertate tirocinii tui Sul-
lanam potentiam, quid Antonium avulsum a Cati-
lina, rei publicae redditum? ignosce, Cicero,
si diu ista narravero: forsitan hoc die novis-
5 sime audiuntur. si occidatur Cicero, iacebit
inter Pompeium patrem filiumque et Afranium, Pe-
treium, Q. Catulum, M. Antonium illum indignum
hoc successore generis; si servabitur, vivet
inter Ventidios et ⁱCandios et Saxas: ita dubi-
10 um est, utrum satius sit cum illis iacere an cum
his vivere? pro uno homine iactura publica pa-
cisceris. scio omne pretium iniquum esse, quod
ille constituit: non emo tanti Ciceronis vitam,
quanti vendit Antonius. si hanc tibi pactionem
15 ferret: "vivēs, sed eruentur oculi tibi, vives,
sed debilitabuntur pedes"; etiamsi in alia damna
corporis praestares patientiam, excepisses tamen
linguam. ubi est sacra illa vox tua: "mori enim
naturae finis est, non poena?" hoc tibi uni non

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liquet? at videris Antonio persuasisse. adsere
te potius libertati et unum¹ crimen inimico adice:
fac moriendo Antonium nocentiozem.

P. Asprenatis.

4

5 Ut Antonius Ciceroni parcat, Cicero in eloquen-
tiam suam ipse animadvertet? quid autem tibi
sub ista pactione promittitur? ut Cn. Pompeius
et M. Cato et ille antiquos restituatur rei pub-
licae senatus, dignissimus apud quem Cicero loque-
10 retur? multos care victuros animi sui contemp-
tus oppressit; multos perituros parati ad pere-
undum animi ipsa admiratio eripuit et causa illis
vivendi fuit fortiter mori velle. permitte po-
pulo Romano contra Antonium polliceri. scripta
15 tua si combusseris, Antonius paucos annos tibi
promittit: at, si non combusseris, amor populi
Romani omnes.

Pompei Silonis.

5

Quale² est, ut perdamus eloquentiam Ciceronis,
20 fidem sequamur Antonii? misericordiam tu istam
vocas, supplicium sumptum de Ciceronis ingenio?
credamus Antonio, Cicero, si bene illi pecunias
crediderunt faeneratores, si bene pacem Brutus

¹ B° novum

² B° grave est

et Cassius. hominem et vitio naturae et licentia
temporum insanientem, inter scaenicos amores sanguine
civili luxuriantem: hominem qui creditoribus suis
oppigneravit rem publicam, cuius gulae duorum principum
5 bona, Caesaris ac Pompei, non potuerunt satis facere!
tuis utar, Cicero, verbis: "cara est cuiquam salus,
quam aut dare aut eripere potest Antonius?" non est
tanti servari Ciceronem, ut ^eservatum Antonio debeam.
Triari.

6

10 Compulsus aliquando populus Romanus in eam necessit-
atem est, ut nihil haberet praeter lovem obsessum et
Camillum exulem; nullum tamen fuit Camilli opus maius
quam quod indignum putavit viros Romanos salutem pact-
ioni debere. o gravem vitam, etiamsi sine pretio
15 daretur! Antonius hostis a re publica iudicatus nunc
hostem rem publicam iudicat. Lepidus, ne quis illum
putet male Antonio collegam placuisse, alienae semper
dementiae accessio, utriusque collegae mancipium, noster
dominus est.

20 Argentari.

7

Nihil Antonio credendum est. mentior? quid enim iste
non potest, qui occidere Ciceronem potest, qui servare

- nisi crudelius quam occidat non potest? ignoscere
 tu illum tibi putas, qui ingenio tuo irascitur? ab
 hoc tu speras vitam, cui nondum verba tua exciderunt?
 ut corpus, quod fragile et caducum est, servetur,
 5 pereat ingenium, quod aeternum est? ego mirabar
 si mors crudelior esset Antonii venia. P. Sci-
 pionem a maioribus suis desciscentem generosa mors
 in numerum Scipionum reposuit. mortem tibi re-
 mittit, ut id pereat, quod in te solum immortale est.
 10 qualis est pactio? aufertur Ciceroni ingenium si-
 ne vita; promittuntur pro oblivione nominis tui
 pauci servitutis anni. non ille te vivere vult,
 sed facere te ingenii tui superstitem: videlicet
 Cicero audiat Lepidum, Cicero audiat Antonium, nemo
 15 Ciceronem. poteris perferre, ut, quod Cicero
 optimum habet, ante se efferat? sine durare post te
 ingenium tuum, perpetuam Antonii proscriptionem.
 Arelli Fusci, patris.
 Quoad humanum genus incolume manserit, quamdiu suus
 20 litteris honor, suum eloquentiae pretium erit, quamdiu
 rei publicae nostrae aut fortunae^e taterit aut memoria

duraverit, admirabile posteris vigebit ingenium tuum,
 et uno proscriptus saeculo proscribes Antonium omnibus.
 crede mihi, vilissima pars tui est quae tibi vel eripi
 vel donari pot^test; ille verus est Cicero, quem proscri-

5 bi Antonius non putat nisi a Cicerone posse. non 9
 ille tibi remittit proscriptionem, sed tolli desiderat
 suam. si fidem deceperit Antonius, morieris; si
 praestiterit, servies. quod ad me attinet, fallere
 eum malo. per te, M. Tulli, per quattuor et sexa-
 10 ginta annos pulchre actos, per salutarem rei publicae
 consulat^um, per aeternam, si pateris, ingenii tui
 memoriam, per rem publicam, quae, ne quid te put^eas carum
 illi relinquere, ante te perit, oro et obtestor, ne
 moriaris confessus, quam nolueris mori.

15 Huius suasorⁱae alteram partem neminem scio de- 10
 clamasse; omnes pro libris Ciceronis solliciti
 fuerunt, nemo pro ipso, cum adeo illa pars non
 sit mala, ut Cicero, si haec condicio lata ei fu-
 isset, deliberaturus non fuerit. itaque hanc

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suasoriam nemo declamavit efficacius quam Silo Pompeius; non enim ad illa speciosa se contulit, ad quae Cestius, qui dixit hoc gravius esse supplicium quam mortem, et id^{eo} hoc Antonium eligere;

5 brevem vitam esse homini, multo magis seni: itaque memoriae consulendum, quae magnis viris aeternitatem promitteret, non qualibet mercede vitam redimendam esse. hic condiciones intolerabiles. nihil tam intolerabile esse quam monumenta inge-

10 nii sui ipsum exurere. iniuriam illum facturum populo Romano, cuius linguam in locum principem extulisset, ut insolentis Graeciae studia tanto antecederet eloquentia, quanto fortuna; iniuriam facturum generi humano. paenitentiam illum ac-

15 turum tam care spiritus empti, cum in servitute senescendum fuisset et in hoc unum eloquentia utendum, ut laudaret Antonium. male cum illo agi: dari vitam, eripi ingenium.

Silo Pompeius sic egit, ut diceret Antonium non

20 pacisci, sed inludere: non esse illam conditionem, sed contumeliam; combustis enim libris nihilominus occisurum; non esse tam stultum Antonium,

ut putaret ad rem pertinere libros a Cicerone con-
buri, cuius scripta per totum orbem terrarum cel-
ebrarentur, nec hoc petere eum, quod posset ipse fa-
cere, nisi forte non esset in scripta Ciceronis ei
5 ius, cui esset in Ciceronem; quaeri nihil aliud,
quam ut ille Cicero multa fortiter de mortis con-
temptu locutus ad turpes condiciones perductus oc-
cideretur. Antonium illi non vitam cum condicione
promittere, sed mortem sub infamia quaerere. ita-
10 que quod turpiter postea passurus esset, nunc illum
debere fortiter pati.

Et haec suasoria insignita est. dixit enim
sententiam cacozeliae genere humillimo et sordid-
issimo, quod detractu aut adiectione syllabae fa-
15 cit sensum: "pro facinus indignum! peribit ergo
quod Cicero scripsit, manebit quod Antonius pro-
scripsit?" apud Cestium Pium rhetorem declamabat 12
hanc suasoriam Surdinus, ingeniosus adulescens,
a quo Graecae fabulae eleganter in sermonem Lati-
20 num conversae sunt. solebat dulces sententias di-
cere, frequentius tamen praedulces et infractas.

¹ B° sententiam

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in hac suasoria, cum iusiurandum bellis sensibus
prioribus complexus esset, adiecit: "ita te legam."
Cestius, homo nasutissimus, dissimulavit exaudisse
se, ut adolescentem ornatum, quasi inpudens esset,
5 obiurgaret: "quid dixisti? quid? ita te fruar?"
erat autem Cestius nullius quidem ingenii nisi sui
amator, Ciceroni etiam infestus, quod illi non in-
pune cessit. nam cum M. Tullius, filius Ciceronis, 13
Asiam obtineret, homo qui nihil ex paterno inge-
10 nio habuit praeter urbanitatem, cenabat apud eum
Cestius. M. Tullio et natura memoriam ademerat,
et ebrietas, si quid ex ea supererat, subducebat;
subinde interrogabat, quid ille vocaretur, qui
in imo recumberet, et cum saepe subiectum illi
15 nomen Cestii excidisset, novissime servus, ut a-
liqua nota memoriam eius faceret certiore, in-
terroganti domino, quis ille esset, qui in imo
recumberet, ait: "hic est Cestius, qui patrem tuum
negabat litteras scisse"; adferri ocius flagra ius-
20 sit et Ciceroni, ut oportuit, de corio Cestii sa-
tis fecit. erat autem etiam, ubi pietas non ex- 14

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igeret, scordalua. Hybreas, disertissimi viri,

filio male apud se causam agenti ait: ἡμεῖς οὖν
πατέρων <μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι;>

et, cum in quadam postulatione Hybreas patris

5 sui totum locum ad litteram omnibus agnoscentibus

diceret, "age", inquit, "non putas me didicisse

patris mei: "quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, pa-

tientia nostra?" Gargonius, fatuorum amabilissi-

mus, in hac suasoria dixit duas res, quibus stul-

10 tiores ne ipse quidem unquam dixerat; unam in prin-

cipio: nam, cum coepisset scholasticorum frequen-

tissimo iam more a iureiurando et dixisset multa,

ait: "itaque primum tantum Antonium timeat, quantum

potest; ita aut totus vivat Cicero aut totus moriatur,

15 ut ego quae hodie pro Ciceronis ingenio dixero nulla

pactione delebo." alteram rem dixit, cum exempla

referret eorum, qui fortiter perierant: "Iuba et

Petreius mutuis vulneribus concucurrerunt et mortes

faeneraverunt."

'B^o Antonius

SENECA - SUASORIAE



TRANSLATION

William A. Edward

Suasoria I.

"Alexander considers whether he should sail the Ocean."

.....In nature everything that has magnitude has limits too:

there is nothing boundless except Ocean. It is commonly said that there lie fertile lands in the Ocean, that beyond the Ocean again other shores, another world arises, and there is no end to created things, but ever a new world begins where the old seems to end. It is easy to invent such tales since one cannot sail the

Ocean. Let Alexander be content with having conquered that portion of the world where the sun is content to shine. Within the limits of these lands Hercules

won his place in heaven. There lies the motionless *a lifeless bulk of nature, as it were,* sea, ~~like an inert barrier to nature,~~ which here has its appointed end. There are strange and frightful shapes,

great monsters in the Ocean also, which that deep abyss *The light is mingled in dense gloom:* rears. ~~All round the sunlight rolls a thick mist;~~

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the dark makes a curtain for the day;
~~day is out off by its gloom;~~ of stars there are none
or they are unknown. Such, Alexander, is the con-
stitution of nature. Beyond everything is the Ocean,
beyond the Ocean nothing.

Argentarius. Stop, your own world calls you back. 2
All that the sun shines on we have conquered. No aim
is so important that for it I would endanger Alexander's
safety.

Pompeius Silo. That day has come, Alexander, that
long desired day, on which your toil should cease: the
bounds of your kingdom are the bounds of the world.

Moschus. It is time that Alexander should stop where
the world ends and the sun ceases to shine. I have
conquered the known; now I desire the unknown. What
tribes were so savage as not to adore Alexander on

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bended knee? What mountains so dreadful that his
victori^ous soldiers have not trod their ridges? We
have halted beyond the trophies of Father Bacchus.
In this search for a new world we lose the old.
Boundless and unexplored by man is the sea: it
girdles the whole earth: it guards the lands; it
is a waste of waters untroubled by the oar: now its
shores are unquiet under the raging billow, now they
are desolate when the billow withdraws: a horror of
darkness weighs on its waters, and, I know not how,
what nature has denied to human eyes eternal night
overwhelms.

Musa. Loathsome and huge are the monsters in this
deep and immovable abyss. The case is plain: there
is nothing more to conquer: retrace your steps.

Albucius Silus. The lands too have their own boundary, and the universe itself ends somewhere: everything is finite: you must set a limit to your greatness since fortune sets none. Self-control in success is the mark of a great heart. Fate bounds your victorious march with the bounds of the world. Your empire is closed by the ocean. Your grandeur has far transcended the majesty of nature. To the world Alexander is great: to Alexander the world is narrow. But even the greatest things are finite. The spacious sky moves within its own paths, the restless seas observe their boundaries. Whatever has reached its ²zenith can increase no farther. We know nothing greater than Alexander: we know nothing beyond Ocean.

Marullus. In our quest of the seas to whom are we to give over the dry lands? A world unknown is my goal, the conquered world I abandon.

Fabianus. Another point. Do you think that if the eye cannot pierce the darkness that broods on all these waters the ship can cleave its waves? This is not India, nor its dreadful hosts of savage peoples. Imagine the awful monsters in the sea, observe the storms and billows with which it rages, the waves it drives to the shore: such is the warring of its winds: such the mad rage of the sea when stirred from its lowest depths: there is no anchorage at hand, no safety; all is unknown: far within its depths all that is monstrous and imperfect in nature has found a refuge. Not even those who fled from Alexander sought those seas. The Ocean that nature has poured round the world is something sacred.

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Those who defined the courses of the stars, and reduced to fixed law the annual alternations of winter and summer, to whom no part of the world is unknown, nevertheless have no sure knowledge of the Ocean. They know not whether it surrounds the earth like a girdle, or forms a circle by itself, and surges out into these navigable bays, which are as it were the breathing vents of its immensity. They doubt whether it has fire or air behind it fed by its exhalations. What do you mean, fellow-soldiers? Will you allow the conqueror of the human race, the great Alexander, to embark on that element whose nature is still unknown? Remember, Alexander, you are leaving your mother in a world that is only conquered not pacified.

Divisio.

Cestius used to say that in suasoriae as a class the tone must vary with the situation. Opinion in a free state should not be expressed in the same manner as at the courts of kings. Unpalatable counsel must not be given to these even for their good. Even kings differ in character. They all hate truth more or less. Alexander clearly was one of the haughtiest kings in history with a spirit too arrogant for a mortal. Finally to abandon other evidences the suasoria in itself makes clear his arrogance: the world is his own, yet he is not satisfied. On these grounds, Cestius used to say, all arguments must be couched in a tone of the highest respect for the king, if one would avoid the fate of his teacher, Aristotle's cousin, whom Alexander slew for the ill-timed frankness of his wit. It was Alexander's wish to be considered a god, and, on one occasion when he

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was wounded, the philosopher said on seeing the blood flow that he was surprised that it was not "that limpid stream that flows in the veins of the blessed gods." Alexander took revenge for this sally with his spear. C. Cassius in a letter to Cicero makes a neat point which recalls this story. After many jests about the folly of young Cn. Pompey (who gathered an army in Spain and was beaten at Munda) he concludes by saying: "We may have a laugh at his expense, but his reply, I fear, will be a sword-thrust." With all kings such wit is to be dreaded. And so Cestius said that in the case of Alexander the arguments must both soothe and flatter: yet as the appearance must be one of reverence not of flattery we must exercise restraint: otherwise we may meet some such fate as befell Athens, when

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its flattery of Antony was exposed and punished. Antony wanted to be called Father Liber and gave orders that this title should be inscribed on his statues. He also imitated Bacchus in dress and retinue. The Athenians met him on his arrival with their wives and children, and greeted him as "Dionysus". All would have gone well if their Attic wit had stopped there, but they proceeded to offer him in marriage their goddess Minerva, and to entreat him to wed her. Antony said he would marry her, but exacted 1000 talents as dowry: ^{whereupon} ~~thereupon~~ one of the Greeks said: "Sire, Zeus, had your mother Semele to wife without a dowry". This jest passed unpunished, but the betrothal cost the Athenians 1000 talents. During the exaction of the money a great number of lampoons were published, some were even delivered to Antony himself: such as the one which

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was written under his statue, for at the ^{same} time he had both Octavia and Cleopatra to wife, "Octavia and Athene to Antonius: 'Take your own property and be gone'."

In this connection a very witty thing was said by Dellius, ⁷ whom Messala Corvinus calls 'the acrobat of the civil wars,' because when he was on the point of deserting Dolabella for Cassius he bargained for his own safety on condition of killing Dolabella: then deserted from Cassius to Antony, lastly abandoned Antony for Caesar. The same Dellius wrote those wanton letters to Cleopatra which are current. When the Athenians asked for time to collect the money, and asked in vain, Dellius said to Antony: "Since they have divorced you, tell them to pay it in three annual instalments." The pleasure of story-telling has taken me too far: so I shall return to my subject. ⁸ Cestius used to say that this suasoria must be expressed in terms

of high compliment to Alexander. He arranged the argument thus, - first he said, even if the Ocean could be navigated it should not be navigated:

enough glory had been won: Alexander must consolidate the conquests he had made on his march. He must have some regard for his soldiers worn out with his many victories: he should think of his mother: and he added several other reasons. Then he put this point, that the Ocean could not be navigated.

Fabianus the philosopher put the same proposition first: 9
namely that even if the Ocean could be, it ought not to be navigated: but he put a different reason first - a limit must be set to success. Here he gave expression to this maxim: "Supreme good fortune stops of its own accord." Then he commented generally on the fickleness of fortune, describing how nothing in the world is stable, all things are in a state of flux, rising

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and falling at random, lands are swallowed by the Ocean, seabeds become dry, mountains subside, finally he quoted examples of kings cast down from their high estate. Then he added, "let the dry land come to an end sooner than your prosperity." He treated the second proposition also in a different manner. This is how he put it: first he denied that there were any habitable lands either in the Ocean or beyond the Ocean. Then he said if there were, it was impossible to reach them: in this connection he described the difficulty of the voyage: the sea was uncharted, and could not be navigated, because its nature was unknown. Finally granting that these lands could be reached, yet they were not worth the pains. He pointed out that they were abandoning what was certain for what was uncertain: the nations would revolt if once it was known that Alexander had passed beyond the limits of the world: here he mentioned Alexander's mother of whom he said: "Just think how she trembled when you were merely on the

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point of crossing the Granicus." Glyco's aphorism
on this is famous: "This water is not Simoeis nor
even Granicus: if Ocean had not been an evil thing,
it would not be the limit of the world." Everybody
wanted to imitate this. Plution said: "For this
reason it is the greatest thing, because it comes after
everything, and after it there is nothing." Artemon
said: "We are considering if we ought to try the pass-
age. We are not standing on the shores of the Helles-
pont nor even by the Pamphylian sea waiting eagerly for
the ebb before its time: neither is this Euphrates nor
Indus, but whether it is the end of the land, the bound-
ary of nature, the oldest element, or the cradle of the
gods, it is a water too holy for ships." Apaturius
said: "Thence the ship without changing its course shall
go to the rising place of the sun, and then to the unseen
lands of its setting." Cestius thus described the
scene: "The Ocean roars as if indignant at your leaving
the dry lands." They thought that Dorio's paraphrase

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of Homer's lines describing how the blinded Cyclops hurled back the rock into the sea, was in worse taste than anything ever written since taste began to deteriorate: *"He tears up a mountain, and takes an island in his hand and hurls it."* How such expressions, instead of being in bad taste, lose their extravagance while retaining all their emphasis, could be understood, Maecenas said, from the pages of Vergil - "Mountain is torn from mountain," is an example of ^obambast. Vergil represents his hero as seizing - "no small part of a mountain."

He secures the effect of greatness without carelessly violating truth. It is turgid to say, "He takes an island in his hand and hurls it." Vergil describing the ships says merely, "One might think that the Cyclades were torn up and swimming ^{on} ~~in~~ the sea." He does not say this actually happens, only that it seems to happen. The reader accepts the statement with indulgence, although it is impossible, because the apology precedes the expression. I found in this very 13 suatoria an aphorism of Menestratus, no mean rhetorician

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in his day, which shows still worse taste. When he was describing the size of the monsters born in the Ocean he said This expression makes us inclined to excuse Musa, who spoke of a wonder greater even than Charybdis and Scylla: "Charybdis where the sea itself is ship-wrecked," and not content with being extravagant once in one subject proceeded to say: "What can be safe there where the sea itself perishes?" Damas dramatically introduced ^{a speech} by the king's mother, when he was describing how without intermission one danger after another had arisen. Barbarus used this expression when he had introduced the Macedonian army excusing itself Fuscus 14 Arellius said: "I call you to witness that your own world ends before your soldiers fail." Latro while ^{still} seated spoke thus - he did not make apologies for the soldiers but said - "Lead and I follow: but who guarantees me an enemy, who guarantees me land, or daylight, or air? Give me somewhere to place my camp, to set my standards. I have abandoned my parents, I have abandoned my children,

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I ask for my discharge. Is it too soon to ask that on the edge of the Ocean?" Latin rhetoricians in describing the Ocean have not been too vigorous: their descriptions have been either too vague or too detailed. None of them have been so spirited as Pedro, who says in "The voyage of Germanicus":-

"Already they see day and sun² left far behind, long exiled as they are from the well-known limits of the world, daring to go through gloom forbidden to the bounds of creation, and the farthest shores of the universe; and now they behold the Ocean, which has huge monsters beneath its sluggish waves, which bears on all sides savage sharks, and dogs of the sea, swelling high with their barks in its grasp. (The very crashing of its billows swells their fear.) Now they feel their ships settling on a shoal and their fleet abandoned by the swift winds, and believe that

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they are left at last by the careless fates to be
 mangled in a doom ^{un}happy by the wilds beasts of the
 sea. And one aloft on the high prow striving to
 pierce the dark mist with straining eye, when his
 strength availed not to discern anything amid the loss
 of the world, poured out his imprisoned soul in words
 like these: "Whither are we borne? Day itself flees,
 and nature at the limit of her sway shrouds the abandoned
 world in eternal gloom. Do we mean to search for races
 that dwell beyond this under another sky, and for a world
 untouched by the blasts of the storm? The gods are call-
 ing us back, and forbid mortal eyes to know the end of
 things. Why are we violating alien seas and sacred
 waters with the oars and troubling the calm abodes of the
 gods?"

Of the Greek rhetoricians none had greater success with
 this suasoria than Glyco: but he has as many instances

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of bad taste as of splendid diction. I shall give you the means of testing both. I wanted to try you without giving you my opinion and without separating what is in good taste from what is in bad - for you might rather have praised the extravagant things - but you may happen to do so all the same, even if I do discriminate. The following was finely saidbut as usual he ruined the expression by a superfluous and bombastic addition: for he addedCritics hesitate whether to approve or condemn the following - I do not hesitate to give my verdict against it -"Farewell O world, Farewell O Sun: the Macedonians are rushing into chaos."

End of Suasoria I.

"But, you will say, 'Hector come with thousands.'
O Spartans, on against the barbarians! I do not
aspire to your achievements, to your grandeur."

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Suasoria II.

"The three hundred Lacedaemonians sent against Xerxes, when the contingents of three hundred from each of the Greek cities had fled, deliberate whether they too should flee."

Arellius Fuscus the Father:

"But, I suppose, it is raw recruits that have been chosen, and men whose courage can be broken by fear, with hands that cannot support unfamiliar arms, and frames grown torpid with age or wounds. What shall I call you? The chosen of Greece, or the elect of the Spartans? Think of the many battles fought by your sires, the many cities they destroyed, the spoils of their many conquests. Do you now betray your temples which are built without ramparts to defend them? Our deliberations put me to shame: even if we have not fled, I am ashamed to have thought of such a thing.

"But, you will say, "Xerxes comes with thousands." O Spartans, on against the barbarians! I do not appeal to your achievements, to your grandsires, or

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to your fathers. Their example has inspired your souls from childhood. No, it is a shame so to encourage Spartans. See, the position is secure. Let him bring all the Orient in his fleet, let him deploy before your fearful gaze his useless host: this broad arm of the mighty ocean contracts into the narrowest of channels, then a treacherous passage succeeds, with scarce an entrance for the smallest vessel, and even the smallest vessel is kept away by the stormy sea that flows all round, by the treacherous shoals that rise here and there amid the deeper waters, the sharp rocks and all other dangers that betray the sailor's hopes. I am ashamed, I say, that Spartans, and armed Spartans, look for a way of safety. I shall not, you say, carry home the spoils of the Persians? Well then, I shall fall naked on the spoils. Let him know that we are not the only three hundred of our race who will stand and die like us. Say this to your souls: "I know not whether we can conquer: conquered we cannot be." I do not say this, as though we must perish

in any case: but, if we must fall, you are wrong if
in thinking
~~you think~~ death terrible. To none has nature given
the breath of life for ever; our life's last day is
fixed at birth. God created us of frail material:
a trifle destroys us: death takes us without warning.
Such is the lot of boyhood, so youth perishes. Most
of our time we pray for death: so calm and untroubled
a retreat it is from the cares of life. But glory knows
no death, and ^{ose} they who fall thus men worship as likest
gods. Women too have found this path to death a path
of glory. Why should I name Lyncurgus, why those men,
undaunted in all danger, whose memory we revere? Though
I should name Othryades alone, yet I can name examples
for three hundred.

TRIARIUS.

3

Surely we Spartans are ashamed to be beaten by the
tongue of rumour and not by the sword of the foe. It
is a great thing, it is the very sustenance of valour to
be born a Spartan. For certain victory all would have
remained, for certain death Spartans alone. Sparta

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needs no stone walls around it: its walls are its men. We shall do better if we recall, rather than follow the contingents that have fled. But, I am told, he tunnels the hills, he bridges the seas. ^{? hides with his fleet?} Never did haughty success stand on a solid foundation, and towering empires have sunk in ruin through forgetfulness of human frailty. Clearly powers that have reached an envious height have arrived at no happy end. He has moved from their appointed place the seas, the lands, the world. We are but three hundred, yet let us die, that here first he may find something that he could not change. If we meant to approve of that mad design of retreating, why did we not rather flee in the crowd?

PORCIUS LATRO.*This forsooth*

Clearly this is why we remained - to bring up the rear of the fugitives. Among the brave we are readiest to flee, in the flight we are laggards. Do you flee before an idle tale? Let us know at least how brave he is whom

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we flee. Even victory can hardly wipe out the stain on our honour: though we show perfect valour, though we win complete success, yet much has been taken from our renown: we are Spartans, and have thought of flight. But, you say, we shall perish. For myself, after this *the one thing that I fear is* debate ~~I fear only~~ return from the battle. Old wives' tales dash the arms from our hands. Now, if ever, let us fight: our valour would have been hidden among the contingents. The rest have fled. If you ask my opinion, I shall speak for ourselves and for Greece: We are chosen champions; we have not been deserted.

GAVIUS SABINUS.

5

It is a shame for any man to flee, for a Spartan even to think of flight.

MARULLIUS.

This is why we have remained - to avoid being hidden in the crowd of fugitives. The others have an excuse to offer: "We thought Thermopylae secure, since we left the Spartans there."

IICESTIUS PIUS.

Spartans, you have shown the dishonour of retreat by refraining from retreat so long. Every state has its peculiar glory. Athens is famous for eloquence, Thebes for religion, Sparta for arms. Is it for this the river Eurotas flows round it, a river that disciplines our boyhood to the endurance of future warfare? For this are the wooded ridges of Taygetus difficult to all but Spartans? Is it for this we glory in Hercules who won a place in heaven by his prowess? Is it for this we have no bulwarks but our armed men? Deep is the stain on the valour of our ancestors! Spartans ^{regard} ~~compare~~ their numbers, not their valour. Let us see the size of the host, that Sparta may have, if not gallant soldiers, at least true messengers. Are we then conquered not by arms but by tidings of the foe? Rightly, by Hercules, has ^x Ker~~es~~ despised all the world, since Spartans cannot stand before the news of his approach. If you may not

conquer Xerxes you may look at him; I want to know who it is that I flee. Hitherto I have not been like the Athenians in anything. I dwelt in no walled city: my training was not the same. Is their flight the first thing I shall copy?

POMPEIUS SILO.

Xerxes^x is bringing a host with him: Thermopylae has room only for a handful. It matters not how populous the races poured by the Orient on our world, how numerous the tribes Xerxes^x drags in his train; we have to do only with those who can find room in the pass.

CORNELIUS HISPANUS.

We came for Sparta, let us stand for Greece. We have triumphed over our allies; let us triumph over the enemy. The insolent barbarian shall know that nothing is more difficult than to pierce the breast of an armed Spartan. I rejoice that our allies have left Thermopylae: they have cleared the field for us: no

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one shall rival or share in our exploits. No crowd of combatants shall hide the Spartan's prowess. Look where Xer^xes may, it is Spartans he shall see.

BLANDUS.

8

Shall I repeat to you what our mothers say as we receive our shields, "~~Return either~~ With these or on these?" It is less dishonour to return without arms from war than to flee in arms. Shall I remind you of the sayings of captured Spartans? The Spartan prisoner said: "Slay me, I cannot be a slave." Had he chosen to flee he could have avoided capture. ^{Recount} ~~Point~~ the terrors that the Persians inspire. We heard all that when we were leaving Sparta. Let Xer^xes behold our three hundred and see how lightly we esteem the war: let him see just how many the pass can hold. Let us not go home even as messengers, unless we go last of all. I know not who has fled. It was these men here that Sparta gave me as comrades-in-arms.

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(Description of Thermopylae) Now I rejoice that the contingents have retreated: they made Thermopylae too small for me.

On the other side. CORNELIUS HISPANUS. 9

I foresee the greatest dishonour to our country if Spartans are the first in Greece to be conquered by Xerxes^x. We cannot have even a true record of our valour; there will be no report to believe but the report of the foe. I have given you my decision: all Greece concurs in it. If anyone gives different counsel, he wishes not to hearten, but to destroy you.

CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

They will not conquer, they will overwhelm us. We have done enough for our renown; we are the last to retreat; before we were conquered nature was subdued.

DIVISIO. 10

I have mentioned this suasoria, not because there was in it some refinement of thought and style capable of inspiring you, but that you might understand the brilliance

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or, if you like, the ^{licence}freedom of the style of Fuscus.

I shall not give you my criticism: it will be open to you to decide whether in your opinion ^{his}he developments ^{are}his subjects in an animated or in an ^{hammered}elaborant style. Asinius Pollio used to say that this was ^{playing with words}not deliberation ~~not genuine Suasoria.~~ but ~~pastime.~~

I remember that nothing was so popular in my young days as these descriptive flights of Fuscus, which every one of us used to ^{roll out}deliver each in his own tone, each with his own rhythm. And now that I have happened to mention Fuscus I shall add famous little descriptive passages from all his suasoriae, even if they have been admired by none but writers of such. Fuscus employed in this suasoria the usual division of the argument: he said: It was not honourable to flee even if it were safe: then, to flee and to fight were equally dangerous: lastly, it was more dangerous to flee: combatants need fear only the enemy; fugitives both the enemy and their own men.

with even more elaborate descriptions of the same

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Cestius passed over the first part, as if no one doubted that it was dishonourable to flee: then he took up this question whether it was not necessary. "This is what troubles you" he said, "the enemy, the flight of your allies, your small numbers." There is an eloquent expression of Dorio's, not indeed in this suatoria, but quoted in this connection. He represents Leonidas as saying, (and I think the remark is found also in Herodotus), *Eat a good lunch* ~~"Take now your breakfast,~~ for we are to dine in Hades." Sabinus Asilius, the most charming and witty of rhetoricians, when he had recalled this saying of Leonidas, said: "I should have accepted the *lunch* ~~breakfast,~~ but declined the dinner." Attalus, the Stoic, who went into exile on finding himself the object of Sejanus's plots, was an eloquent speaker, and of the philosophers *alive in your day by far the most gifted in expression and the most profound in thought.* ~~of your time the greatest master of the simple style.~~ He tried to rival the greatness and nobility of this maxim of Dorio's, and seems to me to have spoken with even more spirit than the former . . .

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II

In a similar connection I remember an ^{idea expressed by} ~~expression of~~ Severus Cornelius. As it was spoken of Romans I rather think it lacks ^{Courage} ~~fertitude~~. He introduces some soldiers feasting on the eve of battle, and says: "Stretched on the grass they say, 'This day at least is mine'." In this he has expressed with fine taste the feeling of minds doubtful of their fate, but the thought is unworthy of the greatness of the Roman soul: for they dine as if in despair of the morrow. How much spirit had ^{those} ~~some~~ Spartans who could not say, "This day at least is mine!" Porcellus, the grammarian, 13 criticised this as ungrammatical, because he had introduced more than one, and yet made them say, "This is my day," not, "This is our day." In doing so he really attacked the best point in an excellent expression, for change "my" to "our" and all the fine finish of the line will be lost: the most appropriate ^{touch} ~~element~~ in the line is just this phrase which is taken from ordinary speech: "this day is mine" is almost a proverb, and if you refer to the general sense, you will see that even the grammarians' pedantic criticism, to which great minds

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must not be subjected, is out of place. They said,
 "This day is mine", each individually, not simultaneously,
 like a class conducted by a ^{teacher.} ~~grammarian~~. But to return
 to Leonidas and his three hundred: there is a quotation 14
 from Glyco In this, ^{very} ~~suasoria~~ ~~indeed~~ I do
 not actually recall any idea worth remembering of any
 Greek except Damas. "Whither will you flee, soldiers?
 you are the bulwarks of Sparta." When Haterius had
 described the pass in eloquent terms he neatly summed
 up the position as ground "meant by nature for three
 hundred." Cestius, after describing the honours that
 would be paid to them, if they fell in battle for their
~~country~~ ^{country} ~~fatherland~~, added: "Men will swear by our tombs."
 Nicetes ^{portrayed} ~~treated~~ this idea far more eloquently and added:
 Brilliantly said were it not that ~~Xerxes~~ ^{Xerxes}
 is too early in date for this oath of Demosthenes to
 be ^{possible} ~~used~~. The following idea of his is original, or
 at anyrate not identified. After describing the
 advantage of the position, and how their flanks were
 safe, and the defile in their rear, an obstacle only

to the enemy (he said) Potamon was a great 15
rhetorician at Mitylene who flourished at the same time
as the famous Lesbocles whose genius was equal to his
reputation. I think I must point out to you how great
was the difference in their spirits in a similar misfortune
seeing that the point affects not merely eloquence but
life itself. Each lost a son at the same time.
Lesbocles closed his school; and after that no man ever
heard him declaim. Potamon showed a loftier spirit;
from the funeral of his son he betook himself to his
school, and delivered a declamation. In my opinion the
feeling of each should have been modified: in his mis-
fortune the one showed too little feeling for a father,
the other too little fortitude for a man. Potamon in 16
delivering a suasoria about the three hundred described
the dishonour incurred by the Spartans in even thinking
of flight, and closed the argument thus In
this suasoria many lost all discretion in speaking about
Othryades: Murrelius spoke thus: "The Athenians fled
because they had never learned ^{the ABC of our} ~~to write their letters~~

~~like~~ Othryades. ["]~~(with their blood)~~". Gargonius said:
 "Othryades who died to deceive, came to life to conquer
 the foe." Licinius Nepos: "Inspired by his example
 you ought to have conquered even in death." Antonius
 Atticus seems to have carried off the palm for child-
 ishness: for he said: "Victor almost from the tomb
 Othryades pressed his wounds with his fingers, to inscribe
 the name of Sparta on the trophy. The ink was worthy
 of a Spartan: surely he was a hero who ^{even} wrote that
^{in blood.}
~~inscription even in his blood!~~" Catus Crispus, a
 provincial orator, after quoting Othryades as an example
 imitated this idea ^{in a far-fetched way} ~~far from happily~~: "We Spartans differ
 from all the world in our standards of honour: no luxury
 surrounds our upbringing: no walls protect our lives:
 no death prevents our victory." Seneca, whose name 17
 perchance has reached your ears, had a disorderly and
 uncontrolled ^{talent} mind. He always tried to talk in a
 lofty style, and at last this desire became a disease
 and made him a laughing-stock; for he refused to have
 any slaves except tall ones and any vessels of silver
 ' One thinks of 'Debout les morts!' at the battle
 of Verdun - an instance of practical rhetoric on
 the battlefield.

but large ones. Believe me, I am not jesting, his madness came to such a pass that he had his shoes made too large for him, he ate no figs except the large kind, (mariscoe) and took a giantess for his mistress. Since he approved of big things only he received the surname, ^{'supername'} or, as Messala says, the ~~title~~, of Grandio, and was called Seneca the Grand. Once in my young days when he had stated in this suasoria the objection: "But, you will say, all the troops sent ^{by} to Greece have fled," raising his hands, standing on tiptoe, so he was wont to do, to ^{look} ~~seem~~ taller, he calls out: "I rejoice, I rejoice!" As we marvelled what great good luck had befallen him, he added: "Xer^xes will be entirely mine." He said also: "He has stolen the seas with his fleet, he has narrowed the lands, he has enlarged the deep, and commanded nature to take a new shape: let him set his camp against heaven, I shall have the gods as my comrades-in-arms." What Senianus said was much more extravagant: "He besets the land with his arms, the sky with his arrows,

II

the sea with his chains: to the rescue, Spartans, or the universe is taken." I shall now quote to you a saying of Victor Statorius, which although in good style is foolish in idea. He was a townsman of mine and wrote some charming fables not unworthy of preservation. In this suasoria he took up the objection: "But we are only three hundred," and replied: "Yes, only three hundred; ^{we are} but men, ^{we are} (but) armed men, ^{we are} but Spartans, ^{we are} and at Thermopylae: never did three hundred seem to me more numerous." In this suasoria Latro after discussing all ^{possible} ~~relevant~~ arguments, said that they ~~themselves~~ could win, at anyrate thanks to their position, they could return undefeated, and then added the following: "If we do no more, we shall at least stay the advance of the war." Some time afterwards I remember Arbronius Silo, one of Latro's pupils, father of the Silo who wrote pieces for the ballet-dancers, so not only neglecting but degrading his great abilities, read aloud a poem in which we recognised Latro's idea in these lines: "On, ye Danaï, singing aloud the battle-song; on, in triumph, fallen is

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II

Hector, who stayed the advance of the war." So
 diligent were pupils then, not to mention so critical,
 that even one word could not be plagiarised: but now
 anyone you like can with safety give the speech against
 Verres as his own. But to show you that an idea though 20
 well-expressed can yet be expressed better, mark with how
 much more grace Virgil has expressed this famous idea;
 "fallen is Hector, who stayed the advance of the war."
 "In all our delay before the obstinate Trojan city, it
 was Hector and Aeneas whose hand stayed the Grecian
 victory." Messala used to say that Virgil ought to
 have stopped here, for the line that follows, "and bore
 back its advance to the tenth year" is mere padding.
 Maecenas thought that it could be compared for excellence
 even with the preceding lines. But to return to
 Thermopylae, Diocles Carystius said
 Apaturius said I must ^{give Corvus the rhetorician} ~~record the stupidity~~ 21
^{a certificate of his stupidity.}
~~of Corvus the rhetorician when he~~ said: "Well, if Xerxes^x
 is now sailing to attack us after making the sea his own,
 let us flee before he steals the land from us." This
 Corvus when he conducted a school at Rome declaimed in the
 'Mackail's translation.

II

presence of that Sosius who subdued the Jews, a contro-
 versia about her who argued in the presence of married
 women that they should rear no children, and on this
 account was accused of injuring the commonwealth. In
 this controversia the following ^{sentence} ~~statement~~ was ridiculed:
 "amid ointment-boxes, and drugs to scent the breath stood
 the snooded throng." But if you like I shall show you 22
 folly in a historian too. Tuscus, who indicted for
 treason Scaurus Mamercus the last of the family of the
 Scauri, was without principle as a man or felicity as an
 author. In delivering this suasoria he said: "Let us
 make a stand for this, if for nothing else, that the
 arrogant barbarian may not say, "I came, I saw, I
 conquered," although the late Julius said this many
 years after on the occasion of his victory over the
 Pharnaces. Dorion said: "Men"
 Nicocrates, the Spartan, ^{used to say} said that this argument would
 have been noteworthy if it had been halved. But I won't 23
^{make fools of}
~~trifle with~~ you any longer, and I shall end this suasoria
 here because I promised to show you how Arellius Fuscus

II

developed his subjects. You may possibly be offended by his excessive ornament and jerky style when you reach my time of life: meanwhile I do not doubt that now you will be pleased with those very faults which some-day you will dislike.

Suasoria III.

"Agamemnon deliberates whether he should sacrifice Iphigenia since Calchas declares that otherwise it is a sin to sail."

ARELLIUS FUSCUS the father. When God spread out the waters of the sea, he did not ordain that at all times they should be obedient to our prayers: nor is it so only with the sea. Observe the sky: are not the stars governed by the same conditions? At one time they withhold the rain, and parch the ground, and poor farmers mourn the destruction of their seeds (these conditions sometimes prevail for a year). At another time the clear blue is hidden, and every day sees the sky heavy with cloud: the soil sinks down, and the earth does not retain what has been entrusted to it. Again the stars become inconstant in their motions, the conditions keep changing: the sun's



heat is not too oppressive, nor fall the rains beyond what is due; whatever harshness the heat has caused, whatever excess of moisture the streaming rains have brought, the one is tempered by the other. Whether such is the order of nature, or, as men say, these changes are controlled by the course of the moon, - which if its light is ^{un}dimmed and its brilliant crescent steadily waxing, keeps away the rains, or if cloud obscures it, and its circle is duller, makes no end of rain until it regains its light, - or, whether the moon has no such influence, but it is the winds that seize and dominate the season; no matter which of these causes is the true one, it was no order of a god that made the sea safe for an adulterer. Even if you urge that I cannot punish the adulteress, (unless I offer this sacrifice) surely the chaste maiden has the prior claim. I pursued the adulterer to safeguard her purity. If I conquer

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Troy I shall spare the maidens of the enemy. As yet
Priam's virgin daughter has nothing to fear.

CESTIUS PIUS. For these reasons I appeal to the
immortal gods. Are these the terms on which you will
open the seas? Nay close them rather. Even Priam's
children you do not mean to sacrifice.

(Describe now the storm): we have shed no kindred
blood, yet these are our sufferings. Is it an approp-
riate sacrifice to slay a virgin in the temple of a virgin
goddess? She will receive her more gladly as priestess
than as victim.

CORNELIUS HISPANUS. Against us, he cries, fierce are
the storms and the seas rage and yet up till now I have
shed no kindred blood. Those seas if the will of god
controlled them would be closed to adulterers.

MARULIUS. If our path to the war is blocked, let us

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go home to our children.

ARGENTARIUS. For the second time an evil fate descends upon our house. For the sake of an adulteress a brother's children perish. At such a price I would not wish her back. But Priam, you tell me, wages war to defend an adulterous son.

Divisio. This is the analysis of the argument adopted ³ by Fuscus. He said, the maiden must not be sacrificed even if otherwise they could not sail. It must not be done, because it was a shedding of blood, because it was a shedding of kindred blood, because they were losing more than they gained;— losing Iphigenia to gain Helen. They were punishing adultery by shedding kindred blood. He added that he would sail even without that sacrifice; the delay was natural due to the sea and the winds. The will of the gods was hidden from men. This last point was carefully analysed by Cestius. He said: "the gods do not interpose their will in human affairs: even if they do interpose it their will is not known to man: granting that it is known what is once decreed cannot be altered: if there is no such thing as fate the future

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is unknown: if there is, it cannot be changed."

Silo Pompeius said that even if there were some means
of knowing the future, still augury was unworthy of
belief. "You may ask in reply "why does Calchas claim
to know if he is ignorant?" To which I answer, "firstly,
he thinks he knows:" - here he handled the stock argument
against all who claimed this knowledge - then he said,
"he is angry with you: he is averse to the war: he
wants to win the confidence of the world by a proof so
convincing." In the description which I placed first
in this suasoria Fuscus Arellius wished to imitate some
lines of Virgil. The passage is far-fetched, and he
inserted it although the matter is almost irrelevant
and certainly unnecessary. He speaks of the moon
"which if its light is undimmed, and its brilliant crescent
steadily waxing keeps away the rains, or if a cloud obscures
it, and its circle is duller, makes no end of rain until
it regains its light."

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How much more simply and happily has Virgil expressed this:

5

"When first the moon's light returns and gathers strength, if the points of the crescent are dull and dark with mist, rain and storm are threatening on land and sea."

And again, "But if at her fourth rising, (and this is the surest sign), she sails through the heavens with crescent bright and clear."

Fuscus used often to borrow ideas from Virgil to win the approval of Maecenas; he was so given to claiming credit for having succeeded in some description modelled on Virgil. For example in this suaseria he said: "Why was Calchas the favoured interpreter of the gods? Why did the god choose this man's heart to fill with his divine inspiration?" In this he said he had imitated Virgil's well-known phrase, plena deo, (full of divine frenzy). My friend Gallio has a habit of quoting this phrase just in the right place. I remember our going together to the house of Messala,

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III

after listening to Nicetes. The latter's fiery delivery had greatly pleased the Greeks. Messala asked Gallio what he thought of Nicetes to which Gallio replied: "O, he's full of divine frenzy." As often as he heard one of ^{these} rhetoricians whom the students of rhetoric call "impassioned", he immediately said, "He's full of divine frenzy." Whenever Gallio came from hearing a new rhetorician Messala always used the same form of question: "Is he full of divine frenzy?" This phrase became so common with Gallio that it often slipped from him involuntarily. Once in Caesar's presence when the genius of Haterius was mentioned, dropping into his usual habit he said: "He too was full of divine frenzy." When the emperor asked what he meant, he quoted the line of Virgil, and told how he had once let fall the phrase in the presence of Messala, and could never after prevent its slipping out. Tiberius being a pupil of Theodorus, didn't like Nicetes' style, and so was charmed with this story of Gallio's. The latter used to tell how his friend

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Ovid was greatly pleased with this story, and, as he had done with many other lines of Virgil, borrowed the idea, not desiring to deceive people but to have it openly recognised as borrowed. He said it could be found in one of Ovid's tragedies:

"Alas, I am driven hither and thither, full of divine frenzy."

Now, if you like, I ^{shall} will return to Fuscus, and I ^{shall} will at once glut you with descriptive passages of his, and especially with those which he put in his treatment of the Probable, when he maintained that a knowledge of the future was absolutely impossible.

... of your ... the ...
 secrets of ...
 ...
 devote all our days to the pursuit of this ...
 we not from our earliest years pierce into the heart of
 things, and reach the gods, since the path is clear,
 the stars are as if open to us, and we may ...
 with ...
 in the pursuit of an ...
 waste our strength in the ...

Suasoria IV.

"Alexander the Great deliberates whether he should enter Babylon, since an oracle had threatened him with danger if he did so."

ARELLIUS FUSCUS.

Who is he who claims a knowledge of the future? Singular must be his lot in life, who is bidden by a god to prophesy: he must disdain that womb from which we come who do not know the future. He must boast some likeness to a god who proclaims a god's commands. It must be so: since he inspires fear in a king so powerful, ruler of so vast a world. Great must he be, and raised beyond the limits of a mortal lot, who has the power to strike terror into Alexander. He may set his sires amid the stars, and claim descent from heaven, the god must acknowledge his own seer. No narrow span of years can be his: his soul must be exempt from all decrees of fate, who proclaims the future's secret to the world. If these auguries are true, why then do we not devote all our ² days to the pursuit of this lore? Why do we not from our earliest years pierce into the heart of things, and visit the gods, since the path is clear; since the stars are an open book to us, and we may hold converse with divinities. If this is so, then why do we thus labour in the pursuit of an eloquence which is useless, why do we waste our strength in the practice of arms which are

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perilous? Surely genius will thrive best on this knowledge of the future. Can there be a better guarantee of its growth? Those, who, as they assert, have probed to the ^{in/s} secrets of fate, enquire into the days of our birth, and count the first hour of our life the index of all the years to come: they calculate the motions of the stars at that hour, the direction of their various paths, decide if the sun stood steadily adverse, or shone calmly upon us: if the moon was full, or its light only waxing, or if it hid its head in the gloom of night; whether Saturn welcomed us at birth to the life of a farmer, or Mars as warriors to a life of arms, or Mercury to the busy pursuit of wealth, whether with sweet smile Venus beckoned to us, or Jupiter raised us from low to high estate, - all those gods thronging and crowding round one single head! The future is the ³ burden of the message. To many these seers have foretold long life: and while they thought of no danger the day of doom overwhelmed them: to some they have announced that death was near, yet these have long survived to useless days; to others they have promised happy years, yet every form of misfortune fell swiftly on their head. Our life's

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destiny is unknown. These predictions are but arbitrary fictions of the seers; no treasures from the mine of true knowledge. Shall there be then, Alexander, one spot in the whole world which has not beheld thee as victor? Is Babylon barred to him to whom the Ocean lay open?

Divisio. In this suasoria I know that Fuscus treated 4 only those questions I have reported above relating to the knowledge of the future. Because of the pleasure it gave us I cannot pass over the following quotation. Fuscus Arellius delivered a declamation about the woman who had three times given birth to a dead child and then said she had dreamed that she must bring forth in a grove. I should insult your intelligence if I set down at length the whole controversy with which I am aware you are well acquainted When Fuscus was declaiming on the side of the grandfather who refused to recognise the child, he handled the stock argument against dreams and the existence of a divine providence. Then after declaring that he, who represented the gods as attending upon women in child-birth, wronged their majesty, he quoted amid great applause

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the following line of Virgil:-

"Is that forsooth a task for gods above?

Are such the cares that irk their calm repose?"

A certain pupil (to spare his feelings I will not name him) was delivering this suaseria about Alexander in the presence of Fuscus and thought to quote the same line with equally good effect. So he said:-

"Is that forsooth a task for gods above?

Are such the cares that irk their calm repose?"

then says Fuscus to him: "If you had said this in the presence of Alexander, you would have learned that in Virgil there is also this line:

"He buried his sword as far as the hilt".

Since you are always worrying me about Fuscus and asking the reason of his unique reputation for elegance of style, I shall inflict on you examples of the way in which Fuscus developed his subject. He was always delighted to deliver suasoriae, and rendered them oftener in Greek than in Latin. In his handling of this suaseria^s Hybreas said: "What a bulwark Babylon has found in this seer!"

Suasoria V.

The Athenians deliberate whether they should remove the trophies of their victory over the Persians, since Xerxes^x threatens that he will return if they are not removed.

Arellius Fuscus. I blush for your victory if you deem that Xerxes^x can return from such a rout. After the slaughter of so many thousands, there is scarcely enough of his great army left (for all his threats) to form an escort for his flight. His many fleets are beneath the sea. No need to remind you of Marathon and Salamis. I blush to say it: we still doubt the reality of our victory. Shall Xerxes come? Words fail me to tell the depression of his soul at the memory of his loss, his aversion from the thought of his shattered armies. The panic he felt before presages future terror: his past losses bode further disaster, and forbid enterprise. Sometimes there is joy and exultation in his soul when the present is the basis of his hopes, then his spirit is shattered as he

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thinks of past disasters. All confidence fails his soul when dishonour lies heavy on his hopes, when he remembers he was routed on every field. He is ^{be} numbed by his losses, and abandons those ill-starred ambitions. If he meant to come he would use no threats: the flame of his anger burns fiercely, it is not extinguished in thoughts of negotiation. He would send no warning if he meant to come, nor would he arm us by his tidings, nor goad Greece in her victory, nor provoke her successful arms: rather would he come upon us unprepared. Formerly he sent no warning before putting his armies in motion. In that first assault all the strength of the Orient poured into Greece. In proud reliance on that host he had raised his weapons even against the gods. Low lie all those thousands, as many blotted out before his reign as were destroyed under his command: none survive except the fugitives. No need to recall Salamis, or Cynaegiros, or thee, Polyzeles! And yet

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we question our victory! I raised these trophies in honour of the gods, I raised them in the sight of all Greece that none should fear the threats of Xerxes.

O, the pity of it! I set up trophies when Xerxes was in the field; shall I remove them now that he has fled? Now, Athenians, we are conquered: men will not believe merely that Xerxes has come back: they will believe that he is the victor. By our aid only can Xerxes remove these trophies. Believe me, it is difficult to rally forces ground to the dust, to renew shattered hopes, and from a field of battle that you rue to rise to confident hopes in a better issue.

Cestius Pius. I shall invade, says Xerxes; he is only promising me more trophies. Can he come in greater power than when we defeated him?

Argentarius. Are you not ashamed? Xerxes sets a higher value on your trophies than on you.

Divisio. Fuscus analysed the argument thus: "Even if Xerxes meant to come unless we removed the trophies they ought not to be removed. To carry out his commands is to confess ourselves his slaves. If he comes we shall

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defeat him. This statement needs no long proof: I say, "we shall defeat him", of the man whom we have defeated before. But he will not even come: if he meant to come, he would not announce his coming: his strength and spirit are alike broken." Cestius also added the following argument, which he dealt with in the first part, "the Athenians have no right to remove the trophies: the right in them is common to all Greece: all shared in the war: all shared in the victory:" finally, he said it was even a sin against the gods. "Never has anyone dared to lay hands on the memorials in which his valour was enshrined. Those trophies do not belong to the Athenians; they belong to the gods: theirs was the war: Xerxes' bonds, Xerxes' weapons were aimed at them." Here he introduced everything relevant to the irreligious and proud warfare of Xerxes. "But in that case" you say, "we shall have war." "Well, we have had war already, and shall have it again; remove Xerxes, you will find another foe; great empires are never at rest." (Enumeration of the wars successfully waged by the Athenians). Next he said, "there will not be war; for Xerxes

will not come. The most tyrannical are always most fearful. Lastly, granting that he comes, with whom will he come? He will gather together what your victory left: he will bring those whom he left behind in the last war as useless: or those who escaped from the rout. Every soldier he has was either despised by himself or beaten by us." Argentarius was content with these two points: "either 6 Xerxes will not come, or need not be feared if he does." On these two alone he based his argument: here he made this striking statement: "Remove the trophies," says he: but I reply, "If you are the victor, why do you blush? If you are defeated, why do you give commands?" Then he raised the following point with good effect: in his judgment neither Xerxes nor any Persian would dare to invade Greece: but in case an enemy came from that quarter they must guard the trophies all the more, that the sight of them might inspire their own soldiers, and break the spirit of the enemy. Blandus said: "Let him first fill up Athos, and restore the 7 seas to their original form. He wishes posterity to know him as he came, let them rather know him as he returned."

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Triarius neglected all analysis of the question, and merely expressed his exultation at the news that Xerxes was returning: soon they would have a fresh victory, fresh trophies. This statement of Silo Pompeius is both neat and witty: "Unless you remove the trophies," says Xerxes "I shall come back", that is to say, "Unless you remove these trophies, you will raise others."

Gallio was the only one who argued on the opposite side. 8
He exhorted them to remove the trophies: that would not diminish their glory: the memory of their victory would remain for ever, while weather and time would destroy the trophies: the war had had to be undertaken for liberty, for their wives and for their children: it was wrong to undertake another for an idle thing, and ^{for} one the loss of which would do no harm. Here he said Xerxes would most certainly come, and he described Xerxes' pride that braved the gods themselves: he had great resources: he had not brought all his forces against Greece, nor lost them all

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in Greece: they must fear the fickleness of fortune; the strength of Greece was exhausted, and could not now endure a second war: Xerxes had inexhaustible supplies of men. Here he delivered this sentence eloquent enough for either oratory or history: "We shall be exhausted with victories before they are exhausted with defeats."

Suasoria VI.

"Cicero considers whether he should beg Antony for life."

Quintus Haterius. Let future generations know that the

commonwealth not Cicero ^Cshould bow the knee to Antony.

You will have to write eulogies on Antony; on such a theme

even Cicero's eloquence will fail. Believe me, however

carefully you guard your tongue, Antony will do what Cicero

cannot pass in silence. If you understand aright, Cicero,

he does not say "Ask for life," but "Ask for bondage."

How will you bring yourself to enter this senate depleted

by cruelty, recruited with dishonour? Will you have the

heart to enter a senate in which you are not to see Cn.

Pompey, nor M. Cato, not ^rthe Luculli, nor Hortensius,

nor Lentulus, and Marcellus, nor your ⁿown peculiar consuls,

Hirtius and Pansa? What has Cicero in common with an alien

generation? Now our days are over. Marcus Cato alone our ²

noblest pattern in life and in death, chose to die rather

than beg for mercy - yet it was no Antony he had to petition -

and armed those hands ^{of his,} to the last unstained by Roman blood,

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against his own noble breast. When Scipio had buried the sword deep in his bosom he replied to the soldiers who had boarded his vessel and were searching for the commander, "With the commander all is well." Triumphant in defeat he spoke like a conqueror. You yourself said, "Milo forbids me to ask mercy from the jury." ^{Go (now) then,} ~~Do you go now and~~ ask mercy from Antony.

3

Porcius Latro. Does then Cicero ever speak without striking terror into Antony? Does Antony ever speak to strike terror into Cicero? A thirst like Sulla's for his country's blood arises in the state again, and under the triumvirs' spear not taxes but the lives of Roman citizens are bought and sold. By the white wax of one tablet the disasters of Pharsalia, Munda and Mutina are surpassed: the lives of consuls are bartered for gold: your own words are all that we can utter: "Alas for the degeneracy of the age!" You shall see eyes burning at once with cruelty and pride: no human countenance shall you see, but the very visage of the ^Fury of civil war: you shall behold those ^{gorge}jaws that

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devoured the wealth of Cn. Pompey, that brawny chest, that gladiator's strength of frame: you shall see that spot before the seat of justice which lately as Master of the Horse, who ought to be a pattern of dignity, he had defiled in the most shameful manner. Will you fall as a suppliant there and beg for life on bended knee? With that tongue that saved the state will you utter humble words of flattery? Shame! Even Verres when proscribed died more gallantly.

Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus. Remember Cato whose death you extolled: do you think anything in the world so precious that you should be indebted to Antony for life?

Cestius Pius. If you think of the people's desire, the people's grief, no matter when you die, you die untimely. In the light of your services you have lived long enough; but looking to the wrongs inflicted by Fortune, and your country's plight, you have lived too long: as regards your works and their memory you are destined to be immortal.

¹ a paraphrase: the literal Latin is too coarse for English.

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Pompeius Silo. You may know that for you longer life is not expedient, if you live only by Antony's reprieve. Will you then keep silence while Antony issues his prescriptions and mangles his country? Shall not even your groans be free? I had rather the Roman people mourned Cicero in death than in life.

Triarius. What Charybdis so rapacious as he? Charybdis, said I? If Charybdis ever was, she was only one monster: scarcely, by heavens, could the sea itself have gulped down so many diverse things at once. And you would snatch Cicero from this madman's rage?

Arellius Fuscus, the father.

We rush from strife to strife: victors abroad we are butchered at home; at home an ^{internal?} intestine enemy gloats upon our blood. Since this is the plight of the Roman people, who does not think that Cicero must die? Your prayers to Antony will be shameful and in vain. In no obscure tomb can you be shrouded from men's eyes: your virtues will not perish with your life. Undying Memory, the guardian of

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human achievements, which makes men's lives immortal,
will make your name sacred to all generations. All that 6
will pass away is the frail, perishable body, subject to
disease, liable to mischances, exposed to proscription;
but the soul, of birth divine, which knows neither age nor
death, freed from the ^{heavy} ~~very~~ bonds of the flesh, will hasten
to its familiar home among the stars. Yet, if we regard
your age and the number of your years, which gallant men
never reckon, you have passed sixty, and your life cannot
but seem too long since by lingering you survive your
country. We have seen civil war raging through the whole
world, and after the stricken fields of Italy and Pharsalia,
now even Egypt has drunk its fill of Roman blood. Why
should we be wroth that Antony may do to Cicero what the
Alexandrian eun^uch did to Pompey? So miserably they
perish who flee for refuge to the unworthy.

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Cornelius Hispanus. He was doomed to die who only 7
 supported your motion. The whole list of the proscribed
 is but the prelude to your death: the one permits the
 proscription of a brother, the other of an uncle: what
 hope have you? Those bloody deeds have but one object -
 the death of Cicero. Recall to mind, I pray you, all
 those your eloquence defended, all those your power pro-
 tected; recall your consulate itself, the greatest of your
 services: then you will understand that Cicero may be con-
 strained to die but never to beg for life.

Argentarius. The triumvirs act the king; they parade
 before us the luxury of their revels, a cookshop stocked
 with the tribute of the world. Antony himself, haggard with
 wine and with watching lifts his drowsy eyes to the heads of
 the proscribed. The reproach of "worthless creature" no
 longer meets the case.

Divisio. Latro arranged this suasoria thus: Even if you 8
 can obtain life from Antony it is not worth while to ask

it; secondly: you cannot obtain it. In the former part he laid it down that it was dishonourable for any Roman, all the more for Cicero, to ask for life; here he introduced examples of those who had died of their own accord: next he said that further life was worthless to him; and, without liberty, more grievous than death. Here he described all the bitterness of the servitude that was in store for him. The pledge would not be kept inviolate. Then after saying "Something in you will offend Antony, some deed, some word, your silence, or a look;" he concluded thus: "You will hardly win his favour."

Albucius's arrangement was different: firstly, he said ⁹ that Cicero must die even if no one proscribed him: (here he inveighed against the age). Then, he must die of his ^s own free will, since he would have to die, even if he did not want to: he had roused deadly hatred: Cicero was himself the chief motive for the proscription. He was the only rhetorician who dared to say that Antony was

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not alone in his hostility to him. In this passage he expressed the following: "If not a personal enemy of each, you are obnoxious to them all;" and the following which was much admired: "If, Cicero, you ask mercy of one and obtain it, you will be the slave of three."

This was the arrangement of Cestius: "For you death is 10 expedient, honourable and necessary, that in freedom and with honour untarnished, you may put the crown upon your life." Here he expressed the daring idea: "that you may be numbered with Cato, who could not be a slave though Antony was not yet tyrant."

Marcellus expressed this idea about Cato still better:

"Have all things changed so utterly with the overthrow of the Roman people that one should debate whether it is better to live with Antony or die with Cato?"

But let us return to Cestius and his analysis of the

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argument. He said death was expedient to avoid physical torture: Cicero would not merely die if he fell into the hands of Antony. When he had described here the mockery and the insults that would be heaped on him, the scourgings and tortures, he gave expression to a sentiment that has been much admired: "By heavens, Cicero, when you come to Antony you will beg not for life, but ^{for} death."

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Varius Geminus thus arranged the arguments: I should exhort you, if you must in any case choose one of the alternatives, death or entreaty, to die rather than beg for life: and he included all the arguments used by the others: but he added a third, he exhorted him to flee. He said here was M. Brutus, there C. Cassius, in that place Sex. Pompeius; then he continued with that appeal which was admired in the highest degree by Cassius Severus, "Why do we falter?"

The free state too has its triumvirs." He went on to survey rapidly the regions he might go to. He instanced his defence of Sicily, his excellent administration of Cilicia in his proconsulate, his student days in Asia and Achaia, his services to the kingdom of Deiotarus, the benefits he had conferred on Egypt, where they were not forgotten, and which was now doing penance for its treachery to Pompey. But most of all he urged him to go to Asia and Macedonia to the camp of Brutus and Cassius. And so Cassius used to say that where others had declaimed, Varius Geminus had given genuine counsel.

Few have declaimed on the other side. No one dared to ¹² exhort Cicero to entreat Antony for life. They judged Cicero's spirit well. Geminus Varius declaimed on the opposite side also. He said: "I hope I shall persuade my dear Cicero to be willing to live. Those lofty sentiments he uttered long ago do not weigh with me - "No consular can die untimely, no wise man in misery." He holds no office now. I know well the character of the man. He will do it: he will ask for mercy. As regards servitude he will make no objection to that. He is quite used to harness. Pompey and Caesar both broke him in. You

see in him a slave grown old in service." And he added many other jests as was his manner. He arranged his arguments thus: Cicero would not be dishonoured in begging for mercy: he would not even beg in vain. Firstly he said it was not disgraceful to beg mercy of a countryman who had defeated you. He instanced the numbers that had petitioned Caesar, he mentioned Ligarius. It was quite right that Cicero should give satisfaction to Antony, since Cicero had proscribed him first, and had judged him a traitor. It is the wrong-doer that always makes reparation: he should beg boldly for life: his petition would not be for his own sake, but for his country's: for him personally his life had been long enough: for his country all too short. In the second part he said personal enemies usually grant these petitions: Cicero had forgiven Vatinius and Gabinius, and had defended them on their trial. Since he was one of three, Antony would be more easily induced not to allow one of the other triumvirs to deprive him of so handsome an opportunity for clemency. The cause of Antony's resentment might be that Cicero did not think him worth entreaty. When he ^{had} described the dangers of flight, he added that Cicero must be in subjection no matter where he went. He would have to endure the

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violent temper of Cassius, or the arrogance of Brutus, or the folly of Pompey (the younger).

Since I have chanced on this suasoria I do not think it irrelevant to point out how each of the historians has treated the memory of Cicero. All are agreed that Cicero was not cowardly enough to petition Antony, nor foolish enough to hope that his petition would be successful. We must make an exception of Asinius Pollio, who showed persistent hostility to Cicero's reputation. Thus he gave the rhetoricians a subject for a second suasoria. The rhetoricians often declaim on this subject:- "Cicero deliberates whether he should burn his speeches, since Antony promises him life on these terms,"¹⁵ Anyone can see that this is a stupid fiction. Pollio means it to be taken for truth. This is what he said in the speech he published in defence of Lamia.

"And so Cicero never hesitated to deny the authorship of the speeches against Antony, in spite of the passion with which he had delivered them: and he promised to write many times that number with far more care, in direct contradiction of them, and even to deliver them in public." Pollio made

other accusations still more dishonourable, and it was quite evident that the whole story was so false that even Pollio had not the courage to insert it in his historical writings. Certainly those who heard his speech in defence of Lamia say that he did not make the above statements but concocted them afterwards - for he could not support the lie, since the triumvirs knew the truth. I don't want to vex you, my young friends, by passing from rhetoricians to historians. I shall make amends to you, and perhaps cause you after reading these extracts to approach with greater favour the solid truths of history: if, however, I cannot achieve this purpose directly I shall be compelled to cheat you at the first sip, just as we do with children when giving them medicine. So far is Livy from stating that Cicero intended to retract that he says ^{Cicero} he had no time: here is what he says:-

"Marcus Cicero, shortly before the arrival of the triumvirs, had left the city, convinced, and rightly, that he could no more escape Antony than Cassius and Brutus could escape Caesar: at first he had fled to his Tusculan villa, then he set out by cross-country roads to his villa at Formiae,

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intending to take ship ^{from} ~~to~~ Caieta. He put out to sea several times but was driven back by contrary winds. At last since he could no longer put up with the tossing of the ship, as there was a heavy ground swell, he became weary of flight ^{of} and life, and returning to his villa on the high ground, which was little more than a mile from the sea, ^L "Let me die!" says he, "in my own country, which I have often saved." It is quite true that his slaves were ready to fight for him with bravery and fidelity: but he ordered them to set down the litter, and quietly to suffer the hard necessity of fate. As he leaned from the litter and kept his neck still for the purpose, his head was struck off. But that did not satisfy the callous brutality of the soldiers: they cut off his hands too, reviling them ^{also} ~~for~~ having written something ~~also~~, against Antony. So the head was brought to Antony and by his order was set between the two hands on the rostra, where he had been heard as consul, often as consular, where in that very year his eloquent invectives against Antony had commanded unprecedented admiration. Men were scarce able to raise their tearful eyes and look upon the mangled remains of their countryman."

Bassus Aufidius, too, had no doubt about Cicero's spirit,¹⁸ and that he not only submitted bravely to death, but courted it.

Aufidius Bassus. "After he saw the armed man Cicero slightly drew aside the curtain of the litter and said, "I go no further: approach, veteran soldier, and, if you can at least do so much properly, sever this neck." Then as the soldier trembled and hesitated, he added: "What would you have done had you come to me as your first victim?" Crematius Cordus also says that Cicero debated whether he¹⁹ should go to Brutus or Cassius or Sextus Pompeius, but every course displeased him except death.

Crematius Cordus. "On seeing the head and hands of Cicero Antony was delighted and displayed them on the rostra, saying that his share of the proscription was now complete, for he was not only sated but gluttoned with the blood of his countrymen.

And so in that spot to which he had often gone attended by a huge throng, which shortly before had lent its ears to those devoted speeches by which he had saved the lives of many, with what a mournful change his mangled remains raised aloft were seen by his countrymen, the head drooping and the lips sprinkled with gore, he who but yesterday was the leader of

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the senate and the glory of the Roman name, now a source of profit to his assassin. But especially the hearts of all melted to tears and groans at the sight of the right hand nailed beside the head, the right hand that had wielded that divine pen^T. The murder of the other victims stirred only private grief, Cicero's death alone plunged the whole state into mourning."

Bruttedius Niger. "Meanwhile slipping out from the other²⁰ side of the villa Cicero was carried in a litter through the fields: but when he saw Popilius² approaching, a soldier who was well-known to him, remembering that he had defended him, his countenance brightened. But Popilius² to gain favour with the conquerors, made haste to do the deed, and cut off his head. In that last moment of his life there is nothing to be censured in Cicero's conduct. Popilius², regardless that he had shortly before been defended by his victim, carried the head to Antony." Here Bruttedius meant to describe the pitiful sight when the head was set on the rostra, but the greatness of the task^o overwhelmed him.

Bruttedius Niger. "But when the head was set on the rostra²¹

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between the two hands at the command of Antony, and the citizens saw it in that place where so often his eloquence had been heard, all did honour to the great man who was dead with groans and tears. No dead body lay on the rostra: no customary eulogy was pronounced to the assembled citizens, but they told the story of his life to one another. There was no spot in the forum but was marked by the memory of some famous pleading of his: no one who had not some service rendered by Cicero to acknowledge: certainly this service to the state was known to all - that he had postponed that wretched time of slavery from the days of Catiline to those of Antony."

Whenever historians describe the death of a great man they usually sum up his whole life, and pronounce a sort of funeral oration. This was done once or twice by Thucydides, and adopted in a very few instances by Sallust; Titus Livius generously applied it to all great men: subsequent historians have done it much more freely. This is the "epitaph" to use a Greek word, that Livius wrote for Cicero. 22
"He lived sixty-three years, so that even if he had not died by violence his death can not seem untimely. The rich products of his genius were amply rewarded: he enjoyed long

years of prosperity: but his long career of good fortune was interrupted from time to time by serious disasters - exile, the ruin of the party he championed, the death of his daughter, sad and untimely.

Of all these disasters he bore none as became a man except his death. A true judgment might have found this less undeserved in that he suffered at the hands of his enemy no more cruel fate than he would himself have inflicted had he been equally fortunate. Yet if one weighs his virtues with his faults he deserves a place in history as a truly great man, and another Cicero would be required to praise him adequately."

Kindly
With that impartial[?] judgment with which he weighs all men of genius Titus Livius has rendered the amplest tribute to Cicero. It is not worth while to quote the eulogy pronounced on Cicero by Cremutius Cordus. There is hardly anything in it worthy of Cicero, not even the following, although it is passable:-

Cremutius Cordus. "He thought that private animosities 23
should sometimes be forgotten; political feuds should never be decided by force of arms. He was a man conspicuous not merely for the greatness but also for the number of his virtues."

Aufidius Bassus. "So died M. Cicero, the born saviour of his country. He long defended and guided it, but in his old age at last it slipped from his grasp, injured by this one mistake that he approved of no other course to save it than the removal of Antony. He lived sixty-three years, always attacking some political opponent, or himself the object of attack, and nothing was rarer in his experience than a day on which it was ^{to} no one's interest that he should die." Pollio Asinius, too, who described the gallant death of Verres whom Cicero impeached, is the only author who paints the death of Cicero in grudging terms: yet even in spite of himself he does him ample justice.

Asinius Pollio. "His numerous and imperishable works make it superfluous to recount the genius and industry of this great man. Nature and happy chance were alike his servants, since he preserved his handsome features and robust health into old age. His life fell fortunately on a time of long peace, in the arts of which he was accomplished; for when justice was administered with antique rigour, there came into being a very large number of accused, very many of whom he successfully defended, and so secured their friendship.

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He was very fortunate in his candidature for the consulship, and in the god-given chance of doing great deeds in it with wisdom and energy. Would that he had been able to endure prosperity with greater self-control, and adversity with greater fortitude! For whenever either had fallen to his lot, he thought it could not change. Hence arose those violent storms of unpopularity, and hence his personal enemies had greater confidence in attacking him: for he invited enmity with greater spirit than he fought it. But since no mortal is blessed with perfect virtue, a man must be judged by that virtue on which the greater part of his life and genius has been based. And I should not have thought that his end was to be pitied had not he himself thought death so great a misfortune."

25

I can assure you that there is nothing in Pollio's historical works more eloquent than this passage which I have quoted; in fact he seems not then to have extolled Cicero, but to have entered into rivalry with him. Nor do I say this to deter you from the desire of reading his histories. Indulge your desire and you will make amends to Cicero. Yet of all these eloquent men none has lamented the death

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of Cicero in better terms than Cornelius Severus:-

Cornelius Severus.

26

And the heads of great-hearted men, the lips almost breathing still, lay low on their own rostra: but all eyes were irresistibly drawn to the countenance of Cicero in death, as if that head lay there alone. Then come back to the minds of men the great deeds of his consulate, the host of conspirators, the discovery of the guilty pact, and the stamping out of the sin of the nobles; the punishment of Cethegus is recalled, and Catiline disappointed of his unholy desires. What had availed the favouring throngs, his years full of honours, or his ^{polished} ~~honoured~~ and accomplished age? One day swept away the age's glory, and, smitten with grief, silent and sad fell the eloquence of the Latin tongue. Once sole protector and saviour of the distressed, ever the illustrious leader of his country, champion of the senate, of the forum, of the laws, of religion and of the ways of peace, ~~he, the~~ voice of the free state, fell dumb for ever under the savagery of arms. His countenance defiled, his grey hairs sprinkled with blood unholy, his noble hands, that wielded that mighty pen, his countryman threw down and trampled on in his triumph with haughty feet, nor regarded slippery fate

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and the gods. In no lapse of time shall Antony wash away this stain. The gentle victor had not done this in the case of Emathian Perses, nor of thee, dread Syphax, nor when Philip was the foe: in the triumph over Jugurtha all mockery was absent, and fierce Hannibal, when he ^{fell} fled to our wrath, yet carried his limbs inviolate to the Stygian shades."

I shall not rob our countryman of a good line that inspired this much better one of Cornelius Severus:

27

"Silent and sad fell the eloquence of the Latin tongue." Sextilius Ena was a gifted rather than a learned man, unequal as a poet, and no doubt sometimes showing the defects that Cicero ascribes to the poets of Cordova, "with, ^{who have} something thick and foreign in ^{their} his utterance." He intended to read this poem aloud in the house of Messala Corvinus, and had invited Asinius Pollio. In the beginning he read this line with much approval:

"We must weep for Cicero and the silence of the Latin tongue."

This roused Pollio Asinius who said: "Messala, you may do what you like in your own house: I do not intend to listen to a man who thinks me dumb."

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And with this he rose and went out. I know that Cornelius, too, was present at that recital, and clearly he was not as vexed with this line as Pollio, because he too composed a line better indeed but not unlike it. If I end here I know that you will stop reading just there where I left the rhetoricians: and so to make you willing to turn over the roll to the end I shall add a suaseria similar to the last.

...to this ... he grants you ... had not lived. ... the prescription. ... reach of the triumvir's ... secure ... divers think prescription ... exact you to build your life ... its ... of the ...

Suasoria VII.

"Cicero considers whether he should burn his writings as Antony promises him life if he does so."

Quintus Haterius.

You will not endure Antony. In a bad nature success is intolerable; nothing inflames evil desire more than the consciousness of prosperous villainy. The effort is too great: you will not put up with him, I tell you, and you will a second time have the desire to goad your enemy to kill you. For myself, I am far from being a Cicero, yet I am not only weary but ashamed of my life. Is this not the reason why you prize your genius, - that Antony hates it more than he hates you? Ostensibly he grants you life, but his design is to make you as if you had not lived. Antony's conditions are more cruel than the proscription. Your genius is one thing beyond the reach of the triumvirs' swords. Antony's aim is to secure Cicero's assistance in destroying that part of Cicero which proscription cannot reach. I should now exhort you to hold your life dear, if liberty still had its home in our state, and eloquence its source in liberty, if our necks were not the sport of ^{our} ~~one~~ countryman's sword,

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but, as it is, Antony promises you life to convince you that there is nothing better than death. There hangs the announcement of the infamous proscription: all that multitude of praetorians, of consulars, of members of the equestrian order, have^s perished: none is left save those who can stoop to slavery. I know not, Cicero, whether after all that has happened you still desire to live. Not one person is left to justify that desire. You did right in deciding against death when Caesar of himself made the request that you should live, and imposed no conditions; when the state, though no longer free, had at least fallen into the hands of a benevolent despot.

Cestius Pius.

2

Unless my judgment is at fault, Antony has seen clearly that Cicero cannot die while the records of his eloquence are safe. The bargain proposed assails the noblest part of your soul before assailing you: lend me your eloquence for a moment; I crave this boon of Cicero before he dies. If Caesar and Pompey had listened to you, they would not have formed their dishonourable alliance, nor have broken it: if they had ever been willing to hearken to your advice, Pompey would not have abandoned Caesar nor Caesar Pompey. No need to recall your consulate that saved the

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state, your exile still more honourable than your consulate, your frank challenge to the despotism of Sulla, in the dawn of youth on the threshold of your public life; no need to recall how you tore Antonius from the side of Catiline and restored him to his country. Pardon me, Cicero, if I dwell on these achievements, perchance after today they will be invoked no more. If Cicero is slain he will lie in 3 death with Pompey the father and Pompey the son, with Afranius, Petreius, Q. Catulus, and M. Antonius, who deserved a less degenerate successor: if Cicero survives he will live among the Ventidii, the Canidii, and the Saxae: is it so doubtful whether it is better to lie in death with those or live with these? You gain your single life by your bargain; you inflict a national loss. I know that every price that he fixes is unjust; at Antony's price I do not buy even Cicero's life. If this were his proposal, "you will live, but eyeless; you will live, but crippled;" even if you could have brought yourself to endure other bodily losses, yet you would have excepted your tongue. Have you forgotten that noble utterance of yours, "Death is the natural close of life, no punishment?" Do you alone doubt its truth? But you urge, you think you have persuaded

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Antony. Rather take your stand firmly on the side of liberty, and add one more crime to your enemy's score; by your death plunge Antony still deeper in guilt.

Publius Asprenas.

4

In order to gain life from Antony does Cicero himself mean to destroy the records of his eloquence? What are you offered in Antony's proposal? the restoration of Cn. Pompey, and M. Cato, and of the old senate, the only fit audience for Cicero? Many who were about to pay too dear for life, have died through the contempt they inspired; many at the point of death have been saved by the admiration their courage extorted, and have found their salvation in this brave willingness to die. As against Antony's proposal hear what the Roman people have to offer. In return for the burning of your writings Antony offers you a few years of life: if you refuse, the Roman people, in their love, offer you immortality.

Pompeius Silo.

5

What shall we call it if we destroy the eloquence of Cicero to secure the protection of Antony? Is this an act of grace, this penalty inflicted on your genius? If the money-lenders did well in giving him their money, if Brutus and Cassius did

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well in giving him peace, then let us, Cicero, put our faith in Antony - a madman whose natural inclination to vice finds scope in the licence of the age, who interrupts his amours with actresses to wanton in Roman blood; a bankrupt who pledged the free commonwealth with his creditors; a creature of avarice insatiable, even when gorged with the wealth of two leaders of the state, Caesar and Pompey! Let me use your own words, Cicero, "Does anyone prize a life that Antony can give or take away?" Cicero's safety is not so precious that we should accept Antony as the saviour.

Triarius. 6

Once the Roman people was brought to such a pass that it had lost all but Jove who was himself beleaguered, and Camillus who was in exile: yet nothing in Camillus was nobler than his indignation that Romans should owe their safety to a treaty. A grievous burden is that life which Antony offers even if no price were exacted. Antony, judged an enemy by the state, now judges the state his enemy. In order that Antony's approval of his colleague may be patent to all, Lepidus, ever the abettor of another's madness, the tool of both his colleagues, has become ^{our} master.

Argentarius. 7

Antony must not be trusted in anything: surely I speak the truth: of what crime is he not capable who has the heart to

slay Cicero, and who shows more cruelty in granting than in refusing life? It is your genius that stirs his wrath: do you think he forgives you that? Do you look for mercy from him in whose soul your words still rankle? Shall oblivion fall on your immortal genius to save your frail and perishable body? I should marvel if there were more cruelty in death than in pardon from Antony. Publius Scipio, de- 8 generate scion of his house, by a noble death was restored to the number of the Scipios. He grants you life with the object of destroying your all of immortality. This is the nature of the compact:- He spares your life and robs you of your genius. At the price of oblivion to your name he offers you a few years of slavery. His design is that you should live on as the silent survivor of your genius. Cicero it seems, is to listen to Lepidus and Antony, but no one is to hear the voice of Cicero. Will you have the heart to look with your own eyes on the burial of the noblest thing you have? Rather let the records of your genius survive you, to the eternal condemnation of Antony.

Arellius Fuscus.

As long as the human race endures, as long as literature has its due honour, and eloquence is prized, as long as the fortune of our state stands sure, or its memory survives,

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your genius will live in the admiration of posterity, and though yourself ^{were} proscribed in one age you will proscribe Antony to all ages. Believe me, it is only the most worthless part in you which he can spare or take away: the true Cicero, as Antony well knows, only Cicero can proscribe. It is not you he is exempting from the proscription; he ⁹ seeks to save himself from your condemnation. If Antony breaks faith you will die: if he keeps his word you will be a slave. For my part I prefer him to break his word. I beseech you earnestly, M. Tullius, by your own soul, by your noble life of sixty-four years, by your consulate that saved your country, by the memorials of your genius, whose immortality none but you can destroy, by the free state which perished before you, that you might not think you were leaving to his mercy anything you loved, I implore you not to confess before your death such great unwillingness to die.

¹⁰
No one to my knowledge argued on the other side in this suasio: all were anxious about Cicero's books, none about Cicero personally; yet this side is not so bad that if Cicero had actually been offered this condition he would

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have refused to consider it. And so no one presented this case more convincingly than Silo Pompeius: he did not employ, like Cestius, ^{the} plausible arguments, that this proposal involved a heavier penalty than death itself, and that was why Antony adopted it. He argued that to every man life was short: much more so to an old man: he (Cicero) must think of fame which offered immortality to the great: life should not be ransomed at any cost: the terms were intolerable: nothing was so intolerable as that Cicero should burn with his own hands the records of his genius. He would be wronging the Roman people whose language he had made supreme, so that its eloquence as far surpassed the proud achievements of Greece as did its fortune: he would wrong the human race. If he bought life at such a price he would repent it: he would have to grow old in slavery, and employ his eloquence in extolling Antony and in nothing else. He was being infamously treated: he was granted life, but was bereft of genius.

Silo Pompeius argued that Antony's proposal was a mockery. //

It was not an offer but an insult: even if he burned his books Antony would put him to death all the same. Antony

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was not foolish enough to think that there was any object to be gained in Cicero's burning his books, since his writings were renowned throughout the whole world; that was not Antony's aim: that was within his own power: unless perchance it was believed that the man who had Cicero at his mercy, had not Cicero's writings in his power too: Antony's only object was this, that the great Cicero after his many brave words about despising death should be brought to accept dishonourable terms and then slain. Antony was not promising him life on a condition, but death with dishonour. And so he must now endure with fortitude the fate that he must in any case suffer afterwards with dishonour. The bad taste of Senianus was shown in a remarkable manner in this suaseria too. He used an expression that sprang from affectation of the lowest and most vulgar type; I mean the type that secures its point by the addition or subtraction of a syllable, "what a shameful deed! shall then Cicero's script perish and Antony's proscrip^t remain?" A talented youth named 12 Surdinus who made a tasteful Latin translation of some Greek plays was delivering a declamation on this subject in the presence of Cestius Pius, the rhetorician. It was his manner to utter pleasing sentiments, but too often their

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strength was lost in their sweetness. In this suaseria after expressing some pretty sentiments in the form of an oath, he added: "so shall I read thee." Cestius who was a very satirical fellow, pretended that he had not quite heard, and reproved the accomplished young man as if he had said something improper,—"What did you say? What? So shall I enjoy thee?" Now Cestius cared for no one's talent but his own and went so far as to attack Cicero's, for which he was properly punished. M. Tullius, Cicero's ¹³ son, who had none of his father's ability except his wit, was governor of Asia, and Cestius happened to be dining in his house. Tullius was not gifted with a good memory, and drunkenness was gradually destroying any that he had. From time to time he kept asking the name of the guest who reclined on the lowest couch. He was told several times that it was Cestius, but as often forgot it. Finally the slave to imprint the name more deeply on his memory said to his master, when he asked who he was who reclined on the lowest couch; "This is the Cestius who said that your father was not a man of letters." Young Cicero ordered rods to be brought with speed, and Cestius's hide, as it deserved, yielded satisfaction to Cicero. But the younger Cicero was quick to ¹⁴

take offence even when filial piety did not demand it.

Hybreas was a very good speaker and when his son in a case tried by Cicero was making a poor display the latter said: "Do we actually boast that we are better than our sires?" In a certain action when Hybreas delivered a whole passage of his father's verbatim, and everybody recognised it, Cicero said: "Come, don't you think that I have learned my father's, 'How long, O Catiline, will you abuse our patience?'" Gargonius, the most charming of simpletons, said in this suaseria two things than which even he never said anything more foolish: one in the exordium; when he had begun with an oath, which is now a very common practice in the schools, after a flood of words, he said; "So far the first time let him fear Antony with all the power of his soul; so may Cicero either wholly live or wholly die, as I shall ^{never} agree to destroy what I shall say today about Cicero's genius." He made the other statement in quoting examples of men who had died gallantly: "Juba and Petreius rushed together inflicting mutual wounds and lent death to one another."

SENECA - SUASORIAE

IV

NOTES

William A. Edward

SUASORIA I.

NOTES.

The rhetor speaks in each case as one of a council of war held by Alexander the Great to determine whether having conquered Asia and India he should proceed to explore the Ocean, on whose shores he now stands.

The first part of the Book of Suasoriae is lost. Even the title has been restored by conjecture. In C. VII, 7, 19, Seneca mentions a suasoria with this title:- "illa suasoria in qua deliberat Alexander, an Oceanum naviget, cum exaudita vox esset: 'quousque invicte?'" Quintilian makes frequent reference to this or similar subjects. In III, 8, 16, he mentions the question, 'an Alexander terras ultra Oceanum sit inventurus.' See also VII, 2, 5. In VII, 4, 2, he says a similar subject was sometimes handled in Suasoriae; haec et in suasoriis aliquando tractari solent, ut, si Caesar deliberet, an Britanniam impugnet? quae sit Oceani natura?'

In Ad Her. IV, 22, Cornificius implies that Alexander had decided to make the voyage but was prevented by death: 'Alexander si vita longior data esset, Oceanum manus Macedonum transvolasset.' So Lucan X, 36,

'Oceano classes inferre parabat
exteriore mari.....
occurrit suprema dies, naturaque solum
tunc potuit finem vesano ponere regi.'

Possibly the original title ran "Deliberat Alexander,
an Oceanum naviget, cum exaudita vox esset: 'quōsque
invicte?'" In the passage quoted above C. VII, 7, 19,
 Cestius is reported to have advised his pupils not to
 have recourse to such quotations (when they were given
 in the subject of debate) to secure an effective beginn-
 -ing or conclusion. He called the trick of beginning
 and closing in this way, Echo, and made many jokes about
 it. Thus, for example, in this suasoria one of the
 pupils began his declamation with 'quōsque invicte?'
 and ended with it. Cestius said to him at once when
 he finished:

ἐν σοι μὲν λήζω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.

To another who finished a description of Alexander's
 victories with the same words, he at once retorted, 'tu
autem quōsque?' In itself there seems no real reason
 to object to such a method of beginning and ending, but
 Cestius probably ruled it out as hackneyed.

- 1.1. natura. This term denotes either the 'spirit that
 animates the universe' (mundus), or 'the universe of
 created things itself', when it is usually accompanied
 by rerum. It may also mean the essential nature or

endowment of any thing. This spirit seems to fail on the borders of the Ocean. The creative spirit dies out as we approach the limit of the lands, and its last imperfect manifestations, the monstrosities or monsters (rudis et imperfecta natura) take refuge^g in the depths of the sea. Sometimes the sea is represented as controlled by it, sometimes as outside the limits of its sway. Fabianus says in § 4, Sacrum quidem terris natura circumfudit Oceanum. Nature here is represented as the agency that spread Ocean round the lands. In § 1, 2, quasi deficientis in suo fine naturae pēgra moles, Ocean is called a lifeless bulk of nature as it were (quasi) which here reaches its appointed end and dies, i.e. an inert mass attached to or belonging to natura. (See Munro's Lucretius I, 25, note. ~~and the Index Verborum~~).

1.4. aiunt. It is commonly believed; but the rhetorician, quoted here, does not believe the statement. He says facile ista fulguntur, etc. So also St Aug. De. Civ. Dei, 16, 9, rejects the idea that there are lands and men at the antipodes.

1.6. rerum natura. See the note above (1.1). It seems simpler here to take this in the sense of 'created things' or 'world', and novam exsurgere as 'a new world arises'. Here also however there is the sense of agency about natura, and it may well be translated as 'the vital force in things never ceases, but ever where it seems

to cease, there it rises with new vigour'.

1.9. hactenus. Alexander must not seek to go beyond the ordered universe or mundus. The sun shines only on the lands, the Ocean is enveloped in darkness. (See ^{1.14.} below).

1.10. caelum Hercules meruit. Hercules in his labours had not attempted to penetrate the Ocean; even to win divinity Alexander need not do so. Alexander is frequently compared with Hercules and Bacchus in the narratives of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, and also in Seneca, the son. This is sufficient evidence that such ideas were common in the schools of rhetoric. Below ^{3.3.} § 2 Moschus says 'Ultra Liberi patris trophaea constitimus'. So Quin. ^{4.7} Caetius_A ^{12, 4, 14, 21,} represents Alexander as saying to his soldiers: 'Herculis et Liberi patris terminos transituros'.

Seneca, the son, tells how Alexander laughed when the Corinthians offered him the citizenship of their city, but accepted it (quia Herculi aequabatur) when one of the ambassadors pointed out that they had never offered it to anyone else but Hercules, (De Ben. I, 13, 1).

^{Later} ~~Lower down~~ (§ 2) Seneca uses the phrase in reference to Alexander 'Hercules Liberique vestigia sequens'. (See also Arrian IV, 8, 3; IV, 10, 6; V, 26, 5; V, 2, 1; V, 3, 2.)

On the reference to Liber see Seyffert, Dictionary of Classical Antiquities: 'The worship of Dionysus passed

into Egypt and far into Asia. Hence arose a fable founded on the story of Alexander's campaigns, that the god passed victoriously through Egypt, Syria and India as far as the Ganges with his array of Sileni, Satyrs and inspired women". Arrian knows this story, but suspends judgment on its credibility, (V. 3, 4.)

/.//. stat immotum mare. immotum, unmoved or immovable.

Cf. ipsum vero grave et defixum mare, ^(2.1) and immobile profundum, § 2. ^{3.13.} So Tac. Germ. XLV. calls it pigrum ac prope immotum. Agric. X, mare pigrum et grave remigantibus. Pliny, Nat. Hist. IV. 16, 30, calls it even mare concretum. It seems strange to us to have the sea called unmoved, but the sense is the same as in Byron's Childe Harold, IV, CLXXXII, "Unchangeable, save to thy wild waves' play". This suasoria throws vivid light on the ancient conception of the sea. The rhetoricians are impressed by its eternal, unchanging nature. It is a pigra moles; it is outside the paths of stars and sun, and therefore shrouded in darkness. (Cf. Q. ^{Cur}Antius, IX. 4, 18, trahi extra sidera et solem, cogique adire, quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit); it is unknown; it is something holy, forbidden to man's eyes. Cf. Hor. Odes I, 3.24.

Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.

It is full of monsters strange, frightful, portentous. It cannot be navigated. It is boundless. It flows

all round the earth, it is the warden of the lands. It is subject to frightful tempests. It is fathomless, yet full of shoals. Nature's power ends on its shores, save for the fact that the monsters it has created find refuge beneath Ocean's waves. It is the end of all things: after it there is nothing.

- 1.12 deficientis: for use of deficio Cf. Calp. Flac. Decl. II, 14, ex altera parte qua convexus et deficiens mundus vicinum mittit orientem (sc. solem), 'on the other side where the heavens slope to their ending and launch the rising sun, their neighbour'. Cf. also Q. ^{Cur}Antius IX, 4, 18, caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum immanium beluarum gregibus fretum, immobiles undas (unchanging waves), in quibus emoriens natura defecerit (in which the spirit of nature dies out utterly and ends).
suo, emphatic, 'proper' or 'appointed end'.
 Cf. Terrae quoque suum finem habent, 4.1.
pigra moles. see note ^{on 1.1.} Q. piger denotes what is without life, motion, energy, hence 'inert', 'sluggish'.

- 1.13 figurae. Seneca the Younger describes them further in Ad Marciam, 18, 4,- Videbis his inquietis et sine vento fluctuantibus aquis immani et excedenti terrestria magnitudine animalia, quaedam gravia et alieno se magisterio moventia, quaedam velocia, concitatis perniciores remigiis, quaedam haurientia undas, et magno praenavigantium periculo

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efflantia. Pliny the Elder also, IX, 4, may be compared: Maximum animal in Indico mari pristis et balaena est, in Gallico oceano physeter, ingentis columnae modo se attollens altiorque navium velis diluviem quandam eructans, in Gaditano oceano arbor, in tantum vastis dispansa ramis, ut ex ea causa fretum numqu^{am} intrasse credatur. apparent et rotae appellatae a similitudine, quaternis distinctae hae radiis, modiolos earum oculis duobus utrimque claud^uentibus.

1.14. confusa. The light mingles with a dense mist first, then it is completely cut off by darkness. There seems no reason to change confusa which is given by all the MSS. to circumfusa, with Müller, or offusa, with ^KMiessling.

2.6. Resiste. Müller compares schol. B. ad Lu^c. Phars. III, 233; 'Alexander magnus, cum Oceanum pernavigare vellet, subito vocis sonitu monitus est: desiste.' Hence he suggests, desiste, but there seems no sufficient reason to change the MSS. read^ding.

nihil tantum est: Flattery of the king. In Q. Curt., IX, 6, 16, Craterus protests against Alexander's exposing himself to danger so rashly. He asks him to reserve himself for enterprises worthy of his renown. He is the sole safety and glory (columen ac sidus) of the Macedonians.

2.10. exoptatus: In Q. Curtius IX, 2, 11, Alexander is represented as reflecting that his soldiers are now longing

for immediate reward of their toils - militem labore defatigatum, proximum quæ^mque fructum finito tandem periculo expetere. Again IX, 9, 4, Alexander encourages his soldiers as they approach the Ocean by saying, adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expet^{ti}atum.

- 2.11. idem sunt termini: In Arrian, Anab. V, 26, 2, Alexander is represented as using a similar expression :-
καὶ ὅροι τῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς ὅσους καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅρους ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκε.

The figure is familiar in Latin literature even before this time. Cicero in Pro Sestio, 31, 67, refers to Pompey, qui omnibus bellis terra marique compressis imperium populi Romani orbis terrarum terminis definisset. Ovid has it also, Fasti II, 684,

Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo;

Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem.

- 2.14. cum orbe et cum sole. Where the orbis terrarum ends, there the light of the sun ends too. The ocean, as we have seen above, is shrouded in darkness. The idea of seeking a new world beyond this one is also found in Vell. Pater. II, 46, 1,

Alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem (of Caesar).

So in Florus I, 45, 16,

omnibus terra marique peragratis respexit Oceanum et, quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum

cogitavit.

Cf. also Sen. phil., Ep. 119, 87,

quaerit (sc. Alexander) quod suum faciat, scrutatur
maria ignota, in Oceanum classes mittit novas, et, ut
ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit.

Cicero, too, says twice that the deeds of Pompey extend not merely to the end of the lands, but as far as the sun's power goes. In Cat. III, 26, quorum alter (Pompeius) finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret. IV, 10, 21, Anteponatur omnibus Pompeius cuius res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur.

- 3.1. adorari^{nt}: a reference to the custom of prostration before the Persian King. Cf. Nepos, Conon, 3, 3. 'Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem, (quod προσκύνησιν illi vocant).

It was just this adoption of Persian customs which caused so much discontent among the Macedonians towards the end of Alexander's campaigns. Callisthenes lost his life through opposing this movement too frankly. See § 5.

- 3.3. trophaea. See § 1, note ^{on l. 10.} 6. The rhetorician represents Alexander as having gone already farther than the god Dionysus in his victorious progress through Asia. Bornecque compares Napoleon's grandiloquent statement: "Je trou^uverai en Espagne les colonnes d'Hercule, mais

non des limites à mon pouvoir."

86 1/3.5 intemptatum. a sea as yet to human experience ~~unex-~~
-plored~~†~~.

Cf. Sen. phil. Ad Marciam 18, 5,

videbis nihil humanae audaciae intentatum.

Horace has the idea (Odes I, 3, 21,) that it should
not be explored:

Nequiquam deus abscidit

Prudens Oceano dissociabili

Terras, si tamen impiae

Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.

^u
Audax omnia perpeti

Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.

3.6. totius orbis vinculum: Cf. § 1, note 7. on l. 11, stat...mare.

Seneca phil. Ad Marciam 18, 4, uses a similar expression
vinculum terrarum Oceanus, and again in Medea, 375,

Venient annis saecula seris,

quibus Oceanus vincula rerum

laxet, et ingens pateat tellus.—

a prophecy of a new world beyond the seas.

Aulus Gellius has the idea too (XII, 13, 20),

cum vero (Oceanus) omnis terras omnifariam et undique
versum circumfluat.....undarum illius ambitu terris
omnibus convallatis in medio eius sunt omnia,....

3.9. deserta: Obviously a reference to stormy tides.

Similarly Curtius (IX, 9,9) refers to the trouble

caused to Alexander and his men by the tidal inrush on the Indus;

"Identidem intumesceⁿs mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum."

3.9. premit: Cf. Q. Curtius IX, 4, 18, quoted in § 1, note on deficientis, 1.12.

8.1 See also VII, 3, 11, obscura coeli verius umbra quam lux, nocti similis premit terram, etc.

nescio qui: qui, old ablative.

3.10 subduxit: The phrase of Curtius is strikingly similar:

quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit, (IX, 4, 18, quoted on § 1, note 7.) on immutum mare, (1.11.)

Florus, I, 33, 12, also expresses the idea that it is sinful to explore the ocean, "De^{ci}mus Brutus.....

peragrat^oque victor Oceani litore non prius signa convertit quam cadentem in maria solem obrutumque aquis ignem non sine quodam sacrilegii metu et horrore de-
-prendit."

3.14. testatum, passive, 'a proven truth'. Forcellini defines it as, ab omnibus cognitus, receptus, admissus, confessus, indubitatus, exploratus, quasi omnes vulgo testes de ^{eo} ~~est~~ sint. Müller compares Cic. ^{Pro} Murena, 9, 20: publicis litteris testata sunt omnia; Ad Att. VIII, 9, 1, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim; Livy XXXIV, 41, 3, Testata quoque ipso Nemeorum die voce praeconis libertas est Argivorum. Cf. also Pro.

Flac. 26; Act I., In Verr. 48. [The MSS. give testatus es or testantur. F. Walter (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1918, 11^o 10) wishes to read 'testatur eeee'. 'testatum est is V. Müller's emendation.]

- 4.1. suum. emphatic, 'their appointed end'. Cf. deficientis in suo fine naturae, § 1. (1.12).
- 4.5 moderatio: Cf. Arrian, Anab. V, 27, 9, *Κάλον δὲ, ὃ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη.*
eundem.....finem facit: The same idea as in 'idem sunt termini et regni tui et mundi', 2.11.
- 4.10. ^{an}Augustus: Cf. Juv. X, 169, aestuatur infelix angusto limite mundi.
magnitudini: A repetition of the idea at the beginning of the suasoria.
- 4.12. maria.....agitantur: Cf. Sen. phil. Nat. Quaest. III, 30, 6, ^{natura}terra pelagus stare aut intra terminos suos furere coget.
- 4.13. quidquid ad summum pervenit: Alexander has reached the zenith of his fortunes, and can advance no farther. The thought in Seneca and Velleius Paterculus goes still further. Whatever has reached its acme is near its decline and fall. The rhetoricians of course must not say this to Alexander. Cf. Sen. phil. Ad Marciam, 23, 2, quidquid ad summum pervenit, ad exitum prope est. ib. 23, 3. nam ubi incremento locus non est, vicinus occasus est, and ita est indicium ⁱⁿimminentis exitii maturitas et appetit finis, ubi incrementa consumpta sunt. Vell. Pat. I, 17, 6, naturaque quod summo studio petatum est, ascendit in summum difficilisque in perfecto mora est, naturaliter quod

procedere non potest, recedit.

- 5.1. orbem....relinquo: In Curtius (IX, 6, 20,) Alexander himself says, Iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam naturam, alium orbem aperire mihi statui. Cf. also this suas. § 2. quod noveram, vici; nunc concupisco quod nescio. (2.15.).

- 5.4. ista....infusa caligo: An expansion of the thought in 'vicinus qua lucet' § 2. ^(2.6.) We have conquered wherever there was light: this darkness on the sea forbids a view of it, still more the exploration of it.

- 5.7. terribilis ille conventus: According to Q. Curtius (IX, 2, 19) Alexander's army was impressed by the size of the animals in India, and the swarms of men; Utrumne vos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terrat?

- 5.13. rudis et imperfecta natura. Cf. § 1, note 2. on 1.1. natura is here equal to 'the creations of nature'. rudis means 'shapeless'. Nature's force has so far failed that it has not produced perfect shapes, only monstrosities.

- 5.15. sacrum: Cf. the passage from Horace quoted in § 2, note 8. ^{on intemptatum, 3.5.}

- 5.16. circumfudit: Cf. for use of circumfundo Cicero, Scipio's Dream, 6, 13, ^somni^s enim terra....circumfusa illo mari, and, for the idea, Catullus, 64, 30,

oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem.

Ovid Met. I, 30,

circumfluus humor

ultima possedit, solidumque coercuit orbem.

ib. 37. Tum freta diffundi, rabidisque tumescere ventis
Jussit, et ambitae circumdare litora terrae.

6.1. illi: These are the mathematici or physici, the physical philosophers.

collegerunt meatus: 'who have computed or calculated the movements or paths of the stars'. sidus is generally a constellation as opposed to a single star (stella). It can also stand for either sun or moon. The meaning is clear: the astronomers or astrologers know all about the movements of the stars, they have fixed the length of the year, in fact they know all about the mundus, the ordered universe, but they dispute about the constitution of the Ocean. It is interesting to note however that they knew there was a connection between the moon and the tides.

Cf. Sen. De. Prov. I, 4, cum illae (sc. aquae).....ad horam ac diem subeant, ampliores minoresque, pro^{ut} illas Lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium Oceanus exundat.

6.4. de Oceano...dubitant: The view seems to be that the world is a circle of lands (orbis^S terrarum) surrounded by the stream of ocean, or that the ocean is a huge sphere by itself, the orbis terrarum merely being a small island in it. The navigable bays or gulfs (sinus), (the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Caspian, the Adriatic, possibly the

Mediterranean also is included), are as it were the vents through which the Ocean breathes. The ebb and flow of the waters in these gulfs are due to the ^Ocean's breathing. Pliny the elder in Book II, 68, talks of the Ocean as 'fundens recipiensque aquas et quicquid exit in nubes, ac sidera ipsa tot ^{et} ~~ex~~ tantae magnitudinis pascens'. In II, 6, he says there are four elements, fire, air, earth, water, the earth being supported in the midst along with the fourth element of water by the force of the air. From the former passage we get the key to augmentum. The ocean has the element of fire behind it, and it feeds this by its exhalations. So in Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum* I. 3, Dox. 276 (quoted in Ritter and Preller p. 10) we have, αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων ἀναθυμιάσεσι τρέφεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος.

Poseidonius put the element of air immediately behind the ocean, then fire. (Cf. *περὶ κόσμου*, § 3). This is referred to in an spiritum. For the belief that there were air-passages into the earth, cf. Lucan X.248⁷,

sunt qui spiramina terris

esse putent.

^{Nat. Quaes.}
Sen. phil. IV. c. VI, 23, 4, spiritus intrat terram per occulta foramina, quemadmodum ubique, ita et sub mari.

It is curious to note that the words beginning with quasi down to suae, would be a trochaic tetrameter

catalectic, but for the fact that the first syllable of quasi is short.

7.1. hoc genus suasoriarum: 'in this class which consists of suasoriae'. In controversiae the scene is always a law-court and the general rules of declamation hold good: but in suasoriae it may be a King's council, or a senate, or an assembly of the people, and the manner of presenting the arguments will vary accordingly. Even in a King's council the tone will vary according to the character of the King. (see note on the text - A p. 35).

7.8. facile: here equal to manifesto, see Forcellini.

7.9. quos superbissimos: Aelian, *Varia Historia* IX. 3, describes the oriental splendour of Alexander's court thus: ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ χρυσοῦς ἐτίθετο δίφρος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθημένος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρημάτιζε, περιστώτων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. περιήει δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν περίβολος, ἐνθα ἦσαν Μακεδόνες χίλιοι, καὶ Πέρσαι μύριοι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτολμα ῥαδίως προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ. πολὺ γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δέος, ἀρθέντος ὑπὸ φρονήματος καὶ τύχης εἰς τυραννίδα.

7.10. supra mortalis animi modum inflatos: Sen. the Younger, has similar expressions, *De Ben.* I. 13, Alexandro Macedoni quum victor Orientis animos supra humana tolleret, and again a similar idea, (2) tamquam coelum, quod mente vanissima complectebatur, teneret, quod Herculi aequabatur.

7.12. orbis illum suus non capit: 'his own world has not enough room for him, does not satisfy him'. Cf. Greek use of *χωρεῖ*.

This use of capio is interesting and can easily be paralleled:-

Q. Curtius VII. 8, 12,

si dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi
parem esse voluissetⁿ, orbis te non caperet.

Seneca, Her^c. Fur. 965,

non capit terra Herculem,
tandemque superis reddit.

Lucan, I, III 109-110,

populique potentis
quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem,
non cap^eit fortuna duos.

X. 455, an example of sufficio in a similar sense.
Hic, cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis.

Juv. X. 148,

hic est, quem non capit Africa (of Hannibal).

X. 168, another example of sufficio.

unus Pellaeo inveni non sufficit orbis (of Alexander)
Major (Juvenal^{is} X. 148, note on) quotes a number of others, —

Cic. Pro Imp. Cⁿ. Pomp, 66,

quae civitas est....quae unius tribuni militum
....spiritus capere possit?

Pro Milone, 87:

capere /

capere ^{iu} eius amentiam civitas, Italia, provincia^e,
regna non poterant.

Stat. Achill. I, 151,

nunc illum non Ossa capit, non Pelion ingens,
Thessaliaeve nives.

Ovid, Tristia, III, ⁴29,

nec natum in flamma vidisset, in arbore natus,
cepisset genitor sⁱ Phaethonta Merops.

Livy, XXXIX, 16, 3,

Crescit et serpit quotidie malum. Iam man^{iu}is est,
quam ut capere id privata fortuna possit.

Florus, II, 13, 14,

pro nefas! sic de principatu laborabant, tamquam
duos tanti imperii fortuna non caperet.

Claudius^{an}, In Ruf. II, 156,

regit Italiam, Libyenque coercet,
Hispanis Gallisque iubet: non orbita solis,
non illum natura capit.

Q. Curtius, IX, 3, 7,

quicquid mortalitas capere poterat, implevimus.

7.15 praeceptoris ejus: This refers to Callisthenes, a
relative (amitino) of Aristotle's, being descended from
the sister of Aristotle's father. He had been educated
along with Alexander, whose tutor was Aristotle himself.
Seneca can hardly have been ignorant of this latter
fact, nor can he well have confused it. Callisthenes

accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic expeditions and offended the king by his frank opposition to the king's adoption of Asiatic customs and regal splendour. He was later put to death by Alexander for alleged participation in a conspiracy against him. (Q. Curtius, VIII, 8, 21). Curtius says (VIII, 5, 13) Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisa erat regi. Arrian (IV, 12, 7) uses words very similar to Seneca's, οὐκ οὐκ ἀπεικόντως δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην τίθεμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερόγκῳ ἀνελτερίᾳ.

Callisthenes wrote a famous history of Alexander's expeditions, which seems to have been the source of the fabulous accounts of Alexander current in the Middle Ages. He certainly acted the part of mentor to Alexander, and hence Seneca loosely calls him teacher (praeceptor). It was Clitus however whom Alexander slew in a drunken brawl with a blow of a pike (σάρισσα). (Q. Curtius VIII, 1, 38-52; Arrian IV, ^{8, 9} ~~9, 4~~, Plutarch, Alexander 50 etc.) We cannot expect historical accuracy from Seneca. He is only telling an anecdote to illustrate a rhetorical point to his boys.

- 8.2. ἰχώρ: The quotation is from Homer, Iliad V, 340. Seneca, the son, attributes this remark to Alexander himself. (Ep. 59, 12). So do Plutarch (Alex. 28) and Dion Chrysostom^m (^z ~~7~~ 64, 21). (Müller and Bornecque assign the quotation in Dion (wrongly) to Antipater).

Diogenes Laertius (IX, 10, 60) attributes it to Anaxarchus, adding that Plutarch gives it to Alexander himself. In spite of his remarkable verbal memory Seneca is not accurate in his historical allusions.

- 8.5 multum locatur: The letter referred to is Cic. Ad Fam. XV, 19. Cassius says, 'Peream, nisi sollicitus sum ac malo veterem et clementem dominum habere quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis ^{na}Griæus quam sit fatuus: scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet: scis quam se semper a nobis derisum putet. Vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι.' Seneca's memory again is not quite accurate. He remembers vaguely the suggestion that Pompey had been ridiculed by Cicero and Cassius, and the pointed statement at the end. There is nothing explicit to justify multum locatur.

- 8.10. ἀντιμυκτηρίση: μυκτηρίζω, to jeer or sneer. ἀντιμυκτηρίζειν, to sneer back at, from μυκτήρ, the nose or nostril. The Latin use of nasus is similar. Cf. Hor. Sat. II, 8, 64. Balatro suspendens omnia naso, and I, 6, 5, naso suspendis adunco. Forcellini says the use is derived from the sagacity of dogs, who track hidden things by smell. Inquisitive people are usually malicious. Cf. use of nasus below, § 6. where it means 'wit', but the sense of ridicule is not far away.

- 9.3. Liberum: This sojourn in Athens took place in the winter of 39-38 B.C. after Antony's plundering of Asia Minor and

and after

subsequent marriage to Octavia, ^{and} his meeting with Cleopatra in Cilicia. Plutarch (Ant. 23, 2) says he behaved with moderation to the Greeks, amused himself with their philosophers and games, and loved to be called a lover of Greece, and still more a lover of Athens, to which city he gave many gifts. He mentions that Antony claimed to be descended from Hercules and imitated Bacchus in his way of living, and was called the Young Bacchus. Dio Cassius (XLVIII, 39, 2) says that he desired to be called the 'Young Dionysus', and has this story of his being asked to marry Athene, but he gives the exaction as a million drachmae - 4,000,000 sesterces. Seneca's 1000 talents makes six times this sum. Plutarch (Ant. 26, 2) says when Cleopatra came to visit Antony first in Cilicia, 'καί τις λόγος ἔχῳρει διὰ πάντων, ὥς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη κωμάζει παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τῆς Ἀσίας.'

→
10.4. res tuas tibi habe: The formula of divorce, used by the husband to the wife, apparently also can be used by the wife to the husband. The verb is usually habeto, the legal imperative.

9.16 contumeliosi libelli: lampoons, satirical epigrams. So in the 16th century pasquils or pasquinades (so called after a citizen famous for his lampoons) used to be attached to the Pasquino (the mutilated relic of an

antique group of Menelaus with the body of Patroclus) in Rome. Replies to these were attached to the Marforio (statue of a river god). See Baedeker's Italy, ⁽¹⁹⁰⁹⁾ pp. 233 and 238.

10.6. desultorem: In addition to the chariot races in the circus there were horse races in which each rider had two horses, and jumped from the one to the other while going at full gallop^z. It is difficult to render the word in English: 'jockey' is hardly sufficient. Changing the figure 'trimmer' or 'turn-coat' might do. Ovid uses the expression, Amores I, 3, 15, desultor amoris, of a fickle lover.

10.10. Dellius: probably the Q. Dellius to whom Horace addresses Odes II, 3. He is mentioned by Vell. Pater II, 84, 2. The latter passage is defective and has been restored by Ruhnken evidently from the statement here. He is also mentioned in Plutarch, (Antony 59, 2), as one of the friends of Antony driven away by the insolence of Cleopatra's flatterers. He was the envoy sent by Antony to summon Cleopatra to his presence, and it was by his advice that she went boldly to Antony in Cilicia. He took part in Antony's disastrous Parthian Campaign, of which he wrote a history (Strabo II, 13, 3, p. 523 C). (For a good sketch of his character, his lack of principle, his love of pleasure, his wit, see Crœcher⁴al, Histoire de l'Eloquence ^{ive} Romania, I, VI, p. 176-177).

- 10.10-11. This sentence is supposed by Kiessling to be an interpolation. The existence of these lascivae epistolae is perhaps the ground for saying that Dellius was one of Cleopatra's lovers. They are otherwise unknown. at tamen dicito: This is the bellissimam rem above. The point of the story is a little difficult to make out. In case of divorce the dowry had to be restored to the divorced wife. This might entail hardship on the husband if exacted to the full at once. Accordingly he might pay it in three annual instalments, 'annua, bienni, trienni die'. If Antony had received the dowry - the exaction levied on Athens - and had divorced Minerva, he might be held liable to pay it back in three instalments. The jest consists in Dellius's amusing perversion of the legal point. 'The Athenians say Minerva has divorced you; take an analogy then from the law of divorce, and grant them the time they ask by permitting them to pay the sum exacted in three annual instalments'. The statement of Dellius is of course preposterous. It is unnecessary to make the retort exactly in harmony with the law. If one did so all the point would be lost. It is just because the legal analogy is farcical that there is a jest at all.
- 11.6. de matre: Several of the rhetoricians make reference to Alexander's regard for his mother Olympias. (Fabianus end of § 10. Damas § 13).

Koinos refers to her too in trying to persuade Alexander to return, Arrian, Anab. V. 27, 7, τὴν μητέρα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδών.

11.14. quae arbitrio suo constitit: 'which has stopped of its own free will', i.e. 'has not been constrained by agencies outside itself.' Here is evidently a thought inspired by the αὐτάρκεια of the Stoics. The wise man tries to be self-sufficient, limits his desires to what is within his own power, is not too much bound up in externals. Hence he is free from anxiety and fear. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. V, 12, 36. 'semper in se ipse omnem spem reponet sui'; Sen. De Ben. VII, 2, 5. where he says the Sapiens nihil sperat, aut cupit, nec se mittit in dubium, suo contentus. Cf also Sen. Epistles, 119, 6 & 7. 'he who restricts himself to the elementary necessities of nature is not only beyond the sense but beyond the fear of poverty'.

11.15. locum, i.e. communem, a passage of general application which might fit into any speech.

11.16. nihil esse stabile, omnia ^{ai} flintare etc: suggests πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει.

12.1. absorberi a terras et maria siccari: This idea can be illustrated from Pliny, Nat. Hist. II, 89, 'Rursus abstulit insulas mari ^{iunxit} illuxitque terris, Antissam Lesbo', etc. And 90, In totum abstulit terras, primum omnium, ubi Atlanticum mare est, si Platoni credimus, immenso

spatio; mox interno, quae videmus hodie, mersam Acarnaniam
Ambracio sinu, Achaiam Corinthiā, Europam Asiamque Propon-
-tide et ponto. So also Seneca speaks of the sea encroach-
 -ing on the land in Nat. Quaest. VI, 7, 6, nam apud nos
quoque multa, quae procul a mari fuerant, subito eius
accessu vapulavere; et villas in conspectu collocatas,
fluctus qui longe audiebatur, invasit.

12.3. exempla regum: Croesus and Darius and many others.

12.15. trepidavit: the direct form, then Seneca irregularly
 quotes the subord. clause in the indirect form, as if
quomodo illam trepidavisse had preceded. C. F. W.
 Müller to remove the irregularity puts 'etiam quom
 Grayicum transiturus esses'.

13.1. Glycon: a Greek rhetorician, frequently mentioned by
 Seneca.

13.4 Plution: mentioned by St. Jerome who dates him, 33 B.C.

13.6. Artemon: a Greek rhetorician, quoted several times by
 Seneca.

13.9. ἀμπωσις; the ebb, which would give a current of consid-
 -erable use for the voyage out to sea. In the ocean, of
 course, this tide is imperceptible; near the shore it is
 noticed and can be used to advantage. Here is an added
 difficulty in attempting to sail the ocean - no light,
 sluggish waters resisting the oars, no favouring tides or
 currents, treacherous shoals, etc.

13.10. οὐδὲ ἴνδος: Alexander had had considerable difficulties

in sailing down the Indus, from the rapids at the junctions with its tributaries, the whirlpools, and the tidal bore, see Arrian, Anab. VI. 5 and 19.

13.11. πρεσβύτατον στοιχείον, 'the oldest or original element', so considered by some of the ancient philosophers. Homer considers the Ocean the beginning of all things, and from him and his wife Tethys spring the gods. Hence the expression, γένητις θεῶν.

13.13. ἐκ μιᾶς φορᾶς: Schultingh says uno impetu. The meaning seems to be that, as the Ocean is a stream flowing all round the world, if you submit yourself to it, you are bound to go from East to West.

13.17. corruptus, a term opposed to sanus in § 16, ^(18.3.) nec separando a corruptis sana. Quintilian says (VIII, 2, ³5, 57) corrupta oratio in verbis maximè impropriis, redundantibus, comprehensionè obscura, compositione fracta, vocum similium aut ambiguarum puerili captatione consistit, i.e. the faults of style are impropriety in the use of words, tautology or pleonasm, ambiguity, jerky style, childish play on words. So in II, 5, 11, he tells us that the true and natural style seems to have nothing clever about it. (nihil habere ex ingenio videtur). Corruptus then denotes the style that is vicious through excess or defect: the style sound in expression and taste is sanus.

13.18. insanire: The verb to express the idea in corruptus. The writer loses sanity of judgment and writes corrupte.

Seneca and those who agree with him feel that there is something unhealthy about the new qualities sought after in this decline of eloquence, as they consider it.

- 13.19. Dorion: a Greek rhetorician, mentioned several times by Seneca, not always with disapproval. He seems to have written a paraphrase of Homer in Greek hexameters. There is no other evidence, however, of the existence of this paraphrase, and it is possible that he merely paraphrased a line of Homer in a declamation. Gertz restored the quotation from the Greek phrases which follow in Maecenas's criticism. Schott emended the Latin to 'tunc excaecatus Cyclops saxum in mare iecit'. This is an hexameter, but there is nothing corruptum about it. It is curious that this and the Greek which follows make an hexameter so easily. ~~The~~ Paraphrases of Homer seem to have been common^o in antiquity. Schott mentions several. If we accept Gertz's restoration the passage becomes clear and consistent. 'A mountain is torn off, and an island suited to his hand is thrown' is certainly in the highest degree extravagant in idea. It is an example of *καποζήλῖα*.
(239.) See note on S. II, 16. On how to avoid it see Hermogenes, U. de W. Moellendorf (*Hermes*, XIV, p. 172) discusses this passage, and thinks the quotation from the lost *Cyclops* of Philoxenus.
- 14.3. et magna et tamen sana: 'grand without extravagance'.

- 14.4 Vergilium: Vergil and Cicero are always treated with great respect by the rhetoricians.
tumidum and inflatum are synonyms here, expressing the

same idea by a different metaphor, tumidum, any kind of swelling, inflatum, distention by air.

14.15. excusatur antequam dicitur. Seneca's way of expressing what the Greek rhetoricians call the figure of *προδιόρθωσις* or *προδεραιμία*.

14.16. Menestratus: mentioned here only by Seneca, otherwise unknown. The 'corruptior sententia' is lost.

15.4. Charybdis: In the De Oratore III, 41, Cicero calls the employment of Charybdis, in the phrase 'Charybdisⁿ bonorum' 'far-fetched' and prefers to say voraginem. Here there is a farther straining after effect, and the next is still more violent.

15.8. ethicos: Greek *ἠθικός*, 'expressing character'. *ἦθος* is the quality in a speech when it fits the speaker. The old man must speak like an old man, the young man like a young man, etc. It therefore indicates dramatic propriety. It is also the quality in a speech when the speaker adapts himself to his audience, speaking differently to young and to old, to princes and to fellow-citizens, etc. Here the adverb means that he aimed at a dramatic representation of a mother's feelings.

15.13. Latro sedens: Seneca says in the preface to the first Controversia (§ 21) that Latro dictated the heads (quaestiones) of his controversiae, sedens, ^{i.e.} before he began to declaim. Then apparently he stood to deliver the formal declamation. Here the quotation seems to belong to the

declamation proper. Hence sedens is not appropriate. Bornecque emends to sequens, 'imitating or developing this sententia'.

16.4. viguerunt: vigeo = Greek ἀκμάζω, spiritus = πνεῦμα.

The Latin declaimers do not 'rise high enough'.

curiose. As Schott says, they describe κατὰ λεπτο-
λογίαν τεχνικῶν (with too much scientific detail), more math-
-ematicorum aut physicorum. curiose means cum cura et
diligentia, 'curiously' in the sense of 'minutely careful'.
Cf. Cic. De Fin., II, 9(28), Reperiam multos, vel innumerabiles
potius, non tam curiosos, nec tam molestos, quam vos estis,
quibus quidquid velim, facile persuadeam. The previous
descriptions of the Ocean have certainly more philosophy
than poetry in them.

16.6. Albinovanus Pedo. This is probably the praefectus
equitum of Tacitus Ann. I, 60. At anyrate he was a
great friend of Ovid (see Ex ^{on} Parte IV, 10). He wrote
a Theseis, and Quintilian mentions him as a writer of
Epics. (Inst. Or. X, 1, 90... Rabirius et Pedo non in-
-digni cognitione si vacet). He seems to have written
another epic on a subject of Roman history, of which
these lines which follow are an extract. He must have
been a brilliant and versatile person, could tell a good
story (Seneca the younger calls him fabulator elegant-
-issimus, and gives a specimen), was a wit, and literary
critic and writer of epigrams. Martial mentions him,

and Quintilian (Inst. Or. VI, 3, 61) quotes one of his witty sayings. See ~~Controversiae~~ II, 2, 12 for the story he told about the emendation of Ovid's verses.

16.7. Germanicus. Almost certainly Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Livia (wife of Augustus), and younger brother of Tiberius. We know that he made the first Roman expedition into the North Sea, and posthumously was honored with the title of Germanicus by the Senate. It was also to be borne by his descendants (See Suet., Claudius, § 1, Senatus....decrevit Germanici nomen ipsi posterisque ^{eius} euis).

Cf. also Tac. Germania, XXXIV, where the historian mentions this expedition of Drusus Germanicus and says nothing of that of Germanicus the Younger. Naturally the first attempt would be most striking to contemporaries, and the verses read like those on a first attempt. Besides, the expedition of the Younger Germanicus was marked by disaster, of which there is no evidence here. See Bergk, Mon. Ancyrr. p. 97. Cf. for the expedition of the Younger Germanicus, Tac. Annals, II, 23. The former expedition took place in 12 B.C., and the latter in 16 A.D.

~~post terga: Schott quotes in illustration of post terga, Claud. In Ruf. II. 245.~~

~~mundum post terga relinquam.~~

~~Prudent. in Cassiano, 'Et post terga domum dubia sub forte
relictam.~~

~~Prudent. Hamartigen, Post terga tenebras relinquerunt.~~

~~Spartianus in Severe, quas post tergum relinquebat provin-~~
~~-cias-~~

- 16.10. audaces ire: Same thought and construction as in Horace
Odes, I, 3, 21.⁵

audax omnia perpeti etc.

- 16.11. metae: the limits of the race-course, hence 'the limits
of the world'.

nunc, vivid; ^{referring back to (15.8.)} iamque vident, 'already they see', nunc,
nunc, 'now they are on the fabled Ocean'.

Or perhaps putting a period at mundi, and comma at pensis
and metus, take all the infinitives, from consurgere onwards,
dependent on credunt. These all denote their fears. They
think the Ocean is rising to attack, the ships settling on ~~sh~~
shoals etc. see note B on text, page 37.

- 16.12. pigris: See note ~~§ 1, 10~~ on pigra moles, I. 12. and on natura, I. 1.
^{on figurac., I. 13.}
immania: see note ~~§ 1, 11~~, and cf. Hor. Odes III, 27, 26,
scatentem belius pontem and

P.V. Cato, ^{ae} in Diris, l. 55, Pigro multa mari dicunt portenta
natare. Cf. also Tac. Ann., II, 24, especially sub-section 6.

- 16.13. pristis: connected with the Greek πρίστιν, to saw,
evidently the sword-fish.

- 16.14. aequoreosque canes = canes marini.^{os?} Pliny describes them
IX, 46, and their ferocity in attacking men. Cf. also
Vergil, Ecl. VI, 77, timidos nautas canibus lacerasse
marinis (of Scylla).

consurgere: Schultingh points out this indicates the action

of those who wage offensive war, and quotes Florus I, 33, 3, Hispaniae numquam animus ~~fiat~~ fuit adversum nos universae consurgere; II, 6, 5, cum omne Latium atque Picenum,..... postremo Italia contra matrem suam ac parentem urbem con-
-surgeret. Cf. also Verg. Aen. VII, 529,

paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo.

prensis: Cf. Hor. II, 16, 2, Otium divos rogat in patienti
prensus Aegaeo...

16.15 accumulat....: An effective parenthesis.

sidere: depending on credunt, two lines below. limo, mud.

Ef. Tac. Ann. I, 70, quo levior classis vadoso mari
inaret vel reciproco sideret. Cf. also Ovid, Fasti,
IV, 300, Sedit limoso pressa carina vado.

17.1. per inertia fata: Wernsdorf says it means, 'ignavo mortis
genere qualis est fame et maris fluctibus perire':

i.e. they think they are to die a coward's death, torn in pieces by sea monsters. Better to take it, 'they are abandoned by the careless fates', i.e. even the fates have forgotten them. The order supports this.

M. Haupt quotes Ovid Metam. VII, 544,

gemit leto moriturus inerti.

Val. Flac.^{c.} I, 633. haec iterant segni flentes occumbere leto.
These two support Wernsdorf's interpretation.

17.2. laniandos: Schell. points out that this verb can refer to the fleet and quotes Ovid, Her. VII, 175, laniataque classis postulat exiguas semirefecta moras. He quotes also Suas.

VI, 4, proscribente Antonio et laniente rempublicam,^d
 remarking that respublica is often compared to a ship.

- 17.3. caecum, Cf. Suas. VI, 17, caeco volvente fluctu, caecum,
 not 'that which cannot see', but 'that which cannot be seen',
 or 'through which one cannot see'.

Haupt compares Verg. Aen. III, 203,

tri^s adeo incertos caeca caligine sole^s
erramus pelago.

- 17.4. pugnaci visu, a bold phrase, 'with fighting', i.e.
 'struggling or straining vision'. Wernsdorf does not
 understand this; he wants nisu, explaining, quando quis
corpore manibusque iactatis crassam caliginem rumpere et
discent^uere conabatur, an amusing picture.

- 17.5. mundo = coelo. Wernsdorf compares Lucilius, in Aetna, 54,
removet caligine mundum and Verg. Aen. I, 88, Eripiunt
subito nubes coelumque di^eamque | Teucrorum ex oculis.

- 17.6. obstructa: 'stifled'. He feels himself enclosed by
 darkness and terror.

- 17.9. cardine: bysynecdoche, = a region of the sky, cf. use of
axis also.

- 17.10. flabris intactum: untouched by storm-blasts, 'a world
 where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind'. (cf. Tennyson's
 Lucret.)

- 17.11. Di revocant: Cf. Tac. Germ, XXXIV, Nec defuit audentia
Druso Germanico, sed obstitit^{Oceanus} in se simul atque in Herculem
inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius

visum de actis Deorum credere quam scire. Cf. ~~II. 8~~
and note on 3.10 and 1.11.

- 17.13. divumque quietas....: Wernsdorf notes that according to the opinion of the ancients it was sin for man to behold what the Gods had set apart for themselves. What is beyond the limits of the world is the abode of the gods. Cf. Tac. Germ., XLV, 'Sonum insuper emergentis Solis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis adspici, persuasio adicit?' The last line is an echo of Lucret. III, 19, in all probability, like Tennyson's ^{lines} ~~lines~~ in 'Lucretius'.
- 18.1. magnifica: Magnifice and corrupte must be transposed (as Thomas did): or else, as Prof. Phillimore suggested to me, we must emend sed non to si non or to nisi.
- 18.10 ^uindici sui: locative gen. like anxius animi, 'Some critics are doubtful of the taste of the sententia which follows. Seneca pronounces against it. No doubt he thinks it bombastic.

I

Note A.
on the text page 7 line 1-10.

This is a very corrupt passage. The MSS. appear to give the following:- Aiebat Cestius hoc genus suasiarum aliter declamandum esset quam suadendum. non eodem modo in libera civitate dicendam sententiam, quo apud reges, quibus etiam quae prosunt ita tamen ut delectent suadenda sunt. et inter reges ipsos esse discrimen: quosdam minus aut magis usveritatem facti. Alexandrum exisse quos etc.

Müller after Novák, inserted alibi before aliter, changed esset to esse, and deleted quam suadendum. Gertz proposed to read, alias aliter declamandum esse: suadenti enim etc. Schott changed usveritatem to osos veritatem. Kiessling emended facti to facile. Haase changed exisse to ex iis esse. Novák changed aut to alios. So the reading of Müller's text was arrived at.

F. Leo (Hermes XL, p.608), pointing out that the distinction Cestius is making here rests on the character of the king, wishes to emend thus:- aliter declamandum esse prout persona alia apud quam suadendum. Further in consideration of the fact that f is often put for p in the MSS. of Seneca, he reads pati for facti. He deletes the us before veritatem as a mere repetition of the last syllable of magis, rejecting the emendation

osos on the ground that Seneca does not employ this form. Thus he gets, quosdam minus aut magis veritatem pati. Alexandrum exisse quos superbissimos etc.

This is very attractive. It explains the presence of quam suadendum, and gets rid of the difficulty about the meaning of facile.

quosdam followed by alios can be paralleled in Seneca. See C.X, 4, 8, quosdam ambitio gloriae provocavit, alios odia et similitates protraxerunt. Thomas emended 'quosdam minus contumaces usos veritate facili.' 'certain less stubborn have availed themselves of the truth frankly spoken.' This is not convincing, and loses the distinction which seems wanted between kings who liked frankness and those who did not.

Exisse with the Acc. is another difficulty. I think we must have ex iis esse. Seneca's diction is nearer that of the Ciceronian period, and there seems no parallel to ~~te~~ this use of exire in his writing. Eussner wished to read exisse quo, quoting Tac. Agr., 42, obsequium ac modestiam.... eo laudis excedere, and Livy, VIII, 33, 19, quo ultra iram violentiamque eius excessuram fuisse.

I should on the whole prefer to read this vexed passage thus:- Aiebat Gestius hoc genus suasoriarum alibi al-

aliter declamandum esse prout persona alia apud quam
suadendum. non eodem modo in libera civitate dicendam
sententiam quo apud reges, quibus etiam quae prosunt,
ita tamen, ut delectent, suadenda sunt. et inter reg-
ges ipsos esse discrimen: quosdam minus, alios magis
veritatem pati. Alexandrum ex iis esse quos etc.

Note B.

on the text page 16 line 8 *et reg.*
The first line in the MSS. begins with iam pridem: for the second
iam pridem; A. reads iam quidam; B V iam quidem;
D iam pridem. Gertz emended to iamque vident. The
iam.....iamque then denotes their anxious fear: but
the words ought to be close together. Cf. Verg. VI,
602, quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura. If the
MS. reading iam pridem is retained we have two lines
beginning with iam pridem, not impossible. If em-
phatic they make good sense; but then relictum must
be emended to relincunt, as Haupt did. Then we are
left with nothing to govern illumOceanum consur-
gere etc. They are rather far from credunt with the
parenthesis between...

With Gertz's conjecture the only difficulty is iam.....
iamque. audaces ire in both is parallel to audax
omnia perpeti of Horace. The vident is understood
to be repeated with the vivid nunc, and illum...Ocea-
num...consurgere depends upon it.

I should prefer to put iamque vident in place of the first iam pridem, and to retain the second. 'They first of all leave the well-known limits of the world, then voyage into darkness, and leave day and sun far behind, (a much farther step); then they see the Ocean all round them, and their ships in its power.' (accumulat etc. is a parenthesis). sidere limo, desertam classem, relinqui all depend upon credunt, as Schott pointed out. 'Their ships settle on a shoal, (well the wind will blow them off; no! the wind falls: alas, they are abandoned to the perils of the sea.' These are the thoughts passing through their minds, as implied by credunt. The passage then is a wonderful representations of their terrors.

Bornecque seems to take the various infinitives as historic, but this is impossible as the subjects are in the Accus. case. However, he may merely be translating freely.

If iamque vident is put at the beginning of the second line, then I should ^{read} Haupt's relinquunt in the first and put a period after it. The iam suspended and then caught up by the vivid nunc seems to me to produce a particularly fine effect.

SUASORIA II.Notes.

The scene is Thermopylae. The three hundred Spartans have been left alone. It is assumed that there are three hundred from each of the other Greek States. All these have retreated. The Spartans are now holding a council of war to decide whether they too should go or stay. The rhetor in each case speaks as one of the Spartans.

19.1. Trecenti....trecenti.

It must not be forgotten that the suasoria is an imaginary speech. The rhetores do not need to be accurate in their history: this was a recognised convention. Compare what Atticus says in the 'Brutus' of Cicero, 11, (42). "Quoniam quidem concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius."

When in the extracts the Spartans are spoken of we always have in the MSS. trecenti. When the others are referred to the reading wavers between trecenti and trecenti.

Cf. § 2, 3, 4, 7, 8. One MS. D, and the corrector of the Codex Toletanus has Troezeni instead of trecenti. Possibly some scholiast knowing that trecenti was historically wrong, and that the Athenians had sent their wives and children to Troezen, altered trecenti to Troezena, which subsequently was changed to Troezeni.

Not much point seems to be gained by the declaimers in assuming treceni in the theme.

- 19.6. insuetaque arma....Schott pointed out that this passage could easily be altered into verse, and thought it a reminiscence of an old poet:-

armaque non passuraq manus habetataque ferri
corpora vulneribus.

Schultingh thought this quotation an example of Fuscus's explicatio splendida quidem sed operosa et implicita. It is certainly 'fracta compositio', 'broken in rhythm', and has plenty of vigour.

- 19.8. an Lacedaemoniorum electos: I have adopted the emendation of Gertz. B.V. give an Lacedaemonios? an Eleos²; D, aelaeos; A omits. Bursian, quoting electi sumus non relictī, § 4,^(23.11) emended to an electos. Müller and Bornecque follow Bursian. If we choose to follow A and omit, we may explain the corruption by supposing that electos was a marginal note on potissimos, and being felt to be weak when put in the text was then changed to Eleos. Eleos gives no good contrast, electos is feeble.

- 19.11. Sine moenibus. This is Bursian's emendation, (adopted by Müller), of the MSS., which are very corrupt here.

They give siremianibus, siremanibus, si remanemus,
si remeabimus. Bornecque accepts Gertz's correction,
his de manubiis. Bursian's gives the best sense and
is in harmony with what the rhetores say elsewhere.
Cf. Triarius (^{22.1} § 3) ne sit Sparta lapidibus circumdata:
ibi muros habet, ubi viros., Cestius Pius (^{25.1} § 6) adhuc
non sum ex ulla parte Atheniensium similis, non muris,
nec educatione. The rhetores are fond of referring to
the fact that Sparta is not a walled city. Nothing ex-
-asperated the Greeks more than these attacks on their
temples, and it is quite in keeping with history for the
declaimers to refer to this in order to inspire the
Greeks to resistance.

19.14. ite adversus barbaros. The MSS. have et, which is
quite intelligible. 'O Lae (is it so you feel) even
in the presence of barbarians?' or emend with Gertz
the following to 'non refert opera vestra animus'.
"O Lae even when front to front with barbarians does
your mind not recall etc."

Bornecque suggests and adopts 'O Lae ita adversus bar-
-baros!'

19.14. refero. The MSS. have revero, revera, reveremini. This
is Madvig's emendation adopted by Müller and Bornecque.

19.15. avos. All the MSS. but one give animus.

20.2. en, loco tuti sumus. A B V give filico, D and T vel
loco.

The text, which is O. Jahn's vigorous emendation, is Müller's: who suggested in his notes hoc loco, adopted by Bornecque. As ~~H. I.~~ Müller points out, the speaker goes on as if the Greeks were gathered at Salamis; but the rhetoricians are no more bound by geography than by history. It must never be forgotten that the declamation is fiction.

20.3. ^{me}intuentibus explicet ^{utilem}ingentem navium numerum.

The MSS. give metuentibus explicet inutilem numerum. Bornecque retains intuentibus from Müller but reverts to the inutilem of the MSS. and keeps the insertion of navium. I should prefer to keep the MSS. reading with insertion of navium. "Let him deploy before your fearful gaze his useless host". The first adjective is a gibe, the second shows that the fear is groundless. The statement is scornful.

20.5. ^{ex vasto}quod tantum patet, ~~ex vasto~~. ^{read ex vasto before urgetur.} Müller and Bornecque, following Gertz, All the MSS. have quod tantum ex vasto patet. There is no need to change the position of ex vasto: "This sea which coming from the great Ocean extends ~~as~~ widely, (here) contracts into very small compass (in minimum)".

20.6. vixque minimo aditus navigo est. The smallest vessel can hardly enter, and such a vessel cannot cross the stormy expanse outside: only large vessels can cross,

and they cannot enter. The passage therefore cannot be forced.

20.13. nudus. probably 'without the shield'. Cf. Philostratus,

Lives of the Sophists, I. 24., "ἄνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος

μέχρι γήρως φυλάζας τὴν ἀσπίδα ἡδέως μὲν
μέχρι γήρως φυλάζας τὴν ἀσπίδα ἡδέως μὲν

The reference is to the prisoners from Sphacteria; Cf.

also C. IX, 6, 2. "Gladiator quem armatus fugerat nudus insequitur". Here again 'without the shield'. Cic.

De. Oratore III, 136, (of orators who enter on political life without knowledge), nudi veniunt atque inermes,

metaphorically 'naked and unarmed', the one referring to the shield, the other to sword and spear. The

Spartan says he will fight till he is nudus, without

his shield, and probably with his weapons broken, and

then he will ε fall on the spoils of the Persians,—the shields and spears of the men he has slain.

21.2. erratis, si metuendam creditis mortem. Seneca in Epistles,

82, 20, as Bornecque remarks, shows that this passage

as an incitement to bold action is futile. Dialectic is of no use here: you must appeal to the feelings.

21.3. statque. (one of Fuscus's Vergilian echoes). Cf. Vergil

Aen. X. 467,

stat sua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae.

- 21.5. orsus est. ordior 'make at the beginning',
opposed to continuare and pergere.
- 21.6. sub eodem pueritia fato est, i.e. of being liable to
sudden death. Bornecque refers us to Sen. Phil. de
Prov. 5, 5, 'Fata nos ducunt, et quantum cuique restat,
prima nascentium hora disposuit....accepimus peritura
perituri:' and to Ad Marciam 22, 2. 'nihil est tam
fallax, quam vita humana, nihil tam insidiosum'.
- 21.8. adeo: 'indeed' = 'so much is it,' 'to such a point is it a retreat
- 21.10. proximeque deos sic cadentes colunt. The MSS. here are
very corrupt. This is Dräger's emendation adopted by
Bornecque. Müller's text gives proximique deos sic
^{Tageses}
~~Tageses~~ agunt, the reading of A B. V D have sic agessa
satagunt. A large number of corrections have been
suggested, none convincing. The passage still awaits
the master hand. Schultingh compared Cic. Pro Milone
99¹, 'Hanc (gloriam) denique esse cuius gradibus etiam
in caelum homines viderentur ascendere', which leads me
to suggest, 'proximeque deos sic agentes scandunt.'*
- 21.11. feminis quoque frequens etc. Cf. C. II, 2, 1. where
Fuscus has a similar thought: 'quaedam ardentibus rogis
se maritorum immiserunt, quaedam vicaria maritorum
salutem anima redemerunt. Quam magna gloria brevi
sollicitudine pensata est!' C. X. 3. 2. Clodius
Turpinus pater says 'aliqua spiritum viri redemit suo,

* Prof. Phillimore suggested to me, sic aggressi fata sunt. This
is very attractive.

aliqua se super ardentis rogi misit', and C.II, 5, 8.

(Triarius) 'alia desiderio viri attonita in ardentem rogi se misisse'. *In Mythology compare story of Evadne & Alcestis: For 'Suttee' in the East see Propert. III, 13, 15.*

21.12. Lycurgum. Schott remarks that Plutarch tells us how Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, that his laws might be eternal, made his countrymen swear to observe them till he returned, then left his country, and starved himself to death.

21.14. Adnumerare. 'Though I summon Othryades only from the dead, yet, as he is equal to 300, I have an example to assign to each of the three hundred before me'.

Schultingh illustrated the sense of adnumerare from

Quin. Decl. ^{XII, 14,} 12. 'Non ignis defunctos cremavit, non ferae laceraverunt, non aves attigerunt; et tamen cadavera mortuis adnumerare non possumus' i.e. 'We

have no dead body for each of the men we have lost', *(because during a famine they have been reduced to cannibalism)*.

and also Quin. Decl. 369, 'Detracta arma dicis? nego.

mentior? eamus in rem praesentem: adnumerare volo:

si quidquam defuerit, damnari volo.' It might also

be taken 'Though I name O. alone, in our annals for everyone of the three hundred I have an exemplar.'

21.14. Othryades. Herodotus I. 82. merely says that after the battle fought between 300 champions of Sparta and 300 of Argos, Othryades remained on the field of battle and spoiled the dead, while the two Argives who survived

went home and claimed the victory. The other story to which the rhetores make such extravagant allusions (see later § 16) was that Othryades was severely wounded and left for dead. He came to, however, and finding himself the sole survivor on the field wrote with his blood on his shield, 'I have conquered' and then died. Val. Max. refers to the story III, 2, ext. 24, 'Othryades, qui sanguine suo scriptis litteris, direptam hostibus victoriam, tantum non post fata sua in sinum patriae cruento tropaei titulo retulit: and Florus, I, 18, 14 (Halm) of an incident in the first Punic war, 'ac sic pulcherrimo exitu Thermopylarum et Leonidae famam adaequavit, hoc in-
-lustrior noster, quod expeditioni tantae superfuit,
licet nihil inscripserit sanguine.'

21.17. ne pugna quidem. Cf. Cestius § 6, ^(24.14) ita ne bello quidem,
sed nuntio vincimur, and Latro § 4, ^(22.16) rumori terga
vertitis.

21.18. magnum est.....Laconem. Bornecque reads 'magnum
alimentum virtutis est nasci Laconem.' The MSS.
 are corrupt here and, while the sense is clear, many
 emendations have been suggested.

From the MSS. we get magnum est, alimentum, virtutis est
es alienum
alumnium
nasci Laconem.

A B have es, A B V, alienum, D, alumnium. alimentum is

the reading of the corrector of the Codex Toletanus;
the second est is omitted by V. D.

Bursian read 'Magnum aes alienum virtutis est nasci Laconem'. 'It is a great debt to valour to be born a Spartan.' !!

Schultingh read 'Magnum est alumnus virtutis nasci et Laconem'.

Gr. suggested adulmentum; Gertz. columnen; Madvig, alimonium.

22.1. ibi muros habet, ubi viros. Bornecque compares Plut.

Apoph. Lac. 210, E, 29, " Ἄλλου δ' ἐπιζητούντος, διὰ τί ἀτείχιστος ἡ Σπάρτη, ἐπιδείξας ^{τοῦς} τὰς πολίτας ἐξωπλισμένους. 'Ταῦτά ἐστιν, εἶπε, τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχῃ.' Ἄλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιζητούντος. 'οὐ λίθοις δεῖ καὶ ξύλοις τετειχίσθαι τὰς πόλεις,' ἔφη, 'ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀρεταῖς.'
(Agesila^{us} speaks).

22.3. montes perforat, maria contegit.

The first refers to the making of the canal through Mt Athos peninsula, the second to the bridging² of the Hellespont by ^x Xerxes. Lucian (Rhet. Praec. 18) ironically recommends that allusions to these topics should be introduced in all declamations; 'Καὶ ἀεὶ ὁ Ἄθως πλεῖσθω καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος περὶεῖσθω καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκεπέσθω καὶ Ξέρξης φευγέτω. καὶ ὁ Λεωνίδας θαυμαζέσθω, καὶ τὰ Ὀθρυάδου γράμματα ἀναγιγνωσκέσθω, καὶ ἡ Σαλαμίς καὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ αἱ Πλαταῖαι, πολλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πυκνά,' κ.τ.λ.

and this just means that Lucian knew these were the commonplaces of declamation. Juvenal shows the rhetorical training in mentioning these and similar topics in X. 173, ^{Cf.} et seq. ~~cf.~~ Grandio, quoted by Seneca later § 17, ^{(34.14),} qui terras circumscripsit, dilatavit profundum.

- 22.4. solido. Note the absence of the preposition, poetical usage. Schott calls this an elegans *γνώμη*, and compares Verg. Aen. XI, 425;

multa dies variusque labor mortalibus aevi
rettulit in melius: multos alterna revisens
lusit, et in solido rursum fortuna locavit.

A similar thought beautifully expressed by Latro occurs in C. II, 1, 1, fragilis et caduca felicitas est et omnis blandientis fortunae speciosus cum periculo nitor.

- 22.8. quae ad invidiam perducta sunt. The old Greek idea - that human prosperity rouses the jealousy of the gods, (*φθόνος*).

- 22.10. posset. ^X Xerxes' thought, after the death of the three hundred, is thrown into the final clause form, 'Let us die, that ^X Xerxes may say to himself, 'Here first I found what I could not change.'

- 22.12. cur non potius in turba fugimus? Schultingh says 'to be less conspicuous' and compares § 5, ^{(23.17),} (Marcellus) 'In hoc restitimus, ne in turba fugientium lateremus', and § 7 ^{(26.2),} (Hispanus), 'Non latebit in turba Laco, quocunque ^X Xerxes

aspexerit, Spartanos videbit.

22.15. cogeremus. The words after cogeremus down to tardissimi have been transposed to this place by Gertz from § 7 where in all the MSS. they follow after recipiunt.^(25.7) They have no connection there, and fit in excellently here. C. F. W. Müller and Linde placed them after fugam (end of § 6).^(25.4)

23.9. ceteri quidem fugerunt. quidem has been doubted, because quidem is used again three words later. If we were sure that Latro spoke the words as they stand the criticism would have point. We must not forget, however, that Seneca is quoting selections. Bornecque gets over the difficulty by indicating that the quotation stops at fugerunt, and an entirely new one, perhaps from a much later passage, then begins.

23.11. patrocinium. the function of a patronus, one who speaks on behalf of another, an advocate, hence 'I shall speak as advocate both for ourselves and for Greece'.

23.12. electi sumus non relictī. A play upon words, hard to render in English.

23.15. de fuga. inserted by Gertz (before the verb, however) not in the MSS., retained by Müller and Bornecque. To my mind it is not at all necessary to insert it. It can quite easily be understood. Its insertion is supported by quod deliberassent de fuga (§ 16).^(22.16)

It is interesting to note how the *rhetores* emphasise the military pride of the Spartans.

referring to its great legendary importance; the myths of Cadmus, Oedipus and the Seven Centaurs in it, and it was

- 24.4. Thebae sacris: ^{famous} as being the birthplace of Dionysus and Hercules and native city of the great seer Tiresias.

- 24.5. ideo. for this reason, i.e. that Sparta might be famous for arms.

Gronovius and Schultingh read the four clauses beginning with ideo as rhetorical questions. 'Sparta is famous for arms, and is it for this etc.' then instead of saying ut Lacones se numerent non aestiment, he breaks off with 'o grave maiorum dedecus!' — a spirited reading, but ^{possibly} not the most natural way of taking the words. However I prefer and have adopted it.

- 24.7. Taggeti: enititur in, these words ^{enititur in} were inserted by Müller, ^{before Taggeti} and retained by Bornecque. The sentence is intelligible without them.

- 24.10. ideo mari nostri. Cf. note on § 3, (22.1).
 24.15. nuntio vincimur. Cf. note on ^{ne pugna quidem, (21.17).} numeri § 4.

- 24.15. Hercules, expletive, not the subject. The insertion of is after Hercules is almost necessary. The person referred to is of course ^X Xerxes.

- 25.2. muris. Again a reference to the unwallled condition of Sparta. Cf. note on § 3, (22.1).

- 25.7. Thermopylae paucos recipiunt. For the idea and for this sense of recipio Cf. Sen. Phil. de Ben. VI, 31, 6, Verum est quod dicitur, maiorem belli apparatus esse, quam qui recipi ab his regionibus possit, quas oppugnare constituitis....ob hoc ipsum te Graecia vincet,

^{ia}
quod non capit (has no room for you).

- 25.10. caperit: 'shall have room for', Cf. Suas. I, 5_Λ and (7.12),
 note). orbis illum suus non capit. To the passages
 quoted there may be added Cic. De Oratore, II, 334;
contio capit omnem vim orationis; Seneca, C. II, 1,
 32; II, 1, 13; II, 6, 2; and Vergil, *Geoid*, IX, 644, nec te Troia capit.

- 26.5. praecepta matrum. Schott, after pointing out that the
 bodies of soldiers were carried to burial on their
 shields, quotes Plutarch, Apoph. Lac. 241 § 14, 16, 17,
 ἄλλη προσαναδιδούσα τὴν τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ
 παρακελευομένη, 'τέκνον,' ἔφη, 'ἢ ταύταν ἢ ἐπὶ
 ταύτας.' ἄλλη προκίοντι τῷ υἱῷ ἐπὶ πόλεμον
 ἀναδίδουσα τὴν ἀσπίδα, 'ταύτην,' ἔφη, 'ὁ πατήρ
 σοι ἀεὶ ἔσωζε, καὶ σὺ οὖν ταύταν σώζε, ἢ μὴ ἔσο.'

- 26.6. inermem reverti. Blandus means that to retreat with
 (without fighting)
 your shield_Λ is a greater dishonour than to retreat
 without it, i.e. after having fought and having been
 defeated.

- 26.7. non servio. 'I cannot be a slave'. Bornecque refers us
 to Seneca Phil. Epistles 77, 12: 'Lacon ille memoriae
 traditur, impubes adhuc, qui captus clamabat, 'non
 serviam' sua illa Dorica lingua; et verbis fidem im-
 -posuit. Ut primum (est/iussus) fungi servili et con-
 -tumelioso ministerio (afferre enim vas obscenum
 ἡῖβebatur) illisum parieti caput rupit.'

Schott illustrates the haughty spirit of the Spartans

Π

from Plutarch Apoph. Lac. 233, B, 21;- Λάκων

αἰχμαλωτισθεῖς καὶ πιπρασμένοι, τοῦ κήρυκος
λέγοντος, 'Λάκωνα πωλῶ,' ἐπεστόμισεν εἰπὼν
'αἰχμάλωτον κήρυσε.' (234, D, 40) Ἄλλος αἰχμάλωτος
πιπρασμένος, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐπιλέγοντος ἀνδράποδον πωλεῖν,
'κατάρατε,' εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔρεῖς αἰχμάλωτον;
(235, B, 53) (Philip) ὅτε δὲ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν
καὶ ἐδόκουν ἅπαντες ἀπολεῖσθαι, εἶπε δὲ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν
Σπαρτιατίων 'τί νῦν ποιήσετε, ὦ Λάκωνες;' 'τί γάρ,
ἔφη, ἄλλο ἢ ἀνδρείως ἀποθανοῦμεθα; μόνοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς
Ἑλλήνων ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄλλοις ἐμάσθμεν.'

Of this nature also was the austere reply of Astyocratides
that the Spartans would prefer death to slavery, (Ib.
219, ^B~~13~~, 9).

26.9. *Potuit non capi; Borneeque. Non potuit capi, Müller.*
~~Non potuit capi, so Müller. Borneeque, potuit non capi.~~

Müller's is hardly the required sense, which is not 'he
could not have been captured', but 'he could have avoided
capture'.

26.12. videat trecentos ^Xherxes. Borneeque compares Sen. Phil.
de Ben. VI, 31, 5, 6:-

5. Tot ista gentium milia trecenti morabuntur.

6. Aestimabis ~~is~~ futura damna, cum computaveris quantū
Thermopylarum angusta constiterint.

26.14. revertamur....novissimi. the point being that the
latest news is best, (as most reliable).

- 27.1. Descriptio Thermopylarum. Schott was troubled because there was no description, but as Gronovius rightly explained, these are not complete speeches, but only quotations. Seneca mentions that here came a description of Thermopylae, to show the setting of the next sententia. Cf. also 'Describe tempestatem' S, III, 2; Descriptio pugnantis viri fortis, C.I, 4,2, inserted with like purpose to the passage under discussion, for it is followed by 'Dii boni, et has manus aliquis derisit?' See also C. I, 3, 7; C. IX, 2, 10.
- 27.13. non vincent nos sed obruent, echoed in Sen. Phil. de Ben. VI, 31, 2, 'nihil esse dubii quin illa mole non vinci solum Graecia sed obrui posset'.
- 27.14. rerum natura, the reference to Athos and the Hellespont again.
- 27.18. subtilitas, a very common word, along with the adj. subtilis, both in our author and in Cicero's rhetorical works. The metaphor is, like so many in Latin applied to style, from weaving. subtilis means 'fine spun'. Here it applies to the ingenuity that the subject might or might not stimulate. Obviously there was not the same field for this in the topic under discussion as there was in most of the controversiae. subtilitas denotes acute analysis, fineness or subtlety of argument, or of style, just the quality that declamation especially the *Controversiae* tended to emphasise. It is the distinctive quality of the Attic style (cf. *Lysias*) 'close textured,' 'full of detail (hence, 'realistic'), also subtle in seeing possible arguments and forestalling objections.

28.2. ipse sententiam non feram: but he has already given his judgment very lucidly in C. ~~lib.~~ II, Preface:-

"Erat explicatio Fusci Arelli splendida quidem, sed operosa ~~est~~ et implicita, cultus nimis adquisitus, compositio verborum mollior, quam ut illum tam sanctis fortibusque praeceptis praeparans se animus pati posset; summa inaequalitas orationis, quae modo exilis erat, modo nimia licentia vaga et effusa: principia, argumenta, narrationes aride dicebantur, in descriptionibus extra legem omnibus verbis, dum modo niterent, permissa libertas; nihil acre, nihil solidum, nihil horridum, splendida oratio et magis lasciva quam laeta."

"Fuscus' manner of developing his subject (the metaphor is from unrolling ~~ing~~ cloths, that is, of viewing it and all that it contained from every point of view, and illustrating it), was brilliant or gorgeous (splendida), but laborious and involved (here the pattern of the cloth is confused). The ornaments were far-fetched. The manner of putting the words together, or rhythmical structure, was too *soft or luxurious* ~~smooth~~ for a philosophic style (illum refers to Fabianus, the philosopher, in his youth a pupil of Fuscus). The style was uneven (inaequalitas). It was not plain (exilis) or dry (aride), now diffuse, with an excessive freedom. In description he allowed any word provided only it was brilliant or striking (niterent). To sum up, the style was brilliant, and exuberant or luxuriant

rather than rich. Here the sons of Seneca are asked to say whether they think the style of Fuscus brilliant (nitide) or excessively free (licenter). They are asked to say whether his development of his subject is vigorous or riotous. At the end of this Suasoria Seneca says the style of Fuscus is jerky (fract^a compositio). This refers to the short staccato sentences. Compositio refers to the manner of combining the words into phrases, and the phrases into clauses and sentences. Quintilian says it ~~has~~ ^{is} the counterpart in prose of versification in poetry, i.e. it is a matter of rhythm. (Quin. IX, 4, 116). Prose should be rhythmical but not metrical (ib. 56). Seneca has already said that Fuscus's compositio is mollior (too ~~smooth~~ ^{soft} for a philosopher). There is no contradiction. Much of the phrasing in the passage quoted in this suasoria is smooth and flowing; and the jerky style is also illustrated. The animation of the style is quite obvious to the modern reader. There is also a strong flavour of poetry about it: we probably see his freedom in the use of words in habetata, senio, excidia, Orientem, internata, aspera scopulorum, etc., as also his cultus nimis adquisitus.

28.5. suadere....ludere. Pollio said it was literary pastime, not grave deliberation. Declamation had a seriousness of its own. The illusion of reality had to be kept up.

28.8. inclinatio....modulatio. Inclinatio refers to the pitch, modulatio, to rhythm or measure. The Romans had a very musical language and were very sensitive to rhythm. It is obvious that the pitch of the voice in music is something different from that in poetry, and this again different from what is permissible in prose. These three things must be carefully distinguished. If in reading poetry you emphasise the music of the words too much, you cease to read and begin to sing or chant. Note Augustus' criticism of a person's delivery, 'Si tu cantas, male cantas,

Quint. Inst. Or. I, 8, 2. si tu legis, cantas.' ^ If the pitch of the voice is badly regulated in speaking prose, taste is offended. The Roman stage seems to have tended to emphasise this defect, as a Roman play ^{(except in the Senarii).} was chanted by the actors rather than declaimed.

The rhythm of the three types had also to be carefully distinguished. For the rhythm of prose, a rhythm of quantity, the Roman had a very sensitive ear. Apparently the youth of Seneca's day were fond of delivering rolling passages from Fuscus, one choosing one tone and rhythm, one another. Quintilian criticises the use of senseless illustrations (because of their attractive sound). VIII, 3, 76, Nam et falsis utuntur (similes) nec illa iis quibus similia videri volunt, applicant. Quorum utrumque in his est, quae me iuvene cantari solebant: 'Magnorum fluminum navigabiles fontes sunt', et 'generosioris arboris statim planta cum fructu est.' He criticises the tendency to chant in

delivery in the following passage:- XI, 3, 57:-

'Sed quod^{cum}que ex his vitium magis tulerim quam, quo nunc maxime laboratur, in causis omnibus scholisque, cantandi, quod inutilius sit ⁷²am foedius nescio. Quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scenica et nonnunquam ebriorum aut comissantium licentiae similis?'

Tacitus, Dial. de Orat. 26, 9, criticises the same fashion,

'Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commensarios suos.'

28.11. etiamsi nihil.... even although the passages he remembers have been admired only in the schools, i.e. are purely of academic interest.

29.4. sociorum fuga... The MSS. have only socior paucitas. Kiessling inserted fuga, Gertz added vestra ipsorum. Linde (adopted by Bornecque) read hostium copia, vestrorum paucitas, nearer the MSS.

29.8. apud Herodotum. The Greek quotation is not found in Herodotus. Diodorus, XI, 9, 4, has *Λεωνίδης δὲ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδεξάμενος, τοῖς παρήγγειλε τάχως ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, ὥς ἐν ἅδου δειπνησομένους.*

Plutarch, Apoph. Lac. 225 d, 13, (Leonidas) *τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλεν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, ὥς ἐν Ἄιδου δειπνησομένους.*

Val. Max. III, 2, Ext., 3, renders it in Latin, 'Ideoque tam alacri animo suos ad id proelium, quo perituri erant, cohortatus est, ut diceret: Sic pranderet, commilitones, tanquam apud inferos cœnaturi.'

Seneca has a similar error in quotation in C. IX, 1, 13, where he attributes to Thucydides a passage which is not found in our texts of the historian, the nearest approximation to it being in Demosthenes. The error, Bornecque points out, is possibly due to the fact that he is comparing a passage of Sallust with it, who was regarded as being an imitator of Thucydides.

Dorion's eloquent remark has been lost.

29.9. Sabinus Asilius, an irrepressible jester. Several of his witticisms are given in C. IX, 4, 17 et seq.

29.15. subtilissimus. For the various uses of subtilis see Wilkⁱens, De Oratore p. 91, where he gives the following meanings (1) (originally) finely woven, (2) fine, thin, delicate, (3) precise, accurate, (4) plain (τὸ ἱαχρον γένος of oratory) unadorned. Here it seems to mean most refined, or most acute in thought. See Note § 10, (27.18).

The quotation from Attalus is lost.

30.2. Cornelius Severus, a friend of Ovid, wrote an epic on the bellum Siculum waged with Sextus Pompeius, 38 B.C. Ovid refers to him at least twice, Pont. IV, 16, 9, Quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus; and IV, 2, 1, Quod

legis, o vates magnorum maxime regum,
venit ab intonsis usque, Severe, Getes.

Quin. X, 1, 89, ^{criticises} ~~criticises~~ him thus, 'Cornelius autem
Severus, etiam si versificator quam poeta melior, si
tamen, ut est dictum, ad exemplar primi libri, bellum
Siculum perscripsisset, vindicaret sibi iure secundum
locum (among epic poets, Vergil being first). The
 fine lines on Cicero in Suas. VI, 26, and this quotation
 here are probably from this epic.

30.5. stratique per herbam, possibly imitated from Vergil, IX,
 164, fusique per herbam.

30.5. hic meus est....dies. So Seneca's Medea (1017) says:-
Perfruere lento scelere; ne propera, dolor.
Meus dies est: tempore accepto utimur.

30.7. elegantissime, with good taste, in the choicest manner.

30.9. magnitudo. Here Seneca's admiration for Rome comes out.

30.12. Porcellus grammaticus. The grammaticus precedes the
 rhetor in Roman education. First the boy learns to read
 and write, then he goes to the grammaticus, who teaches
 him ratio loquendi (principles of grammar) and enarratio
auctorum (which corresponds to our lessons in literature)
 and gives him his first lessons in simple composition.
 (See Quin. I, 9). These latter consisted of oral narr-
 -atives of Aesop's fables, paraphrases from the poets,
 sententiae, ~~ch~~riae, and ethologiae; the exact meaning of
 the latter two is rather obscure.

The Roman grammatici in Qu²intilian's day went further and initiated the boys in declamation, at anyrate in the simpler forms, e.g. suasoriae, which Q. would have given to the rhetor (see ^{Inst. Or.} II, 1, 2). 'sed ad prosopopoeias usque ^{ac} et suasorias, in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est, irrumpunt. Hinc ergo accidit ut, quae alterius artis prima eratⁿ opera, facta sint alterius novissima.' 'What ought to be the first task of the rhetor has become the last of the grammarian.' We have had a similar charge in our day that the top classes in our schools were doing the work of the Universities and vice versa.

30.13. soloeicismum. Quin. explains the term in I, 5, et seq. He has previously defined a barbarism as an error in a single word: he proceeds to show that a solecism arises from wrong combination of words. Each word may be right in itself, but is wrong in relation to others. It may be the adjective in the wrong gender, the verb in the wrong number, i.e. it is an error in ^{concord} ~~grammar~~. In § 36 he quotes as a solecism, 'si unum quis ad se vocans dicat, ^{venite} ~~venite~~, aut si plures a se dimittens ita loquatur 'abi' aut 'discede''. This is just the point in Seneca's passage, but Seneca does not agree, hence quasi.

30.21. grammaticorum, sarcastic^c, just like 'in choro manu ducente grammatico (referring to the simultaneous reading of the schools, the teacher setting the pattern).

- 31.1. habere locum, a common phrase in Cicero, De Oratore, Cf. II, § 64, locum suum in his artibus quae traditae sunt, habent nullum; II, § 219, in hoc altero dicacitas^{tis} quid habet ars loci? II, § 274. sed habet non nunquam aliquid etiam apud nos loci. It means, 'to have a place', or 'not to be out of place'.

- 31.8. ποῖ φεύξεσθε, ὀπλίται, τεῖχῃ; Cf. § 3. ^{(23.1),} ibi muros habet, ubi viros. § 5. ^{(24.10),} ideo muri nostri arma sunt.

- 31.13. per sepulchra nostra iurabitur: Cestius was a Greek. The famous oath of Demosthenes (De Corona § 208) must have been well known to the rhetoricians, especially to the Greeks. It is remarked upon, among the minor Greek rhetores, by Aristides, Hermogenes, and Longinus. The ^{first of these?} ~~former~~ points out that this oath introduces examples by means of a figure: 'ἐσχημάτισε (ὁ Δημοσθένης) πρὸς τὸ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸ ἀξιόπιστον εἰς ὅρον φαντάσιαν.' 'To carry conviction and produce the quality of splendour in the style, D. throws his idea into the form of an oath' Quin. refers to this famous oath several times, IX, 2, 62; 98; XI, 3, 168; XII, 10, 24.

- 31.14. phantasiam movit: ^{*} phantasiam movere is 'to start a visual idea', ^{'raise a mental picture'} ~~to set it in motion~~. (Note motus animi is not an emotion, but any movement of the mind. According to Sander this is one of the Greek terms first introduced into Latin by Seneca. The Latin term is imago. Cf. C. I, 6, 12. Q. Haterius a parte patris pulcherrimam
- * see *vic. letter*, Tyrrell and Purser, 531, and *note*.

imaginem movit.

What Nicetes said is lost, as it would of course be (in) Greek. There is a lacuna in the MSS. after adiecit.

After Demosthenes the MSS. give CIPTOY cui dicere.

Müller did not attempt to emend. Bornecque after Gertz reads as given. Gertz had cleverly suggested that the passage ran thus after adiecit: (οὐχ ἁμαρτησόμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἄράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς ἀλλαχοῦ προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κείμενους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἡ πόλις τῆς καλλίστης ἀξιόσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, nitide) nisi antiquior Xerxes fuisset, quam ut Demosthenis ὄρκον hic dicere (liceret).

At anyrate the general meaning is clear. It was a clever phantasia, were it not that to mention Demosthenes, when the time is that of Xerxes, is anachronistic. It is interesting to note that the rhetoricians recognise and condemn anachronisms. Cf. below ^(37.13) § 22, veni, vidi, vici.

31.16. hanc suam dixit sententiam. After hostibus Bursian suspected a lacuna, the original sentiment of Nicetes being here too lost, but we should rather suspect the lacuna before hanc. If the quotation came at the end of the ~~section~~ ^{sentence} we should have illam instead of hanc.

32.1. Potamon. A famous Greek rhetorician of Mitylene, born 65 B.C. died 25 A.D. (probably): contemporary and

rival of Lesbocles, came on embassies to Rome in 45 and 25 B.C: taught rhetoric at Rome, and engaged there in rhetorical discussions: left works on rhetoric and on history.

32.3. Lesbocles. A rhetorician of Mitylene.

In the preface to C. IV, Seneca tells how Asinius Pollio on the death of his son Herius, made no change in his usual manner of life. Later, on the death of C. Caesar in Syria, Augustus wrote a friendly letter of complaint ^{to} ~~of~~ Pollio, because he had dined in full company while the mourning for this loss was still going on. To this Pollio replied 'I dined on the day on which I lost my son Herius.' With this is contrasted the feeble spirit of Haterius, as shown by the way in which he bore the death of his son. Seneca passes no such comment on Pollio as he does here on Potamon. Is this the anti-Greek prejudice again? He is more indulgent to the Roman: 'O magnos viros, qui fortunae succumbere nesciunt et adversas res suae virtutis experimenta faciunt.' (C. Pref. IV, 6).

32.17. insanierunt, the word used for extravagance in thought or language.

"They lost all sanity, all sense of proportion."

32.19. Othryadis, See note § 2. (21.14).

33.8. Catius Crispus, called in C. VII, 4, 9, anticus rhetor.

The MSS. have only the word municipalis. Müller inserted

orator, and Bornecque retains this, translating 'orateur de petite ville'. Why not municipalis rhetor?

33.9. cacozelos, adv. The noun is cacozelia, a Greek technical term found first in Seneca; see C. IX, 1, 15, and IX, 2, 28. Hermogenes (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* Minores, II, 257) discusses this vice and shows how Homer uses hyperbole without falling into the error. Quintilian uses the term both in its Greek and Latin dress. See Instit. Or. VIII, 3, 56, 'κακόζηλον', id est mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat. Nam et tumida et pusilla et praedulcia, et abundantia et arcessita et exultantia sub idem nomen cadunt. Denique κακόζηλον vocatur, quidquid est ultra virtutem, quotiens ingenium iudicio caret et specie boni fallitur, omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum. Nam cetera parum vitantur, hoc petitur. Est autem totum in elocutione. Nam rerum vitia sunt stultum, commune, contrarium, supervacuum; corrupta oratio in verbis maxime impropriis, redundantibus, comprehensione obscura, compositione fracta, vocum similium aut ambiguarum puerili captatione consistit. Est autem omne κακόζηλον utique falsum, etiamsi non omne falsum κακόζηλον; κακόζηλον vero est, quod dicitur aliter quam se natura habet et quam oportet et quam sat est.

The term then denotes affectation or excessive striving after effect. The style is false or untrue to

the matter. This vice produces bombast, and (its opposite), feebleness, verbosity, what is far-fetched, and what is extravagant. It shows that the mind lacks judgment, and is misled by the specious. All unnatural, unbecoming, extravagant expressions are examples of *κακοζηλία*.

The pueriles sententiae, just given, are good examples of the extravagances to which the rhetores at their worst descended. They are all in a way ingenious, even clever, and all have some point, and illustrate some rhetorical form (at anyrate in its abuse). This cacozelia becomes a disease with the next ~~rh~~ator mentioned - Seneca Grandis. (Abraham Cowley knew his Seneca. He has a humorous translation of this Seneca story in his essay "Of Greatness").

34.3. esset, from edere.

34.3. mariscas, a large and insipid variety of fig.

34.5. cognomen, cognomentum. The latter is the more ornate word.

34.5. ut Messala ait. Seneca C. II, 4, 8, says, 'fuit autem Messala exactissimi ingenii quidem, in omni studiorum parte, sed Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus: itaque cum audisset Latronem declamantem dixit: "sua lingua disertus est"'.⁹ i.e. Latro, (to Messala) was a good speaker, but his Latin was not pure Latin. This is M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, great statesman and

orator, first a supporter of C^{ae}sar, then of Antony, lastly of Augustus. For his reputation as an orator cf. Cic. Ep. Ad Brutum I, 15, 1: Brutus § 246: Tac. Dial. de Or. 18: Quin. X, 1, 113. He is mentioned in the Suasoriae in the following passages: I, 7; II, 20; III, 6; VI, 27.

- 34.6. aliquando in^uvene me, Emendation by F. Jonas, adopted by Müller and Bornecque. A B V have aliquando invenire, D, inveniret.
- 34.7. contradictio. rhetorical term for an objection of the opponent.
- 34.16. ponat contra caelum castra. The rhetoricians are fond of representing Xerxes' war as impious. Cf. S.V. 2, 4.
- 35.2. decentissimi generis. The rhetorical form, repetition of conjunction, Seneca approves of; the idea he thinks foolish.
- 35.17. sed viri etc. Form the form cf. Sen. Phil. De Const. Sap. 13, 5: 'Habes sub te Parthos, Medos et Bactrianos, sed quos metu contines, sed propter quos remittere arcum tibi non contigit, sed postremos, sed venales, sed novum aucupantes dominium.'
- 35.13. belli mora, a phrase neat, terse and full of meaning, of which Seneca implies Latro was the original author. Arbroni^us Silo adopted it and the phrase became famous. It took the fancy and was copied again and again. Cf. Ovid Met. XII, 20.

^ Vergil, however, has it in Aen. X, 428, 'primus Abuntem oppositam inkrimit, pugnae nodumque moramque.'

gaudete Pelasgi,

Troia cadet; sed erit nostri mora longa laboris.

Seneca, Trojades, 124.

columen patriae, mora factorum,

Tu (Hector) praesidium Phrygibus fessis,

Tu murus eras.

Seneca Agam. 211.

Non sola Danaïs Hector et bello mora.

Lucan Phar. I, 100.

nam sola futuri

Crassus erat belli ~~medius~~ mora.

The phrase is easy to paraphrase, but difficult to translate, 'We shall at least delay the conclusion of the war, we shall gain time at least.' Changing the figure, 'We shall be a stumbling block in the war'. It is difficult to see how Vergil's rendering of the idea is ^{prettier} ~~more becoming~~ (decentius).

- 35.15. pantomimus. The pantomimus is a kind of ballet, - dancing with dumb show. Under Augustus, Pylades founded tragic pantomime, Bathyllus (the favourite of Maecenas) comic pantomime. 'An actor appearing in different parts and costumes, as the story (fabula) required, represented in a succession of solos the chief incidents of a plot, while a choir sang the words during and between the dances.' This connecting text was very subordinate, and it was apparently undignified

for a great writer to descend to the writing of such.
(from Teuffel & Schwabe, History of Rom. Lit. I, p.11).

35.16. ^{uit}~~pollut~~, because such representations were very licentious.

35.18. magnum paeana canentes. Cf. Iliad XXII, 391 and Vergil
Aen. VI, 657.

36.2. maligni, jealous, grudging, critical.

Seneca criticises the effeminate youth of this time for their laziness in C. I. Preface, 10. 'sententias a disertissimis viris iactas facile in tanta hominum desidia pro suis dicunt', and gives this as one reason for his book's existence. Seneca is not given to exaggeration, and the ignorance must have been great if the Verrines were not well known. Cicero was, of course, now not fashionable, *at any rate with the school of Pollio and the younger generation.* The passage from Vergil is in Aen. XI, 288 et seq. Cf. with Messala's criticism, Ovid's in C. VII, 1, 27, of Varro's verses:

'desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant;
omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete.'
solebat Ovidius de his ver^{is}is dicere, potuisse fieri
longe meliores, si secundi versus ultima pars abscid-
-eretur et sic desineret:

omnia noctis erant.

Varro quem voluit sensum optim^e explicuit, Ovidius in
illius versu suum sensum invenit; aliud enim intercisus
versus significaturus est, aliud totus significat. (A

II

good instance of Seneca's sober ^{sense} ~~sense~~).

Note that Maecenas and Messala are leaders of rival literary circles.

- 36.16. Corvus. Bornecque remarks that it might be thought that Seneca was referring to the fable of Phaedrus (I,13,12).

⁶ Tunc demum ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor:

but, he adds, this, according to M. Havet, had not yet been published.

- 36.18. suo mari; suo, emphatic, 'on the sea he has made his own'.

- 37.1. Sosius, Cf. Tac. Hist., V, 9. After the provinces had submitted to M. Antonius, Pacorus, King of the Parthians, took possession of Judaea, but was slain by P. Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven back beyond the Euphrates: (Judaeos C. Sosius subegit). C. Sosius was consul in 39 B.C; proconsul of Syria, 38 B.C., triumphed over the Jews 34 B.C., consul again 32 B. C. (Bornecque).

We have frequent allusions to these declamations before great personages throughout Seneca, before Augustus, Agrippa, Maecenas, (C.II, 4, 12 & 13); ^mLamia, VII, 6, 22; among others.

- 37.2. controversiam. This controversia is not one of those found in Seneca's book, which is not therefore exhaustive of the subjects treated in the schools. In C.II,4,8, he mentions a suascoria on Theodotus, which Latro declaimed for three days, and says he will state what Latro

said when he comes to the Suasoriae. As he does not do so in the book we have, we infer that there was at least one more book of Suasoriae.

From the extract here quoted we infer that the rhetor was evidently trying to give a picture of luxurious society women. It is certainly ridiculous, but we should understand it better if we had the setting.

37. 6. mitrata. All the MSS. have mirata. Schott says a friend of his suggested mitrata. He does not name him. Gron. suggested myrrhata. For mitrata Schott compares Luar. IV, 1125,

fiunt
Et bene parta patrum ~~faciunt~~ anademata mitrae.

Vergil, Aen. IV, 216,

Et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu,
Maeonia mentum mitra, crinemque madentem,
subnixus, rapto potitur.

Ib. IX, 616.

et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.

Schott adds, Mitratus etiam Attis inducitur a scriptoribus Cybelis.

an oriental head-dress, just like a turban,
The mitra, is a mark clearly of effeminacy in men and of luxury in women. Cf. also Verg. Copa, I, Copa Syrisca, caput Graia
redimita mitella, (dim. of mitra).

37. 8. Tuscus. We have the account of the death of Mamercus Scaurus in Tac. Ann. VI. 29. His accusers (ib. 30) are called Servilius and Cornelius. Probably the latter is the person meant here. This trial and death

A / of Scaurus took place in 34 ^A.D. This part of the book of Suasoriae, if not in fact the whole book, must have been written then after 34 A.D. Scaurus was capable but dissolute.

37.13. veni, vidi, vici. See Suet. Caesar, 37. For the objection to anachronism see note on § 14, (31.14).

38.1. nimius cultus, see note on style of Arellius Fuscus § 10, (28.2).

SUASORIA III.

NOTES.

The preceding Suasoria is drawn from Greek History, this from Greek legend. The speaker is evidently Agamemnon, and naturally the argument is adverse to the course proposed by Calchas. There are no political, no strategic, no sentimental arguments. These apparently are too obvious. To sacrifice Iphigenia is homicide, nay parricide. Iphigenia is worth far more than Helen. Most important of all, the rhetores are interested in the philosophical question whether any trust is to be put in augury. Of course we have only quotations, and no means of knowing what formed the rest of the speech, but the divisio seems to show that the main outline hinged on the above questions. Seneca in accordance with his promise of S. II, §10 and §23, begins by quoting a long description by Arellius Fuscus.

- 39.4 condicionem: Cf. C. V, 1, tu putabas te ea condicione accepisse ne perderes? see note below on 39.6.
- 39.5 omni ex voto iret dies: Schott compares Cicero Ep. Ad Att., XIV, 15., incipit res melius ire quam putaram.
- votum: either the thing vowed, or the thing desired, or the prayer itself. Here it is the ^{last} ~~latter~~.

The argument is that the changes of weather, whether on sea or land, are controlled by the influence of the stars,

the moon or the winds, or at any rate by something that cannot be changed by human prayers or vows.

39.6. sub eadem conditione: Cf. Suas. II, 2^(21.6), sub eodem pueritia fato est. conditio expresses the law of their being, the terms on which they exist. The development of Priarius in C. II, 5, 8, should be compared. 'Non ex formula natura respondet nec ad praescriptum casus obsequitur; semper expectari fortuna mavult quam regi. aliubi offenditur improvisa segetum maturitas, aliubi sera magno fenore moram redemit. licet lex dies finiat, natura non recipit.' This is just the opposite of the modern view of ^{Science} Seneca.

39.7. alias negatis imbribus: The influence of these exercises of the rhetorical schools is traced in the following passage from Seneca's Oedipus 41-50,

Deseruit amnes humor, atque herbas color.

Aretque Dirce. tenuis Ismenos fluit,

nuda / Et tingit inopi ^{nuda} unda vix unda vada.

Obscura caelo labitur Phoebi soror;

Tristisque mundus nubilo pallet novo.

Nullum serenae noctibus sidus micat:

Sed gravis et ater incubat terris vapor.

Obtextit arces coelitus ac summas domos

Inferna facies. denegat fructum Ceres

Adulta; et altis flava cum spicis tremat,

Arente /

Arente culmo sterilis emoritur seges.

39.8. lugent. Haase; MSS. legunt.

et haec interdum anno lex est: reads like a marginal note inserted in the text.

39.9. serena, sc. sidera, the stars of cloudless weather(?) or better the cloudless parts of the sky are hidden. serena (caeli) cf. aspera scopulorum, S. II, §1. (20.9.).

39.10. subsidit solum: The idea is quite clear to anyone who has seen his seeds washed out of the garden by heavy rain after sowing. The soil seems to subside and leave the seeds exposed.

39.12. variantur tempora: tempora - the weather.

40.2. quidquid asperatum aestu etc: a good example of the fondness of Arellius for saying simple things in a very strange way. nimius cultus, II, §23, ^(35.1.) I suppose.

40.5. luna cursu gerit: regit, the conjecture of an anonymous scholar, quoted by Schott, may be right.

Here we have a fresh hypothesis, - if it is not the stars that govern the weather, possibly it is the moon, and then comes, of course, another opportunity for a brilliant description, inspired by a passage from Vergil's Georgics, which he proceeds to give.

For the ancient belief regarding the moon's influence on the weather compare the following passage from Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist. XVIII, 347:-

"Proxima sunt iure lunae praesagia. Quartam eam maxime observat Aegyptus; si splendens exorta puro nitore fulsit, serenitatem, si rubicunda ventos, si nigra, pluvias portendere creditur. In quinta cornua eius optunda pluviam, erecta et infesta ventos semper significant, etc." He also quotes Varro (later)

"si quarto die luna erit directa, magnam tempestatem in mari praesagiet, nisi si coronam circa se habebit et eam sinceram, quoniam illo modo non ante plenam lunam hiematurum ostendit."

40.6. sive plena lucis suae: Hyginus, Astron., 4, 14, discusses the question of the source of the light of the moon, and incidentally gives a correct explanation of eclipses:

"Si enim suo lumine uteretur, illud quoque sequeretur, eam semper aequalem esse oportere, nec die tricesimo tam exilem aut omnino nullam videri, cum totum transegerit cursum,: Praeterea, si suo lumine uteretur, huius nunquam eclipsin fieri oportebat."

splendensque pariter adsurgit in cornua; brilliant and striking phrase to picture the steady and equal waxing of each horn of the crescent.

40.8. occurrente: At the end of § 4^(43.15) when we find the passage quoted again, the word in the MSS. is occupata which Gronovius emended to occurrente. Here the MSS. which give occurreret de or occurrit de point rather to the reading of the text, which is the emendation of Gertz and Novale^k.

40.9. finit: sc. imbres.

The new moon, if bright, foretells dry weather: if misty, it foretells rain, which will not cease till it becomes bright again (lucem reddit).

lucem reddit, Cf. Latro, C.II, 2, 8. non vides ut immota fax torpeat, ut exagitata reddat ignes?

40.11. quidquid horum est: This connects the digression to the main subject, and the connection is very loose:-

'It was no order of a god that made the sea safe for an adulterer, since the weather depends upon the stars, or the moon or the winds etc., and not upon human wishes.'

40.13. at non potero; Gertz adds aliter, Bornecque deletes. The force of the word aliter is implied in at, and the emendation is unnecessary.

If the last lines of Fuscus's speech may be taken as connected, and not isolated sentences, we should have an example of his fracta compositio, the broken rhythm of his style.

40.15 ne....timerem persequer: Idiomatic Impf: referring to the time when the expedition was conceived. We should use present.

41.7. ~~§ 2.~~ parricidium; strictly the slaying of a father or of a mother, then of any near relation, cf. Cic. civem Romanum necare prope parricidium, (*In Verrem*, II, 5, 66 (170)).

41.6. describe nunc tempestatem: see note on S.II, 8, ^(27.1) Descriptio Thermopylarum.

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41.8. deae templo: Bornecque compares Ovid.Met.IV,798 and XII,28.

IV,798, Hanc pelagi rector templo vitiasse Minervae
Dicitur.

XII,28, Nec enim nescitve tacetve
sanguine virgineo placandam virginis iram/esse deae....
Victa dea est, nubemque oculis obiecit, et inter/officium
turbamque sacri, etc.

41.11. Infestae sunt hiemes etc: variation on Cestius's sententia
above.

41.13 Adulteris clauderentur: cf. above Fuscus, extra iussum dei
tutum fuit adultero mare. (40.12).

42.2 malum familiae nostrae fatale: The violation of Aerope cost
Thyestes his children's lives: now for a second time an
adulterous wife Helen costs the life of her brother-in-
law's child.

42.6. Divisio. Seneca now gives a brief summary of the main
divisions of Fuscus's argument. The quotation in § I
obviously comes from the part that dealt with illam moram
naturae maris et ventorum esse. diligenter divisit.

42.17. diligenter divisit:
Cestius developed more fully the argument that 'the will
of the gods is not known to men.'

43.2. auguriis negavit credendum; Schott quotes the saying of
Cato the Censor, from Cic.de ^{Divin.} ~~Deem~~, 2, mirari se si augur
auguri, aruspex aruspici occurrens non rideat, so that the
scepticism is fairly old. We see it in Euripides, Iphig.
in Aulis, 879, where the old man says in reply to
Clytemnestra, 'Θεσφαθ', ὥς γε φησι Κάλχας, ἵνα πορεύηται στρατός.

cf. Achilles also, line 955 et seq.:-

πικρὸν δὲ προχύτας χερνιβᾶς τ' ἐνάρξεται
 Κάλλης ὁ μάντις. τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ;
 ὅς ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει
 τυχών· ὅταν δὲ μὴ τύχῃ διοίχεται;

There were various methods of foretelling the future in antiquity, and opinion on their reliability varied. Hence the orator had to learn the various methods of confirming or rebutting evidence alleged from these. Note Quintilian Inst. Orat. V,7,36., "aliter enim oraculorum, aliter aruspicum, augurum, coniectorum, mathematicorum fides confirmari aut refelli potest." Similarly, in III,11,6, he says that if Orestes defends himself by saying that he was impelled by an oracle to slay his mother, the question arises "An responsis parere debuerit."

The oraculum is as Seneca says the voluntas divina hominis ore enuntiata (Contr.I, Pref.9); the aruspex tells the future from an examination of the entrails of animals, the augur, from the flight of birds, the coniector, from dreams, the mathematicus, from the stars. This evidence is admissible in the courts; but not only have the facts to be established, but the general question whether such are to be believed at all may have to be debated. Here Silo says that, even if some forms of divination are possible, augury at any rate is not one. Livy's remarks in Bk. XLIII,13, are interesting; "non sum nescius, ab eadem negligentia qua nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nuntiari admodum nulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri."

Ceterum et mihi, vetustas res scribenti, nescia^o quo pacto antiquus fit animus; et quaedam religio tenet, quae illi prudentissimi viri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro indignis habere, quae in meos annales referam."

The belief then was dying out in Livy's day; but Seneca, the younger, while still believing in portents, thinks the art^t of divination should take account of all events, and that it is imperfect yet (Nat. Quaest II, 32, 3).

The next Suasoria opens with an attack on the Mathematici by Fuscus.

43.10 Fuscus Arellius Vergilii versus voluit imitari; see next paragraph, and also Ss. IV, 4 & 5. Here he is imitating Vergil, Georgics I, 427 et seq.

43.15 occupata: Gronovius emended to occurre^rnte to agree with § I.

43.20 si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aera cornu; not "if her dim crescent clasp dark air", as Sidgwick; but "if on dim^d crescent she has caught dark mist", i.e. "if her crescent is dim and surrounded with mist". Vergil knew quite well that the unlit body of the moon was between the horns. Vegetius, De Re Militari, V.11, also imitates this passage: "Multis quoque signis et de tranquillo procellae et de tempestatibus serena produntur, quae velut in speculo Lunae orbis ostendit. Rubicundus enim color ventos, caeruleus indicat pluvias. Ex utroque commixtus, nimbos et furentes procellas. Laetus orbis ac lucidus, serenitatem navigiis repromittit, quam gestat in vultu; praecipue si quarto ortu,

///

neque obtusis cornibus, rutila; neque infuso fuerit humore fuscata."

Seneca, Oed, 505, may also be compared:-

Lunaque dismissos dum plena recolliget ignes.

44.2. ortu quarto: on the fourth day after new moon.

44.5 imputaret; (Schott) - expensum ferret, put it down to

Maecenas's account with him, take credit for it. He

compares also VI, 20, (Popili⁷us) victoribus id ipsum

imputatur^us, occupat facinus. The word is found frequently

in the Controversiae. See C. II, 5, 7; II, 5, 13 & 14;

II, 6, 2; III, 6; IV, 5; IV, 7; VI, 7; IX, 1, 11; IX.2, 15.

totiens enim pro beneficio, etc., 'he so often used to tell

as a service (pro beneficio) (rendered to Maecenas) how he

had pleased Maecenas or (absolutely had pleased the audience,

i.e. had been successful) in some Vergilian description.

totiens, used absolutely. The sentence corroborates the

preceding statement.

44.8 All the MSS. have cur iste inter eius ministerium placuit

(sc. deo). Linde suggests inter eius modi ministerium.

Mader^{vi}g emended cur iste interpres et eius. Gertz, iste
which Bornecque adopts. Thomas, iste
vates et eius ministerium, Müller reads Fr. Leo's

In interius ministerium.

emendation, cur iste in interpretis ministerium. Thomas's

is nearest the MSS., and gives good sense, "for his more intimate service."

Bornecque's note assumes interpres in the text however,

and refers us to Vergil Aen. III, 359, for the use:-

Troiugena, interpres divum; Sen. Troiades, 35⁴, potius
interpres deum / Calchas vocetur. and 9³⁸₄₁,

Utinam iuberet me quoque interpres deum
abrumpere ense lucis invisae moras.

44.11. plena deo: The phrase is not found in our text of Vergil. We at once think it must be in the Sixth Aeneid, line 40 to 80: and it may have been there in the first version, or in a version current in Seneca's day. It is curious that line 51 can be easily altered to take it, plena deo, iam tu cessas in vota precesque / Tros, ait, Aeneas? or line 77, Plena deo nondum patiens. In any case the phrase took the fancy and was frequently imitated by later poets, as well as by Ovid, quoted later § 7. (46.6.)

Cf. Lucan, IX, 564, Ille deo plenus tacita quem mente gerebat.

Stat. Theb., X, 16⁴, impatiensque dei, fragili quem mente receptum / non capit.

Sil. Ital., III, 673, Tum loca plena deo.

V, 8⁹, Plenus et ipse deum.

Val. Flac. I. 23⁹, Plenus fati Phoebique quieto.

Ovid Fasti, I, 47⁴, Ore dabat vero carmina plena dei.

44.12. aptissime ponere: to quote aptly, to the point.

44.14. impetu: impetus applied to oratory means strong feeling, rush, energy, 'go', in the style.

45.4. caldus: hot, fiery, impassioned, apparently the form preferred to calidum in Augustus's day, as Quintilian

tell~~a~~ us in I, 6, 19, Augustus quoque in epistolis ad C. Caesarem scriptis emendat, quod is calidum dicere quam caldum malit, non quia id non sit Latinum sed quia sit odiosum et, ut ipse Graeco verbo significat, περίεργον.

45.4. scholastici: purely schoolmen, who took no part in the practical oratory of the forum, those who practised as lawyers were called pragmatici.

If the phrase plena deo really came from the description of the ^{Sibyl} sybil in Aeneid VI, it must have vividly recalled the picture of line 47-50 to those who knew their Vergil, -

"subito non vultus non color unus,
non comptae mansere comae: sed pectus anhelum,
et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri
nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
iam propiore dei."

It appeared to hit off the exaggeration of the style very pointedly. A declaimer should not rave like an inspired sybil.

When Gallio applied it to Haterius, of course Tiberius was puzzled. The grammar seemed wrong, and he asked for an explanation. In C, IV, Praef, 7, Seneca gives a description of the style of Haterius^{ia} and quotes a witticism of Augustus on it,

"tanta erat illi velocitas orationis ut vitium fieret.
itaque divus Augustus optime dixit: 'Haterius noster

sufflaminandus est'. adeo non currere sed decurrere videbatur". (See the whole passage).

45.15 Theodoreus: The declaimers divided themselves into two schools, Asiatic and Attic, and in addition into followers of Apollodorus and of Theodorus. Apollodorus was probably rather Attic in style, Theodorus was Asiatic, or rather Rhodian. The former was the ^ttutor of Augustus, the latter of Tiberius. Nicetes by style seems to lean to the Theodorean. Then 'Tiberius ipse Theodoreus' must mean Tiberius although he was a follower of Theodorus (and hence should have liked Nicetes) disliked him, and was pleased with Gallio's story. Bornecque thinks that ipse Theodoreus must mean 'because he was a follower of Theodorus and hence opposed to Apollodorus and his school, disliked Nicetes'. This interpretation makes Nicetes a follower of Apollodorus. Apollodorus belongs to the generation preceding Theodorus, and Nicetes (according to St. Jerome) was a contemporary of Theodorus, but this would not prevent him from being a follower of the latter. The difference between the two schools cannot now be made out very clearly. See Bornecque, *Les Déclamations et les Déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le père*, page 140, et seq.

46.1. Gallio Nasoni suo: Cf. for this intimacy, Ovid, *Pont. IV*, 11, where Ovid in a letter of consolation to Gallio on the death of his wife strangely ends with the suggestion

that he may still have the happiness to find another. Gallio was also a great friend of Seneca, and adopted the latter's eldest son, Annaeus Novatus.

- 46.3. palam mutuandi: Seneca means that Ovid was not strictly plagiarising, but borrowing to give pleasure to his readers by echoing their favourite poet. We may instance the Vergilian echoes in Tennyson and the Shakesperian in Thacker^ay.
- 46.6. feror huc illuc: appears to be a quotation from Ovid's tragedy, Medea, mentioned twice by Quintilian, VIII, 5, 6; X, 1, 98; and by Tacitus in the *Dial. de Gratoribus* (18, 25) ~~Dialogian Oratory~~, by both with admiration.
- 46.9. verisimilitudinis: Schultingh's emendation of the reading of all the MSS. similitudinis. Bornecque adopts Müller's suggestion, simili huic tractatione which seems better. "in a development similar to this one." Aul. Gell., XIV, 1, gives a long rendering of the main arguments used by a Greek philosopher Favorinus against the belief in astrology.
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SUASORIA IV.NOTES.

The subject of this suasoria is taken from the history of Alexander the Great. Seneca quotes only Fuscus on this topic, and merely an extract from his handling of it, consisting of an attack upon the Mathematici, - those who ^foretold the future from the stars. In fact this is just a locus communis 'in omnes qui hanc adfect-
-arent scientiam' (Cf. S., III, 94). Seneca says
(Bivisio § 4^(49.6.1)) that these were the only questions that Fuscus discussed in his treatment of this subject. Fuscus speaks, not as Alexander, but as one of his councillors.

47.6. canat, because oracles were usually given in verse.

47.7. eodem contentus utero: i.e., he must claim supernatural birth.

contentus, with the full force of its meaning here,

'confining oneself within the limits of a thing and so content with it.'

imprudentes: with emphasis on its original meaning,

(in + pro + video): 'We who unlike the prophets cannot foresee the future', prophets being (as Schultingh says) above all prudentes, if they are true prophets.

47.11. habitus: generally, 'state', 'condition', here almost approaching the meaning of modus in Horace, modus agri

non ita magnus. 'measure or limit'. Cf. also Livy, I, 42, 'ex quo (censu) belli pacisque munia, non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent.'

The argument here is in accordance with the advice of Cestius in S. I., 45, that the declaimer must suit his language to his company. This is flattery of Alexander. We have here a good example of explicatio, the development of the theme that the true prophet must be more than man, and really a god. Fuscus really implies, of course, that the prophet is false, being mere man, and no god.

47.14. non eodem vitae fine: the MSS. give after this aetate magna, which Bornecque emends to non aetate maligna, (after Gertz). Both will be loose abl. of description. I do not believe either phrase is correct as it stands. They both look like a gloss on the next sentence. extra omnem fatorum necessitatem: fatorum is Schultingh's emendation of futurorum, which is given by all the MSS. Sch. points out that the phrase means calamitates et mortem, the fates being often put for what they bring. qua licet: 'by the path by which it is permitted', i.e. by astrology.

47.18. visimus: MSS. visuimus or visumus, Hence F. Walter (Berlin^{er} Philologische Wochenschrift, 1918 (10)) suggests visu subimus, comparing Vergil Aen., ~~II~~^X, 447, obit.... omnia visu.

- 47.19. inutili: 'useless' as compared with this knowledge of the future.
- 47.20. attero: 'to wear out by rubbing'.
- 47.21. pignore: a pignus is something upon which we rely as a guarantee for another person's conduct. Thus accomplishments are a guarantee or security against misfortune. Here the thing on which we rely for the development of intellect is futuri scientia.
- 48.1. ingenia surrexerint: Fuscus evidently liked this phrase.
(20.1)
Cf. S., II, 1, ab infantia surgit ingenium. surrexerint is potential in force.
- 48.2. fatorum pignora: i.e. horoscopes: a true horoscope is a guarantee of what is going to happen, a pledge, something on which we may rely, that it will happen.
natales: sc. dies, i.e. horoscopes.
- 48.5. contrane durus steterit: to use the language of astronomy, 'whether the sun was in opposition or conjunction.'
- 48.7. plenam lucem an initia surgentis (lucis) acceperit (Luna):
'Whether it was at the full or just beginning to wax.'
Here we have good examples of nimius cultus and fracta compositio. The whole thing is vivid and beautiful in its way. The poetical flavour is strong, but there is no flow in the style. It is not a case of art concealing art. Note the first five clauses refer to moon and sun only, no prediction being associated with them: then there are five clauses in each of which a planet is

associated with what it portends.

48.8. Saturnus: as God of husbandry: born under his star you will be a farmer; under Mars, a soldier; under Mercurius, a merchant; under Venus, you will be fortunate in love, (hence blanda ^{na} admierit). Jupiter gives dominion or power.

48.12. tot circa unum caput tumultuantes deos: ironical, as also the next clause. Messengers when credible announce the past. Next he gives three examples of false prognostications, and draws the conclusion - 'There is no true science of augury and we live uncertain of our fate.' The last two clauses are isolated sententiae. We need not take them as having followed in that connection in the speech of Fuscus. His style can scarcely have been so jerky as that.

48.13. diu: inserted by Gertz.

48.14. dies: Linde unnecessarily wanted to emend this to deus. dies stands for dies fatalis or dies suprema, 'one day overwhelmed them', or 'the day of doom overwhelmed them.'

48.18. incertae sortis: predicative genitive.

49.2. eruuntur: inserted by Gertz, not absolutely necessary: the sense of in fuiguntur is repeated with a sort of zeñgma: in the first phrase it means 'fabricated', in the second the idea of falsity disappears and it means merely 'moulded'.

49.4. Babylon ei cluditur: According to Arrian it was on Alexander's return to Babylon after his expedition down

the Indus, that he was warned not to enter^{Babylon}, or at least not to enter except from the West. Alexander is represented as inclined to fall in with the advice, while suspecting that the prediction is caused by self-interest. The ancients did believe in astrology; hence Arellius's argument is not historically probable. The ancients doubted which predictions were true, which false. Alexander would not have doubted that there was a science of the stars from which omens could be drawn.

On this general question of the credibility of astrology it is worth comparing Sen. phil. Ep. 88, 12. Here Seneca argues that this knowledge gained from the stars is useless. It can only trouble the soul. Fate controls everything, and the knowledge of its action benefits in no way. If the stars give sure predictions there is no gain in knowing beforehand what one cannot escape. The best thing is to hope for the best, and to be prepared to meet the worst. Compare also Lucan Phars. I, 641 et seq., and Manilius, Astron. IV., who shows in this book the influence each constellation has at birth, and the relative importance of each. Tacitus (Annals VI, 22) doubts whether chance or fate or merely natural laws rule the world, and seems to believe that in spite of the errors and trickery of some exponents of the science still there is a science of astrology, as examples from ancient days and from his own time show.

The discourse of Favorinus summarised by Aulus G^ellius, (XIV, 1), is also worth noting in this connection. He gives many clever and sometimes amusing arguments to show that such a science is unworthy of belief.

The Divisio merely tells us that Fuscus discussed nothing in this Suasoria but these questions relating to astrology. It is mainly taken up with an anecdote which amused Seneca and his contemporaries.

49. 11. controversiam de illa....etc. The subject of this controversy, which apparently was a well-known theme in the schools (although it is not one of those quoted by Seneca) is thus stated by Faber :- 'A woman had had three children still-born. She dreamed that, if next time she had a baby, she went to a grove to bring it to birth, it would be a living child. She obeyed the dream, bore a living child in secret, and asked the grandfather to recognise it. He refused and the cause came to court.

49. 14. vos scire : the MSS. read, quam ego intellego me dicere Fuscus ~~ch.~~
~~dicere~~ Some words have dropped out. ~~here~~. Seneca apparently said that he would insult his sons' intelligence, if he quoted the whole controversy with which he is well aware they are acquainted. This would imply something like, si totam controversiam, quam ego intelligo vos scire, fusius exposuero. Schultingh took contumeliosus as meaning that the story is unfit for the ears of the young, (Maxima debetur puero reverentia) and emended

thus, si totam controversiam quam ego intelligo me scire, dixero.

Gertz emended thus, ..'quam ego intelligo me scire, fusius exposuero: hanc ergo cum Fuscus etc.' To both of these there is the same objection, that there seems no point in the ego and me.

49.16. locum, i.e. locum communem.

49.20. Vergili versum: Vergil, Aen. IV, 379. (The second from Aen. II, 553).

50.1 cuius pudori pareo: by not naming him.

50.10. abdidit ensem: imitated five times in Seneca's tragedies (Bornecque) Trojades, 48,

alto nefandum vulneri ferrum abdidit.

ib.1155, ut dextra ferrum penitus exacta abdidit.

Thyestes 722. ast illi ferus

in vulnere ensem abscondit.

Octavia 370, rogat infelix, utero dirum

condat ut ensem.

733, ensemque in gulo condidit saevum Nero.

50.11. molestus: denotes 'importunity'. Cf. C. X. Praef. I.

Quod ultra mihi molesti sitis, non est.

50.12 cultius: reverting to the question raised in S, II, §10, (28.2) where see note_A. Note that Fuscus liked Suasoriae and preferred them in Greek. His pupil Fabianus is said to have been suasoriis aptior (C. II. Praef. 2³). Ovid (C. II, 11, 12) is said also to have preferred suasoriae,

'libentius dicebat suasorias; molesta illi erat omnis argumentatio.' The Suasoriae gave more scope to the poetic imagination.

- 50.16. οἶον.... ὀχύρωμα : This implies that Hybreas assumes that Alexander was warned before entering Babylon for the first time, (see note on § 3^(49.4)). One can hardly believe that Seneca wrote these words in this connection.
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SUASORIA V.

NOTES.

The subject again is connected with the Persian Wars: but is more purely fictitious. There is no evidence that Xerxes ever sent such a message. In the other four the setting is genuine history, ^{or tradition} (except, in I, the assumption of three hundred from each Greek state).

- 57.3. tollerentur: The sequence is curious but is that usually employed in the titles. Cf. S. VII, title, Deliberat Cicero an scripta sua conburat promittente Antonio incolumitatem si fecisset; and S. IV, title, cum denuntiatum esset; S. II, fugissent; and C. VII, 7, 19, ut in illa suasoria in qua deliberat Alexander, an Oceanum naviget, cum exaudita vox esset: 'quousque invicte?' Evidently the present is felt as historic present. In the titles of the *Controversiae* the circumstances are stated first historically, and the question that is being tried is put in the present tense. C. VII, 2, title, is typical:- Popillium parricidii reum Cicero defendit: absolutus est. proscriptum Ciceronem ab Antonio missus occidit Popillius et caput eius ad Antonium rettulit. Accusatur de moribus. We might turn this into the *Suasoria* form thus: Accusatur de moribus Popillius, cum Ciceronem occidisset. Conversely the *Suasoria*/

st./ Suasoria title could be expressed thus: Xerxes minabatur
rediturum se nisi trophaea tollerentur. Deliberant
Athenienses.

There appears to be no doubt that the secondary tense is the correct reading here and in S. VII.

51.6. tot caesa milia: the preceding sentence is really the result of this one - 'So many thousands have been slain that I am ashamed if etc.' Arellius is fond of this form. Cf. S. IX, 1, 'tantum enim regem etc.' The avoidance of subordination produces the staccato style.

51.14. pignus: Arellius is fond of this word. He uses it twice within a few lines in S. IV, 1 and 2. (where see note 1, (47.21; 48.2))

51.15 in gaudio: This is O. Jahn's emendation of the reading of all the MSS. in gaudia. Müller compares § 3^(53.9)

'in melioris fiduciam surgere' If this is of any value it shows the emendation to be unnecessary.

51.16. ex praesenti metitur: The statement is not general. It has definite reference to Xerxes. When he looks at the power around him he exults, when he thinks of his past disasters he is depressed.

52.3. haeret circa damna sua: his mind cannot get away from his losses.

suis/

- 52.5. suis ira ardet ignibus: Schg. emended to aevis, unnecessarily. suis is emphatic, 'with no borrowed fire'.
- 52.10. arma indenuntiata: historically not true: he sent to all the Greek states except Athens and Sparta to demand earth and water, the tokens of submission; to Athens and Sparta none were sent, because of their treatment of the heralds sent by Darius. (Herod. VII, 132 and 133.)
- 52.12. in deos arma tulerat: Cf. S.II, 17, ponat sane contra caelum castra: commilitones habebo deos - a commonplace of the rhetoricians.
- 52.13. tot ante Xersem milia: in the first invasion launched by Darius, which ended at Marathon.
- 52.15. Salamina: Cf. Cie., Tusc., I, 46, 110, Ante enim memoriam, et. su.

Cynaegiron: Cf. Plut. Paral. 305B:-

Δάτις ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης μετὰ τρίακοντα μυριάδων
εἰς Μαραθῶνα παραγενόμενος, πεδίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ ὡν
στρατοπεδευσάμενος πόλεμον τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις κατήγγειλεν· ἰ
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ πλήθους καταφρονήσαντες
ἐννακισχιλίους ἔπεμψαν, στρατηγούς ποιήσαντες Κυνέγειρον,
Πολύζηλον, Καλλίμαχον, Μιλτιάδην. συμβληθείσης δὲ οὖν,
τῆς παρατάξεως, Πολύζηλος μὲν ὑπεράνθρωπον φαν-
τασίαν θεασάμενος τὴν ὄρασιν ἀπέβαλε καὶ τυφλὸς
ἐγένετο. Καλλίμαχος δὲ πολλοῖς περιπεταρμένος δορυ-
ασι καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστάθη. Κυνέγειρος δὲ Περσικὴν ὁρ-
ἀναγομένην ναῦν κατασχὼν ἐχειροκοπήθη.
ἀναγομένην ναῦν κατασχὼν ἐχειροκοπήθη.

see also Val. Max. III, 2, 22|.

- 53.17. aestumat quam vos: 'Xerxes sets more value on the trophies than he sets upon you.' He is willing to give up the conquest of Greece, if he can have the trophies destroyed. Otherwise vos may be Nom. case. 'He sets a higher value on the trophies than you do.' He is more eager to destroy them than you to preserve them. The former has more point.
- 54.1. hoc non est diu colligendum: 'needs no long argument to establish it.'
- 54.12. illorum bellum fuit: see note on § 2, in deos arma tulerat. (52.12).
- 54.14. Hic omnia-----pertinentia: another example of these parenthetic remarks of Seneca, Cf. Descriptio Thermopylarum, S.II,8; enumeratio bellorum, here, 2 lines later: and hic dixit et seq., §.8. (56.15).
- 54.17. nunquam magna imperia otiosa: Cf. Levy xxx,44,⁹~~8~~, Nulla magna civitas diu quiescere potest.
- 55.2. reliquias victoriae: Cf. Verg. Aen. I,30, reliquias reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli. victoriae, subjective genitive.
- 55.10. exceptum est; sc. clamoribus, 'was received with applause/

applause: or merely, 'was picked out', 'considered exceptionally good.' Cf. S.VI, §9, illam sententiam quae valde excepta est. (65.2).

55.12. locum movit: 'started a topic'.

55.18. repleat ipse Atho: see note on S.II, §3. (22.3).

57.5 dignam: not in the MSS. added by Müller, and adopted by Bornecque. Without it we could translate ponatur (potential), 'which could be put.'

57.6. Diutius illi perire....: Cf. Tac. Germ. XXXVII, Tam diu Germania vincitur.

Suasoria VI.

Notes.

This is quite the most interesting of all the suasoriae, and more interesting than any controversia. Pars. 1-14 give the usual selections from the speeches of famous declaimers on this theme. 14-21 give quotations from various historians, describing in detail Cicero's death. 22-26 give similar quotations describing and criticising his character. Then follows a magnificent appreciation in verse by Cornelius Severus: and the suasoria closes with an anecdote throwing an interesting light on the character of Pollio.

The selections from the declamations are as eloquent as any, -grand echoes at least of the old oratory. The descriptions of Cicero's death we would not willingly surrender, and the quotations on his character are of absorbing interest. The schools in extolling the memory of Cicero, and ⁱⁿrevering Vergil, must have reflected an opinion that was fashionable and that does credit to Roman society however decadent.

The speaker assumes that he is one of Cicero's friends, giving the old statesman advice in a council held to consider whether he should stoop to

beg Antony for life or not. The known facts of Cicero's death are found either here, or in Appian, Dio Cassius and Plutarch. Here we get the accounts of Livy, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus, ^{and} Bruttedius Niger, in whole or in part.

There was a fiction current in the schools that Cicero had successfully defended a certain Popili^{us} when accused of parricide, and that during the proscription Popili^{us} by order of Antony had slain his benefactor. This, of course, as subject of a controversy, in which Popili^{us} should be accused of ingratitude, gave great scope for sententiae and other products of ingenuky. C.VII,2.is on this theme. There appears to be no foundation in fact for the story. Of all the authorities named above or quoted from Seneca only Plutarch, ^{Appian} and Bruttedius Niger mention Popili^{us}. The latter ^{last?} names Popili^{us} as the executioner, and also states that he had been defended by Cicero, but does not mention the charge... Plutarch says that Popili^{us} (whom Cicero had defended on a charge of parricide) came with Herennius in search of the orator, but states that Herennius did the deed. Seneca himself declares in C.VII,2,8. that few of the historians name Popili^{us} as Cicero's executioner, and even these do not say that Cicero had defended Popili^{us} for parricide, but in a private suit. (see also

Val. Max. V, 3, 4).

- 58.6. verba deficient: the quotations from the rhetoricians in this suasoria are, as we should expect, full of allusions to Cicero's writings. Here there is an echo of Cicero. Ad Fam. II, 11, 1, Putaresne unquam accidere posse ut mihi verba deessent, and XIII, 63, 1, Non putavi fieri posse ut mihi verba deessent.
- 58.10. exhaustum crudeliter, repletum turpiter: cruelly drained of its best blood in the civil wars, and now in the proscription (although the speaker somewhat anticipates) and then dishonoured by the additions made to it. ^{C. C. VII, 3, 9.} Caesar had introduced Gauls; Antony his creatures. Later Augustus purified the senate.
- 58.11. Gn. Pompeium: The great Pompey, slain at Alexandria after Pharsalia.
- 58.12. M. Catonem: who committed ^τ suicide after Utica.
- Lucullos: the conqueror of Mithridates and his brother, both claimed as supporters by Cicero in Phil. II, 5, (12). The one died in 56, the other in 49 B.C.
- Hortensium: Quintus, the famous orator, died in 50 B.C.
- Lentulum: P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul in 57 B.C., proposed Cicero's recall from exile. Cicero speaks of him in Phil. XIII, 14, ⁽²⁹⁾ as now dead.
- 58.13. Marcellum: M. Marcellus, a bitter opponent of Caesar who pardoned him and permitted him to return to Rome after Pharsalia. . Marcellus was assassinated

in 46 B.C. as he was coming back. Cicero delivered the Pro Marcello thanking Caesar for his clemency in the case.

58.13. tuos consules Hirtium ac Pansam: the consuls of the next year after Caesar's death. tuos emphatic, because Cicero had taken such a large part in the business of the state during their consulate, and because they had been his intimate friends. Both perished in the war against Antony round Mutina. Cicero called them, (Suet. De Rhet. I, 25,) discipulos et grandes praetextatos, as they had practised declamation with him. See what Seneca says, C.I, Praef. 11, alioqui in illo atrio, in quo duos grandes praetextatos ait secum declamasse, potui adesse, (but for the civil wars which kept him in Spain). Cf. also Cic. Ad Fam. IX, 16, 7, Hirtium et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, and VII, 33; ^{cf also Ad Att. XIV, 12, 2,} haud amo vel hos designatos, qui etiam declamare me coegerunt.

58.14. iam nostra peracta sunt: an echo of Cic. Ad Brutum, I, 2a, 2, (Oxford text) sed de hoc tu videris; de me possum idem quod Plautinus pater in Trinummio:

Mihi quidem aetas acta ferme est; tua istuc refert maxime.

58.15. M. Cato: Cato had pitched his camp near Utica and awaited the issue of the battle. On receiving the news of Caesar's victory he made arrangements for

the safety of his friends and said farewell to them. Then he retired and after reading for some time Plato's Phaedo, he slept for a little. Waking he stabbed himself with his sword. The doctors summoned bound up the wounds, but after they left he tore them^{se} open with his own hands and so died.

This death impressed the later writers strongly. They hold up Cato as the pattern of high moral tone, stern adherence to principle, and champion of the old liberty. He is their counterpart of Aristides the ^Just. Whether he was so or not, their imaginations idealise him as the true embodiment of all the virtues most dear to the Roman heart. The fact that he shed no Roman blood is emphasised. (Hence, here, puras a civili sanguine manus). Cato and M. Marcellus had strenuously resisted the massacre of Caesar's partisans in Thessaly. Cato was not personally present either at Pharsalia or ^{at} Thapsus. In the former case he was at Corcyra, holding it for Pompey, in the latter he was at Utica; Scipio commanded in the battle.

In C.X.3,5, Labienus says, M. Cato, quo viro nihil speciosius civilis tempestas abstulit, potuit beneficio Caesaris vivere si ullius voluisset. (Cf. also Sen. phil., De Const., II, 2.) From other writers compare Vergil, Aen. VIII, 670, his dantem iura Catonem. Val. Max. III, 2, 14; Vell. Pat. II, 35, 2, homo Virtuti sim-

illimus et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior. Paterculus calls him also omnibus humanis vitiis immunis. With puras a civili sanguine manus, compare Sen. phil. de Prov. II, 6 and 7, ferrum istud etiam civili bello purum et innoxium, and Sen. Epistles, XXIV, ⁸⁷ stricto gladio quem usque in illum diem ab omni caede purum servaverat; with pectus sacerrimum, cf. also de Prov. II, 8, sacrum pectus and illam sanotissimam animam.

59.1. Scipio: This is Quintus Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey. After the death of Pompey, when the senatorial ^{party} rallied in Africa he was elected commander ⁻ⁱⁿ chief (imperator). He did not maintain the military renown of the Scipios. He was and had been an inefficient commander. The story of his death is told by ~~LI~~ Livy, Epitome 114; Val. Max. III, 2, 13;

8 | Sen. phil. Epist., XXIV, ~~4~~ 9; Florus, II, 13, 68; Quin. Declam., p. 420, 18. (Teubner, Ritter).

After his defeat at Thapsus, Scipio escaped by sea, but when he saw that his ship was about to be taken he stabbed himself. When the pursuers boarded his vessel and enquired for the emperor he said, Imperator bene se habet, the natural reply if he had been victorious, victus vocem victoris emisit.

Obviously the phrase denoted triumph over death.

So Seneca, the son, takes it. Val. Max. says,

tantumque eloqui voluit, quantum ad testandum animi fortitudinem aeternae laudi satis erat. Seneca the elder says (S.VII,8,) that this gives him a title to be ranked with his ancestors. Compare what Burrus says in Tac. Ann. XIV,5, and what Cicero represents Socrates as saying in the Tusc. Disp. I, ~~41~~ 41, (97). Magna me spes tenet, iudices, bene mihi evenire quod mittar ad mortem.

59. 4. vetat...me Milo rogare iudices: this has caused difficulty, because the exact words are not found in Cic. Pro Mil., but the sense is found. See par. 92, Quid restat nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, iudices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, and 105, hic se lacrimis defendi vetat.

59. 5. i nunc et: a phrase quite frequent in the Controversiae. Cf. HOR. Epis. II, 2, 76,

I nunc et tecum ^eversus meditari canoros.

and I, 6, 17,

I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes suspice.

Wilkins's note on the phrase is 'an ironical imperative to do something which under the circumstances is impossible, or at least not to be expected, ^{usually} followed by et.

59. 9. Sullana sitis: referring to the massacres and the proscription - the first one - authorised by Sulla.

59.9. ad triumviralem hastam. The hasta is the sign of an auction. The goods of those slain in the proscription were confiscated and sold by auction. The right to levy the taxes was sold to companies of publicanei by auction (locare vectigalia). Here the rhetor makes out that what is put up to auction and let is what can be got out of the deaths or murders of Roman citizens. The buyers of the goods would cut them ^{up} into lots and resell them and hope to make a profit. Compare Cicero's play on the word sector in the Pro Roscio Amerino, 29,80, nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisse collegum et bonorum? and in Phil.II,15,(39), et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare? (where see King's note, Clarendon Press edition). Further in another sense the mortes are put up to auction, as the goods would be seized and sold as soon as the name was put on the list of the proscribed. ~~The~~ ^{the} buyer The buyer then would be interested more than anyone in seeing that the proscribed owner was duly killed, to avoid troublesome claims in the future. Hence the highest bidder would besides getting the property have bid, as it were, a price to entitle him to kill the owner.

of Cicero's Philippics.

59.11. unius tabellae albo: i.e. the list of the proscribed put up on a white tablet, (unius tabellae, Gron. inge-

nious and certain emendation of the MSS. which give

in iniusta bella). Cf. Dion Cass. XLVII, 3, 2: τὰ τε ἄλλα,

ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ τότε
συνεφέρετο, πλὴν ὅτι δυο μόνα λευκώματα, χωρὶς
μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξετέβη).

There appear to have been two lists, but the rhet-

oricians speak generally of only one. Cf. S. VI, 7, (63.3),

tota tabula tuae morti proluditur, and S. VII, 1, pen-

det nefariae proscriptionis tabula. (62.2).

- 59.12. consularia capita auro rependuntur: Porcius mainly has in mind the story that Popilius received 9 one million sesterces from Antony for the head of Cicero, or perhaps figuratively refers to the reward given to the slayers of the proscribed whose heads as they were brought were fixed on the rostra. Cf. C. II, 1, 1. Val. Max. (IX, 4.) relates how Opimius the consul said he would buy back with its weight in gold the head of C. Gracchus and how L. Septimuleius filled the head of Gracchus with lead to make it heavier.

- 59.13. o tempora, o mores! quoted from Cic. In Cat., I, 2:

C / In Verrem, IV, 56. Bornéque points out that this expression became almost proverbial, and refers to Quin. IX, 2, 26, who gives this phrase as an example of one of the figures of thought- simulatio.

Cf. Martial, IX, 71, 1 and 5:

Dixerat, o mores! o tempora! Tullius olim,

sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas.

59.16. illas fauces: It is worth^{while} comparing this with the relative passage in Cic. Phil., II, 25, 63, which evidently^{inspired} it; Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini....exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie, and later, magister equitum cui ructare, turpe esset, is vomens.... totum tribunal implevit. Quintilian analyses this passage from ^{Cicero's} the Philippic with great approval. Cf. De Inst. Or. VIII, 4, 8, and 16; VIII, 6, 68; IX, 4, 3 and 29. Antony was magister equitum in 48 B.C., when Caesar was dictator.

59.16. per quas bona Cn. Pompeii: How Antony bought the property of Pompey at the auction instituted by Caesar's orders and quickly dissipated it all is told in Cic. Phil. II, 64 et seq. Latro refers to this auction of Pompey's goods in C. II, 1, 1; vidi ab ambitiosa turba clientium limina deserta sub domino sectore venalia, and Pompeius Silo in S. VII, 5.

60.6. Verres: Müller says Seneca represents Latro as in error if we are to believe Lactantius who, in Inst. Div. II, 4, 34, says Verres died after Cicero, though in the same proscription; but this really, as we have seen before, is of no consequence to a rhetor who to make a point can handle history as he chooses.

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- 60.9. Cato tuus: For the literature of the 'Catos', see Tyrrell and Purser, Correspondence of Cicero, Vol. VI, pp. CII-CIV. Brutus and Cicero wrote 'Catos' and Caesar and Hirtius 'Anticatos'. Cicero in his work praised Cato and the old republic.
- 60.11. Cesti Pii: The quotation from Cestius is inspired by two passages from Cicero: Pro Marcello, VIII, 25, (^daddressing Caesar) itaque illam tuam praeclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audiui: 'satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae.' satis, si ita vis, fortasse naturae, add^{am} etiam, si placet, gloriae: at, quod maximum est, patriae certe parum. Phil. I, 15, 38; mihi fere sat^{is} est, quod vixi, vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam; huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis rei^{que} publicae accesserit.
- 61.4. ne gemitus quidem tuus liber erit: an echo of Phil. II, 26, 64, una in illa re (the sale of Pompey's goods) servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit.
- 61.8. Quae Charybdis: quoted almost verbatim from Phil. II, 27, 67, quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdin dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis^{is} positas tam cito absorbere potuisse.

61.12. Arelli Fusci, patris: The next passage is full of fire and eloquence. The flavour of Vergil, as usual, is strong. Cf. Aen.II,668,

arma,viri,ferte arma,vocat lux ultima victos;

and I,89;

ponto nox incubat atra.

The passage, 'animus vero divina origine' etc. reminds us of Aen.VI,723 et seq. Note the poetical words or phrases: ab armis ad arma discurritur, inoubat, tumulus abscondet, animus..haustus, cognata sidera, ad sedes suas, observatum viris fortibus, furentia toto orbe civilia arma, hausit Aegyptus.

61.15. ut non vivat: all the MSS. omit non, which Müller inserted. Thomas suggested vivere desinat. Cf. par.7, ^(63.7) infra, iam intelleges Ciceronem in mortem cogi posse, in preces non posse, and C.VII,2,10, miraris, si eo tempore necesse fuit Popillio occidere quo Ciceronem mori. The plain sense is of course that Cicero is compelled not to live. Taking the MSS.reading this sense can be made, but it is a strained one. ^{This is in the rhetoricians' manner.} 'Cicero is compelled to live,' i.e. 'lives under compulsion,' would die if he were a free agent. It is doubtful if the Latin could mean this to an attentive hearer. Bornecque's translation agrees with this rendering, and he retains the MSS. reading: qui peut croire que Ciceron consente à

vivre, à moins d'y être forcé? V. der Vliet reads quis [non] hoc populi Romani statu Ciceronem ut vivat cogi <posse> putat? This is clear and attractive, but it is difficult to see how the corruption arose.

- 61.18. immortalis humanorum operum: Bornecque compares with the passage that follows Cic.De Sen.XXI,77, and XXIII,82; Vell.Pater.II,66,4 and Mart.X,2,8 and 12.
- 62.4. animus, vero divina origine etc.: The best commentary on this is found in the Somnium Scipionis, III, 'homines enim sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum, quem in hoc templo medium vides, quae terra dicitur: hisque animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus, quae sidera et stellas vocatis: quae globosae et rotundae divinis animatae mentibus, circulos suos orbesque conficiunt peleritate mirabili.' Compare with this De Sen.XXI,78, 'audiebam Pythagoram... nunquam dubitavisse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus,' and in Tusc.Disp. I, XIX, (43), 'quam regionem cum superavit animus naturamque sui similem contigit et agnovit, iunctis ex anima tenui et ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit et finem altius se efferendi facit. cum enim sui similem et levitatem et calorem adeptus ^{est} sit, tanquam paribus examinatus ponderibus nullam in partem movetur, ea-que ei demum naturalis est sedes, cum ad sui similem penetravit; in quo nulla re egens aletur et susten-

tabitur iisdem rebus, quibus astra sustentantur et aluntur.' Cicero's view, derived of course from Greek philosophy, is that the earth, with its circumambient oceans, is the centre of the universe (mundus) and is surrounded by thick air(aer) and its own exhalations. Beyond and above this we come to the region of the pure essence of air and fire, in which he finds that which is nearest the ~~eaty~~ nature of the soul. This is the region of the gods, and the stars composed of eternal fire are alive and exist there(divinis animatae mentibus). The soul at death will mount to that region, its natural home, and mingle with the stars which are of like nature with its- self (cognata sidera) and live and be nourished there by the same things as nourish the stars.

S, /

62.8. sexaginta supergressa^{us} es: Cicero was born on Jan.3, B.C.106 and slain on Dec.7, B.C.43. Had he lived till the following Jan. he would have been sixty-four. Cf. par.22 and Arellius Fuscus in S.VII,9.

62.10. Vidimus: Both Vergil and Horace have passages similar in tone, see Verg.Georg.I 491:

nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.

and Horace, Odes II,1,29,

quis non Latino sanguine pinguior

Campus sepulcris impia proelia

Testatur auditumque Medis

Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?

Qui gurgis aut quae flumina lugubris

Ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae

Non decoloravere caedes?

Quae caret ore cruore nostro?

We must keep in mind that we have only striking passages from the speech of Arellius, not the whole speech. He appears now to have been stating the disasters that Cicero would not have known by an earlier death. This is an idea frequently worked out after Cicero's time. Cicero himself has an eloquent passage in the De Oratore, III, 8, in which he shows what Crassus did actually avoid by his death: 'Non videt flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiae, non exilium generi, non acerbissimam C. Mari fugam, etc.' Cf. also the 'Brutus' where Cicero speaks of Hortensius. Similarly Sen. phil., Ad Marciam, XX, 5, shows what Pompey, Cicero and Cato would have avoided by an earlier death. Of Cicero he says: Non vidisset strictos in civilia capita mucrones: nec divisa percussoribus occisorum bona, ut etiam de suo perirent: non hastam consularia spolia vendentem: nec caedes nec locata publice latrocinia, bella, rapinas,

tantum Catilinarum.

62.12. quid indignamur... If fate permitted an Alexandrian Eunuch to slay Pompey, we cannot complain if a scoundrel like Antony has the same power over Cicero. (Do not approach Antony) they fall disgracefully, like Pompey, who flee for refuge to the unworthy. Pompey, in his retreat from Pharsalus ultimately sought refuge in Egypt, and was treacherously murdered on the sands at the Casian promontory by L. Septimius, a former soldier of his, and Achilles, general of the Egyptian troops.

63.2. proscriptus est ille, qui: Gertz emends qui to quicunque. The reference seems general, "All of your party have been proscribed." So Borneoque takes it, although he retains ille. Sch²ult. emends to si quis. It may refer definitely to L. Caesar, Antony's uncle, who had supported Cicero in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy, and who generally supported him against Antony. *So I have translated.*

63.3. tota tabula tuae morti prolūdatur: tabula, (abl) the ~~4~~ first tablet containing the names of proscribed senators, including that of Cicero himself. Facciolati has the following note on proludere;— e-proludere est futurum certamen meditari, et exercendarum virium causa, confirmandique animi veluti simulacrum quoddam certaminis inire. Cf. also Sen. Phil., Ep., 102,²³ Per

has mortalis aevi moras illi meliori vitae longiori-
que proluditur.

- 63.3. alter fratrem proscribi: of. Vell. Pat. II, 67, 3, ne
quid ulli sanctum relinqueretur ut in dotem invitamen-
tumque sceleris Antonius L. Caesarem avunculum, Lepidus
Paulum fratrem proscripserant. Florus, II, 16, 4, ex-
itus foedi, truces, miserabiles toto terrarum orbe fu-
gientium. quis pro indignitate ingemiscat, cum An-
tonius L. Caesarem, avunculum suum, Lepidus L. Paulum
fratrem suum, proscripserint. The story is that the
triumvirs could not at first agree ~~on~~ the proscription.
Octavius is said long to have stood ^{out} for Cicero; final-
ly Lepidus conceded his brother, Antony his uncle, and
Octavius Cicero, to the desire of the others.

- 63.5. tot parriocidia: parricidium, parricide, then any
heinous crime against a relative, or against one's
country, one's patria. Here obviously a reference
to Cicero's having been called pater patriae.

- 63.8. in mortem cogi: of. par. 5, ^{(61.15),} and note.

- 63.9. delicata convivium..popina: The rhetorician is harp-
ing on the well-known theme of Antony's luxury and
gluttony. of. Cic. Phil. II, 69, (of Antony's abuse of
Pompey's house) Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula,
pro conclavibus popinae sunt. and again III, 20, vino
atque epulis retentus, si illae epulae potiusquam

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- popinae nominandae sunt.
- 63.11. deficientes oculos: of. ^{C.IX, 2, 7,} languentes oculos, describing the proconsul Flaminius at the banquet where he had a prisoner decapitated to satisfy the curiosity of a courtesan.
- 63.13. hominem nequam: As Cicero says of Antony in Phil. II, 77.
- 64.1. turpe est cuilibet Romano: In S. II, 12, ^{(30.9),} despair is considered by Seneca an emotion unworthy of the greatness of the Roman soul.
- 64.8. aut silentium aut vultus: of. Cio. Ad Fam. X, §1, 1, where he writes of Antony: Guinus tanta est non insolentia (nam id quidem vulgare vitium est) sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem sed ne vultum quidem liberum possit ferre cuiusquam.
- 64.9. haud enim placiturus es: Bornecque reverts to the reading of V.D. which Kiessling also kept. Müller emended to aude perire, which has little to recommend it over the MSS. A.B. have aut erit. In any case if the text is right the sententia does not seem striking.
- 64.11. hic insectatio temporum fuit: par. 3 gives Latro's attack upon the times, pars. 5 and 6, that of Arellius.
- 64.15. temptavit dicere: The rhetoricians hesitate openly to blame Augustus for the death of Cicero.
- 65.2. gravis es: of. C. I, 1, 6, non sum hospes gravis, i.e. troublesome, burdensome.

65.2. quae valde excepta est: which was emphatically^{singled} out,
i.e. admired.

8, 65.7. qui_a servire~~(ne)~~ Antonio quidem nondum domino potuit:

Bursian added ne which he thought necessary for the sense. V. der Vliet suggested qui servire~~(ne)~~ Antonii quidem [nondum] domino, nedum Antonio potuit: but the sense requires ne domino quidem Antonii. Borneoque reads qui servire ne Antonii quidem domino potuit, nedum Antonio possit, saying that he has followed V. der Vliet but added potuit. It is not potuit that he has added, but possit. A rhetorician like Cestius could not have written so clumsy a sentence, and if he had Seneca would not have approved of it. To my mind the simplest correction is to insert non before potuit and read qui servire, Antonio quidem nondum domino, non potuit, who could not be a slave, even though Antony was not yet lord, a reflex^{ct}ion upon the great Caesar and therefore audax. cf. C.X, 3, 5, M. Cato ... potuit beneficio Caesaris vivere, si ullius voluisset.

65.10 utrum satius sit: Cestius uses the same turn of expression in S.VII, 3, ita dubium est, utrum^{satius} sit cum illis iacere an cum his vivere.

66.2. non simplici modo: In C.VII, 2, 13, where Varius Geminus represents Popilius^L as defending himself for slaying Cicero, the following occurs: cum imperasset mihi Antonius, passus sum, ne aliquis p.P. Clodi cliens

mitteretur, qui contumeliis afficeret, antequam occideret, qui vivum laniaret. It was plausible then to a Roman audience to express fear of Antony's torturing Cicero.

67.3. Siciliam vindicatam: by the impeachment of Verres.

67.5 Achaiam et Asiam: Cicero in the Brutus tells us how he studied oratory in Athens, and at the chief centres of Asia Minor, and finally in Rhodes.

Deiotari regnum: refers to Cicero's speech Pro Rege Deiotaro, a defence of the King of Galatia against the charge of attempting to murder Caesar, B.C.45.

67.6. beneficiⁱ memoriam: Cicero appears to have used his efforts in 58 B.C. to have Ptolemy Aulêtes restored to his kingdom of Egypt, in the possession of which he had recently been confirmed by the Romans, and from which he had been driven by a popular outbreak. See Ad Fam., I, 1,2, and 4, 5a,5b,6, and 8. Orelli says Cic.Opera, IV, p. 952, De Rege Alexandrino, Gn. Cornelio Lentulo, L. Marcio Philippo coss., 698, cum Ptolemaeus Auletes, Aegypti rex, Romanum supplicem confugisset, Cicero in senatu sententiis ultro citroque dictis orationem habuit de reducendo in regnum rege Alexandrino. This speech of Cicero's is lost.

67.7. perfidiae: refers to the treacherous assassination of Pompey.

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- 67.10. vivum consilium dedisse: The corrector of the Codex Toletanus read unum which Schott preferred. For vivum cf. C.III, Pref., 18, sententiae vivae. V. der Vliet went back to unum, and Bornecque follows him. Obviously this advice of Varius is more in touch with reality, than that given by the others; it is more practical, and this vivum seems to bring out.
- 67.13. bene iudicaverunt: Cicero's reputation is always treated well by the rhetoricians.
- 67.11. nemo ausus est: This is clearly contradicted by what follows, and it looks as if paene or fere had dropped out. Gertz inserts paene.
- 67.16. mors nec immatura: quoted also in C.VII, 2, 10, from Cic. In Cat. IV, 2, 3, which Cicero quotes himself in Phil. II, 119.
- 67.17. idiotam gerit: "He is playing the private individual now" i.e. he has come down from his lofty consular pedestal. Note end of par. complura alia dixit scurrilia. This is one of the scurrilia. All the MSS. have perit. Sch²ait. read idiotam petit or petat. 'He is looking for or let him look for someone who does not know much. He cannot hoodwink me' (non movet me). F. Walter reads deceperit, and for the collective sing. use of idiotam compares S.VII, 10, brevem esse vitam omni, multo magis seni, and C.X, 5, 11,

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8, /

propter hominem Prometheus distortus. Bornecque reading, gerit, translates, cela peut imposer au profane, which translates deceperit not gerit.

67.19. collum tritum habet: i.e. he has long been used to the yoke.

~~67.19.~~
~~68.6~~ Pompeius illum et Caesar subegerunt: notably by his exile.

68.6 Ligarium: Ligarius had taken sides with Pompey. After the Civil War an appeal was made to Caesar for his recall from exile by his brother T. Ligarius. Cicero advocated it in the Pro Ligario.

68.9. audacter rogaret: the MSS. are very corrupt here. Bornecque reverts to Schott's reading, ac laesum rogari

68.13. Vatinio Gabinioque: Val. Max. IV, 2, 4, A. namque Gabinium repetundarum reum summo studio defendit (sc. Cicero) qui eum in consulatu suo Urbe expulerat. Idemque P. Vatinium dignitati suae semper infestum duobus publicis iudiciis testatus est, etc. Quin. XI, 1, 73, Dixit Cicero pro Gabinio et P. Vatinio inimicissimis antea sibi hominibus et in quos orationes etiam scripserat.

68.14. qui cum tertio esset: so A.B. ; V.D. have tertius Müller and Bornecque follow A.B. It is a strange expression for 'who was associated with other two', or 'who was one of three'. If we are to take Horace, Ep. I, 5, 30,

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as normal, 'Tu quotus esse velis, rescribe,' and that the answer is to be an ordinal numeral, then tertius appears capable of meaning, 'one of three! qui cum tertius esset, then would mean, 'who, since he was one of three,' and a verb has to be inserted for qui. Bur-
sian accordingly added curaturus esset. Kiessling read, qui, cum tertius esset, reliquis III viris etc., emending ne quis to reliquis. Cum tertio seems hardly possible. quicum tertius esset might be read quí being abl., but again the expression is strange, and further the connection of the ne clause is loose, if it has to be constructed with exorari. It seems best to emend, as Prof. Phillimore suggested to me, cui contentio esset ne quis sibi e tribus etc. 'who was eager that no one of the triumvirs should snatch from him this specious opportunity for clemency,' excellent sense and very close to the MSS.

- 68.19. Cassii violentiam: the traditional qualities of the three are here enumerated. Pompeius can only be S. Pompeius. Cf. S. VI, 19. Bornecque's note shows a strange lapse. He identifies this Pompey as Pompey the Great, who was dead at this time. The rhetorician confuses the elder and the younger son of Pompey. Sextus, the younger, was a capable leader. Cf. S. I, ⁵24, multum iocatur de stultitia Cn. Pompeii adolescentis.

Hand /

69.6. Asinio Pollione: for a discussion of this hostility of Pollio to Cicero see F.A. Aulard, Paris, 1877, 'De Caii Asinii Pollionis vita et scriptis.' Pollio's son Asinius Gallus wrote several books comparing his father with Cicero and giving the palm to the former. (Pliny, Ep., VII, 4,). Suetonius mentions a defence written by the Emperor Claudius against these books, Suet., De vita Caesarum, V, 41). Gallus's books contained scandalous stories about Cicero, which he may have heard from his father. This attitude to Cicero seemed to Quintilian to contain personal hostility, cf. Quin. XII, 1, 22, 'nec Asinio utrique qui vitia orationis eius etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur.' Pollio was an orator and a jealous one, (see the story at the end of this suasoria) and a supporter of Caesar. In style he was Atticist and probably ~~disliked~~ was irritated by the great favour in which Cicero was held. There were therefore both literary and political reasons for this feud between the Pollio family and Cicero.

69.8. alterius suasoriae: This subject, which Pollio is said to have suggested is the theme of S.VII. Pollio is said to have made this charge against Cicero in the Pro Lamia, but Seneca asserts it was not in the speech as delivered but only in the published copy. Seneca's authority for this statement of Pollio's is of course

good, but one does ^{not to believe} like the story against Pollio, still less Pollio's against Cicero.

69.13. pro Lamia: L. Aelius Lamia, a rich Roman Knight devoted to the senate, banished by the consuls Piso and Gabinius in 58 B.C. because of his vigorous defence of Cicero. Candidate for the praetorship in 43 B.C. (Cic. Ep. Ad Fam., XI, 16, 2).

70.2. historiis: Pollio seems to have written a history of the Civil Wars from B.C. 60 to B.C. 44-42. Suidas says it comprised 17 books.

70.10. accedatis aequiores: hoc....poculi: This passage is very corrupt in the MSS., and has not been satisfactorily corrected. I prefer to read as given. Müller and Bornecque have sed, quia ^{hoc} propositum... pot-ionem . sumite pocula. The MSS. have et quia hoc si tam (tamen D).....sumti, (samti), (sumpti) poculi, (populi). Kiessling reads sed quia hoc si iam recta via consequi non potero....absinthiati poculi. summa parte poculi was suggested by Schg. a scholasticis was inserted by Bursian before recedatis. Gertz omitted a scholasticis and changed recedatis of the MSS. to accedatis. He also read solidis as Dative. Reading for et quia, aequiores, we get a good contrast with contristari, 'I shall make you come with a more favourable mind to the reading of the solid truths of history.' ~~I do not think~~

There is a distinct allusion to Lucretius, I, 936, (see also IV, 11,)

sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.

Seneca is doubtful of making his boys take up the serious ^{study} of history. He merely says 'perhaps you are vexed that I introduce the-history and abandon my main theme for a moment, but I think you will be satisfied when you have finished reading my extracts. Of course I am going to deceive you by giving you the most pleasing portions first, because if I gave you the serious and solid matter, you would be repelled.' I do not think Seneca would have attempted to turn the young men from declamation and oratory. All he would aim at would be to get them to give more attention ^{to history}. Anything more he must have known to be futile.

- 70.12. T.Livius: a valuable extract from one of the lost books of Livy, probably CXX.
- 70.13. ut neget tempus habuisse: he certainly had no time between the proscription and the execution.
- 71.X3. caeco volvente fluctu: Forcellini says, 'caeci fluctus sunt quorum non apparet causa, quiescentibus quidem ventis, sed nihilominus aestuante mari et fluctuante': hence, swell or groundswell. A different explanation, leading, however, to the same translation, is to be
 (see back of preceding page)

7/12. manus quoque etc.: cf. S.VII, 2, 1 and 9, absoidit caput,
amputavit manum; 9, necesse certe non fuit manum caput-
que praecidere mortuo. cf. Juv. X, 120,

ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec unquam
sanguine caesidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.

See Mayor's Juvenal and note, where he quotes Val. Max.
 V, 3, 4; (C. Popilius Laenas) ^{eloquentiae} caput Romanæ ^A et pacis clar-
issimam dexteram per summum et securum otium amputavit.

He also notes how in addition to the triumvirs of 43 B.C.
 Marius, Sulla, Claudius and Domitian all exposed on the
 rostra the heads of those whom they had executed. P.
 Sulpicius, M. Antonius, C. and L. J. Caesar, and Q. Lutat-
 ius Catulus all were so treated. Mayor says Cicero's
 words on M. Antonius in De Oratore, III, 10, might almost
 seem prophetic of his own fate: 'M. Antoni in eis ipsis
rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime ^{consul} de-
fenderat, ... positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant mul-
torum civium capita servata.' He compares also Flor.
 II, 16, (IV, 6, 5), Romae capita caesorum proponere in
rostris iam usitatum erat; verum sic quoque civitas
lacrimis ^a tenere non potuit, cum re ~~re~~ excisum Ciceronis ca-
put in illis suis rostris videret, nec aliter ad viden-
dum eum, quam solebat ad audiendum, concurreretur.
 Appian, De Bello Civili, IV, 20, is also worth quoting; -

ὁ δὲ Λαΐνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτε
κατωρθωκώς, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπᾶσας
ἀπέτεμεν, ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιπλήστων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ
ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἥ τούς κατὰ
Ἀντωνίου λόγους σὶα τυράννου συγγραῖφον, ἐς μύμημα
τῶν τοῦ Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικὸν ἐπέγραψεν. ἔθεν δὲ οἱ
μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ ὁ Λαΐνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ
τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς·
ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ
πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἔδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν
Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὥς μεγιστὸν δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἔχθρὸν
καὶ πολέμιωτάτῳ οἱ γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ
δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεῖρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπ-
ἐκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημη-
γόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀφόμενοι συνέθεν ἡ ἀκροώμενοι.

- 72.1. Bassus Aufidius.....: short sentence of Seneca's to
pass to the quotation from Aufidius.
- 72.8. quid, si ad me.....: a gibe; you ~~are~~^{quid} are an ex-
perienced assassin, yet you tremble; what would you
have done had I been your first victim? Cremutius
- 72.9. Cremutius Cordus.....: another short introductory sen-
tence of Seneca's.
- 72.13. quibus visis: i.e., the hand and head of Cicero
- 72.13. peractam proscriptionem: cf. Vell. Pat., II, 64, 4,
utrique vindicta libertatis morte stetit; sed tri-
buni(i.e. Cannutius) sanguine commissa proscriptio,

VI

Ciceronis ut satiato Antonio paene finita.

42.17. quae paulo ante aures praeberat piis orationibus:

Müllers emendation of the MSS. which read 'quae paulo^{ante} coluerat piis contionibus' or 'conationibus'. The subject of quae must be turba, coluerat then lacks an object. The clause beginning with quibus forces us to take contio as a speech: but such speeches would not be contiones but orationes. Piae orationes would then mean 'dutiful speeches'—speeches in which he showed his devotion to his friends, a use of pius which is hard to parallel. Ribbeck suggested praeclaris. Bornecque reads , combining the suggestions of Müller and Ribbeck, 'quae paulo ante aures praeberat praeclaris orationibus.' It is hard to see why the easy praeberat should have been changed to coluerat, and the difficult piis, been substituted for the easy praeclaris.

43.1. princeps senatus; not referring to the technical sense, but simply emphasizing^{is} the leading position Cicero had held during the period that had elapsed since the death of Caesar.

43.2. titulus: probably, as Schott said, daringly put for decus or ornamentum. Some have thought it corrupt. Gronovius defended it, pointing out that titulus means an honorata inscriptio, or elogium, e.g. on a

- tombstone, hence it means 'that by^{which} anything is judged or valued or appraised,' We can appraise the Roman people by the merit of Cicero, just as we can appraise the dead lying below by the inscription on the tombstone. The Romanum nomen is dead; Cicero sums up its glory. Titulus is found in C.IV,7;VII,8,11; X,2,15, but the meaning in each case seems not unusual.
- 73.2. pretium interfectoris sui: Florus,II,1,5, is exactly parallel, 'misera respublica in exitium sui merces erat.' 'The wretched commonwealth was the reward for its own destruction.'
- 73.5. ministra: The phrase gains added vividness when we recall the enormous importance that gesture ^{had} held in Roman oratory, especially the movement of the hands. Bra
- 73.7. Bruttedius Niger: orator and historian, accuser of Silanus (Tac.Ann.III,66) and friend of Sejanus, whose fall ruined him also, (Juv.X,82).
- 73.11. imputaturus: Cf. S.III,5, and note (44.5).
- 73.11. occupat facinus: Justin. hist. has the same phrase, (I,9,9) quo nuntio accepto, magus ante famam amissi regis occupat facinus, prostratoque Smerde,....fratrem suum subjecit. Forcellini explains 'occupare scelus' as 'facere antequam alter faciat', the exact sense here.
- 73.12. quod alterutram in partem posset notari: notare, to mark for condemnation. Cicero had been accused of vainglory and timidity, the one a fault of excess,

the other of defect. In his death he showed neither, he neither swaggered nor trembled.

73.9. Popillium: see introductory note to this suasoria.

74.4. sed ipsa narravit: There was no oratio funebris spoken by a near relative of the deceased, recounting to the people his virtues and exploits: but the people with weeping and lamentation recounted to one another Cicero's achievements. Martial has the same thought, V, 69, 7-8. It was ^{of} ~~so~~ no avail to silence Cicero; all speak for him:

Impius infando miles corrumpitur auro:

Et tantis opibus vox tacet una tibi.

Quid prosunt sacrae pretiosa silentia linguae?

Incipient omnes pro Cicerone loqui.

quotiens magni alicuius viri..et seq. This does not surprise us, as it has been a custom of all our own historians to give the 'character' of a great man, as soon as they have depicted his death. Morawski (Wiener Studien, 1882, Vol. IV, pp. 166-168) show^s how these appreciations became more and more rhetorical, and attributes this, no doubt rightly, to the influence of the schools of declamation. He also remarks ^{on} of the frequency with which the rhetoricians describe the evils from which the dead man was saved by his death. The schools however must not be held entirely responsible.

As the Secondary and University education of a Roman was directed almost entirely to oratory, it was impossible, with or without the schools, that literature should escape both in poetry and in prose an oratorical or rhetorical bias, but the schools of course confirmed it.

74.15. ἐπιτάφιον: Pericles's speech in the second book of Thucydides over the Athenians who had been killed in the war is the most famous ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. Here Seneca transfers the term to the summing up of a statesman's character, after the narrative of his death. The Latin equivalent of ἐπιτάφιος is laudatio funebris, but this, too, is strictly speaking a speech by a near relative at the burial of a distinguished Roman.

74.16. vixit tres et sexaginta annos: Fuscus S.VII,9, ^{(87.9),} says 64 years; but as Cicero was in his 64th year, and nearly at the end of it, there is no contradiction between Fuscus and Livy.

74.17. possit: strictly one would expect potuisset. 'His death would not have seemed untimely, had it not been a violent one'; but Livy feels that a man who has lived for 63 years cannot be said to die inmatura morte, ^{or correction} and the 'si vis afuisset' is an afterthought. The full thought seems to be, 'He lived 63 years and cannot be said to have died before his time, (and we ⁵⁴ would not have thought so) had he not met a violent end.'

The desire for brevity causes the apparent confusion of tenses.

75.1. magnis interim ictus vulneribus: interim seems here to be passing from its classical meaning to its post-classical signification interdum. His career was generally speaking long and prosperous, but during it, on certain definite occasions, he was smitten by serious disasters.

75.3. nihil ut viro dignum erat: Cicero lacked constantia in disaster, except in his death. T. Frank (American Journal of Philology, XXXIV, No 135, p. 325) points out that as indigna in the next line means undeserved, dignum must mean deserved, and the meaning should be 'Of all his misfortunes he met with nothing according to his deserts except his death'. He therefore wishes to emend to 'quod viro dignum esset' but viro must be general and emphatic, and cannot mean Cicero. The text should be retained.

75.10. candidissimus....aestimator: 'fair-minded critic.'
uno ipsius vitio laesa: Aufidius seems to think that Cicero's ^{personal} ~~persistent~~ hostility to Antony was a mistake, and the mistake that caused the downfall of the republic. It is a pity that we do not know whether Aufidius thought a different handling of Antony by Cicero possible.
ut semper aut peteret alterum: cf. the opening of the

second Philippic; Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam ut nemo his annis viginti reipublicae fuerit hostis qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Even Caesar though generally friendly concurred in Cicero's exile.

76.15. facies decora: It is curious that Pollio and apparently the Romans thought it worth noting as a sufficient mark of the kindness of fortune that a great man remained handsome ^{in countenance} to the last.

76.17. pax diutina: the years between Sulla and the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar.

76.17. artibus: the accomplishments of peace: oratory and letters.

77.1. no^xriorum multitudo: Cicero's speeches are almost all for the defence.

77.3. gerendi magna, munere deum, consilio industriaque: all the MSS. have iam felicissima consulatus ei sors petendi et gerendi magna munera deum consilio industriaque, which Kiessling retains. This is not impossible to translate, but magna munera deum is awkward for 'great duties laid upon him by the gods,' and deum would naturally go with what follows. Ribbeck read iam felicissima ^{magno munere deum} consulatus ei sors petendi et gerendi consilio industriaque magna-munera-deum. Eussner read magna munera deum after industriaque. Müller reads magno,

munere deum, consilio; Borneoque, magno munere deum.

V.der Vliet suggests iam felicissima consulatus ei sors<et>petendi et gerendi: magna munera deum consilio industriaque<aequavit>or<pensavit> I suggest that the passage originally ran as I have indicated in the text. There were two lucky chances, the first that of gaining the consulate, the second that of getting the opportunity of performing great deeds in it. The latter was a veritable gift of the gods. magna munere would have been almost certain to be corrupted into magna munera.

77.13. nisi ipse tam miseram mortem putasset: This is perhaps a bit of Pollio's grudgingness. It is probably a reference to the lamenting of Cicero and his brother Quintus before separating, the latter to go to Rome, to meet his fate there, the former to wait for death in his villa. (Plutarch, Cic. 47-48).

77.18. poenas Ciceroni dabit: By reading Pollio's history even although he is a rather hostile critic, the young men will get a real appreciation of Cicero and so make amends to his memory.

78.1. Cornelius Severus: see note on S.II, 12. (30.2).

78.3. spirantia paene: they had no sooner been killed than the heads were placed on the rostra.

78.4. in rostris suis: suis emphatic, the rostra that they

had made their own by their fame as orators. So
 Florus says (II, 16)^(or IV, 6, 5) civitas lacrimas tenere non po-
tuit, quum rescisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis ^rros-
tris videret.

78.4. abstulit omnis: omnis, plur. Is it Masc. or Fem?
 Schott took it as fem. understanding imagines, with the
 sense 'blotted out the sight of the rest, swept them
 away as χ_i^t were. This is hardly possible. Schg. took
 it as masc. understanding oculos and explaining 'drew
 the care, thought, eyes of all.' This is more natural.
 cf. Stat. Theb. VI, 669, et simul omnes abstulit in se o-
culos.

78.5. rapti: Wernsdorf says rapti is used of all who are
 carried off by a sudden and violent death. Gron. read
carpti unnecessarily.

78.7. iurataeque manus: refers to the Catilinarian conspir-
 acy.

78.7. foedera noxae: as Wernsdorf says, this is equivalent
 to foedus noxiorum, sceleratorum hominum, abstract for
 concrete.

78.8. patriciumque nefas: the Catilinarian conspiracy was
 one of nobles. Catiline was a patrician.
extinctum: Gron. emendation for est tunc, the read-
 ing of all the MSS. In support of this Wernsdorf
 quotes Verg. Aen. II, 585,

⁶
Extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas.

78.9. redit: sc. animis, as above redeunt animis.

78.10. coetus: this word has ^{given} trouble to some editors. There is no need to emend it. W. rightly says that it refers to frequentia salutantium officia, deductiones, conciones.sacri

78.11. sacris: W. well explains: Sacrae artes sunt quibus res addiscimus quae sacrae hominibus esse debent, humanitatis studia praesertim philosophia: just the things to which Cicero was devoted all his life.

exulta: so Kiessling; the MSS. have et vita. Schott suggested exacta, Gertz, devota; Following Thomas Bornecque adopts devincta.

78.12. aevi decus: W. compares Verg.Eclog.IV,11,

Atque adeo decus hoc aevi.

and Ovid, Her. XV,94

O decus, atque aevi gloria magna tui.

78.13. conticuit Latiae: see the anecdote below, §27, of Sextilius Ena, and cf. Martial, Epist. in Ant.V, ⁴⁹70;

Quid prosunt sacrae pretiosa silentia linguae?

incipient omnes pro Cicerone loqui.

78.14. sollicitis: sc. reis. cf. Hor.Odes, IV,1,14

et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis.

Mart.V,16,6,

sollicitisque velim vendere verba reis.

78.15 egregium patriae caput: Cicero was always one of the leading statesmen, and after the death of Caesar, the leader. cf. Mart.III,66,

Illud, laurigeros ageres quum ^{laeta} Roma triumphos,
hoc tibi, Roma, caput, quum loquereris, erat.

(the first line refers to Pompey, the second to Cicero.)

78.16. illex vindex etc.: Cicero was the champion of the free republic, as opposed to the despotism of Caesar and his successors, - the free republic based on respect for the senate, the law-courts (fori) the laws, religion and the ways of peace(toga).

78.17. publica vox: the right of free expression of opinion died with Cicero. His might be termed the voice of the old constitution. I prefer to take togae with vindex, and not as W. with publica vox. cf. Vell.Pat. II,66,2, abscissaque scelere Antoni vox publica est.

This refers to Cicero. Lucan, I,270,

Vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri
ausus.

78.19. sacrasque manus: W. points out that Cremutius Cordus Plutarch, Dio Cassius and Juvenal speak only of the right hand. Severus follows Livy (see quotation 7.12). cf. Juv.Sat.,X,120,

Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa.

W. points out that the Romans call anything ^{worthy} of exceptional veneration, and more than human, sacrum. cf.

Martial, III,66,(referring to Pompey and Cicero).

Par scelus admisit Phariis Antonius armis;

abscondit vultus ensis uterque sacros.

78.19. ministras: as noted before (73.5) not merely referring to the use of the hand in writing but also to the use in delivery.

78.21. nec lubrica fata: lubrica, slippery. cf. Q. Curtius, VII, 8,24, fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene; lubrica est, nec invita teneri potest.

deosque: thought not of nemesis (Actium), of the gods as avengers of crime.cf. Tibullus, I,8,72,

nescius ultorem post caput esse deum.

Sen. Herc. Fur.385,

sequitur superbos ultor a tergo deus.

79.1. Emathio Perse: Perseus, King of Macedonia, defeated by Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.C.: the battle which closed the 3rd Macedonian war. Perseus died at Alba on the Fucine Lake, a state prisoner. (Perses, the Greek form). Emathia, a district of Macedonia, used poetically for Macedonia.

79.2. te: abl. 'in' understood.

Syphax, King of the Massaesyli, captured by Scipio towards the end of the 2nd Carthaginian War, and carried to Rome where he died in captivity(203B.C.).

Philippo: must refer to Philip the Pretender, who

claimed to be the son of Perseus, and was defeated and captured by Q. Caecilius Metellus, 148 B.C. Philip, the father of Perseus, was never captured.

79.3. ludibria cuncta: This phrase has given trouble to the commentators who allege that leading a man in triumph is a ludibrium, as no doubt it is; but the context shows that Severis means that the Romans did not maltreat their dead bodies; ^{of the vanquished} all ludibria of that kind were wanting. See the last line -membra tamen etc.

79.4. cadens: The metaphor is taken from sacrificial victims, which are said to 'fall' to the god. cf. Verg. Aen. I, ³³⁴ 868,

Multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.
C.X, 3, 16, non est quod putes illam cecidisse irae patris. IV, 7, tyrannum cadere reipublicae volo.

Seneca now characteristically ends this most interesting and varied book with the history of the origin of one of the lines just quoted, and an anecdote concerning Pollio.

79.9. Ingeniosus quam eruditus: gifted rather than learned.

79.12. pinguis^e: Minerva was goddess of wisdom, also of weaving ~~of~~ and spinning. Home-spuns are thick or ^a coarse in texture, hence crassa or pingui Minerva denotes with homely mother-wit, with nothing subtle or fine-spun about it. So here, with something homely or rough and foreign in their utterance, not possessing

the refinement of the sermo urbanus.

Sextilius had written a poem on the proscription, and Messala Gorvinus had lent him a room in his town house so that he might read the poem to his friends, among whom he had invited Pollio.

80.7. umbilicum: The umbilicus is the round piece of wood (cedar or box), or ivory round which the leaves were rolled to make up the volumen or roll: hence ad umbilicum revolvere is to read the book to the end.

Seneca humorously suggests that if he stops at this point his sons, knowing that he had no more sententiae after par.16, would just stop there: hence he adds another suasoria to make them unroll the volume to the end. Of course they could not know this unless they had read on.

80.8. similem: 'on a similar subject.'

See _____

Suasoria VII.

Notes

(69.8).

For the origin of the theme see S.VI, 14, et seq., and note thereon. It became a stock theme of the schools. Cf. Quin. III, 8, 46, 'Quare et cum Ciceroni dabimus consilium, ut Antonium roget, vel etiam ut Philippicas (ita vitam pollicente eo) exurat, non cupiditatem lucis allegabimus, (haec enim si valet in animo eius, tacentibus quoque nobis valet), sed ut reipublicae se servet, hortabimur.'

81.5 nocere cupientis: Müller inserted nocere. Bornecque accepts this. Schg. suggested 'nihilque superbientes ea magis accendit quam etc.' What we really want is nocentes, but it is difficult to see how it could be corrupted into cupientis. Gertz suggested peccantis or turpia cupientis. cupientes alone is, of course, very weak. Eussner, cupidinem nocentis, good sense but difficult again to see how the corruption arose. Kiessling reads cupidines. Novák, saevientes.

81.6. difficile est: facile est is used somewhat similarly in C.VII, 1, 16. It seems to mean 'the case is a difficult one,' 'it is hard to know what to do.' Bornecque adopts Gertz's suggestion, 'illi se continere difficile est.' V. der Vliet suggested, 'At mori difficile est,' a ^{Supposed} suggested objection by Cicero: no

rheter would have represented Cicero as making so feeble a remark.

81.14. ingenium erat: cf. C.X, Praef. 6, where Seneca recounts how the books of Labienus were ordered to be burned, and congratulates his country that this new ^{penalty} had not been devised in the time of Cicero.

81.19. si non civili ense cervicibus illuderetur: Müller reads with the MSS. luerentur. This might be translated 'if liberty and eloquence expiated were not being wiped out (or atoned for) by our blood with a citizen's sword,' i.e. if a fellow countryman's sword were not washing them out (liberty and eloquence) in our blood (cervicibus). I doubt if Haterius could have expressed himself so harshly and obscurely. Bornecque reads by combining Schott and Schultingh, 'si non civili ense civibus luderetur,' 'if citizens were not the sport of a citizen's sword.' Prof. Phillimore suggested to me illuderetur (previously suggested by Schott), which I have put in the text. examples of illudere with the dative are found in C.I, 2, 8., and II, 1, 31.

82.1. vitam tibi: the emphasis is on Antonius, 'Nothing can be better than death when it is Antony that promises you life.'

82.6. nemo est cum quo velis: S.VI, II, has the same idea developed by Haterius.

- 82.7. Gaesar: Caesar always showed Cicero the greatest consideration, and made no conditions in receiving him back to Rome after Pharsalia. It is interesting to note that the schools maintain the position that Caesar destroyed the free commonwealth, but was a good master. Antony is quite another thing. He may be safely reviled and is.
- 82.15 ante te: Gertz inserted te; cf. par. 8^(86.15), poteris perferre, ut quod Cicero optimum habet, ante se efferat? The MSS. have in te.
- 82.16 eloquentiam tuam: Schg. inserted tuam, and read eloquentiam tuam, Cicero. nam peritulum rogo. He suggested also rem perituram rogo. The reading of the text is not quite satisfactory: 'I make this^{request} of Cicero, who is about to die.' i.e. 'It is the last request, Cicero, you will ever grant.' Bornecque takes^S it, 'I shall ask that Cicero should perish,' as if equivalent to 'ut C. pereat rogo.' Surely this is an impossible rendering.
- 82.17. si te audissent: Cestius quotes from^{Cic.} Phil. II, 24, "meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam dimisses.'"
- 82.21. consulatu honestius: referring, I suppose, to the honours heaped on Cicero when he returned from exile.

- 82.22. quid provocatam: referring to Cicero's speech, *Pro Roscio*, of 80 B.C., when he openly attacked Chrysogonus, Sulla's favourite, and the great dictator by implication. This was his first² speech and made him a marked man.
- 83.2. Antonium avulsum a Catilina: This is C. Antonius, who was elected consul along with Cicero. The latter won him from C.'s party by yielding to him the lucrative province of Macedonia.
- Catiline's*
- 83.5 audiuntur: Gronovius says 'by Cicero, as he is about to die.' This is weak. Schg. says, 'because if Cicero yields to Antony and destroys his⁵ speeches eternal dishonour will blot out the memory of himself and of his deeds.' Is it not, however, a general \neq reflex^{ct}ion? 'Whatever happens, now, whether Cicero lives or dies, the days of free speech are over, and perhaps this is the last occasion on which Cicero's great deeds can be extolled.'
- 83.6. Afranium, Petreium, These were the generals defeated by Caesar in Spain. Later Afranius after Thapsus was slain by Caesar's veterans, Petreius was killed by Juba. (see end of this *suasoria*.)
- 83.7. Q. Catulus: Quintus Lutatius, partisan of Pompey, died 61 B.C.
- M. Antonius: the famous orator, grandfather of the triumvir, slain by Marius. All these are members of

the Aristocratic party.

- 83.9. Ventidios et Canidios et Saxas: P. Ventidius Bassus, Canidius and L. Decidius Saxa are all creatures of Antony. ita dubium est: Cf. S. VI, 10, ^(65.9) ut aliquis deliberet, utrum satius sit vivere cum Antonio an mori cum Catone?
- 83.14. si hanc tibi p. ferret: the apodosis is excepisses.
- 83.18. sacra illa vox: the quotation is from Pro Milone, 101.
- 84.2. crimen: the Silver Age sense, 'crime.'
- 84.9. loqueretur: Apart from the fact that the relative clause after dignus would have a Subjunctive (which would here be present,) ^{tense} the impf. denotes that a conditional sense is also implied, the protasis being 'if it were now in existence' e
- 84.10. care: Schg.'s emendation of the MSS. eare. cf. par. ^(88.15) 10, tam care spiritus empti, where unfortunately the MSS. are again corrupt: but in C. I, 7, 6, we find 'quam care tyrannicidas vestras emancat!' "how dearly does he pay for the maiming of your tyrannicides!" animi sui contemptus presents another difficulty. How could their self-contempt overwhelm them if they were prepared to purchase life by dishonour? Better to emend with C.F.W. Müller, sui to pusilli. The reference is then to gladiators as in the next sentence. Seneca phil. De Tranq. II, 3, illustrates the same thought, 'Glad- iatores, ait Cicero, invisos habemus, si omni modo vi-

tam impetrare cupiunt: favemus, si contemptum eius prae se ferunt: idem evenire nobis scias. saepe enim causa moriendi est timide mori.' Then follows a disquisition on 'Fortune favours the Brave.'

84.13 mori velle: C.F.W. Müller inserts velle perhaps unnecessarily; the rhetorician wishes to be paradoxical. Cf. above Seneca's timide mori where we might expect velle to be added. 'The cause of life is valiant dying' i.e. being prepared to die valiantly. The present tense mori with its implication of velle makes the point. The addition of velle tends to make the expression normal and flat.

84.16. amor: Instead of this word which is Müller's emendation of all the MSS. have quam, which makes no sense. Bornecque agrees with Müller. Schott deleted quam and read simply populus Romanus omnes, which appears to me to be rather better than Müller's. Haase inserted fama; C.F.W. Müller, fortuna; Ribbeck, gratia; Kiessling, spondet P.R. omnes; Gertz, aevum populus Romanus omne.

84.19. Quale est: Gertz emends to grave, which Bornecque adopts, unnecessarily.

84.23. faeneratores: referring to Antony's debts, pacem referring to the events immediately ^{following} the death of Caesar, and ^{to} the arrangement between Antony and the conspirators.

- 85.2. inter scaenicos amores: Cic. Phil. II, 8, 20, 'aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti,' and 24, 58, 'vehabatur in essedo tribunus plebis, lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica ^{mima} portabatur et seq.
- 85.2. sanguin^e civili luxuriantem: Cic. Phil. II, 24, 59, 'saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium, and 29, 70, 'gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras, etc. the rhetor referring both to Antony's deeds in the Civil War as well as to the proscription.
- 85.4. duorum principum bona: After the death of Pompey Antony bought his estate for a mere song, and according to Cicero (Phil. II, 29, 71) was highly incensed when Caesar demanded the purchase price. After the death of Caesar he seized the Dictator's property also, and the treasure in the temple of Ops.
- 85.6. tuis verbis: These words, it appears, are not found in any extant work of Cicero. Müller refers us to Cic. Phil. II, 5, and 60, where Cicero discusses Antony's claim to having done him a favour by not slaying him at Brundisium; but these exact words do not occur in either of these passages, although the general sense agrees.
- 85.11. Juven^o obsessum: referring to the capture of Rome by the Gauls after the Allia.
- 85.15. hostis a republica indicatus: Antony was at last declared a public enemy after the battle of Mutina.

- 85.18. alienae semper dementiae accessio: cf. ⁱLivy, XLV, 7, 'Syphax accessio Punici belli fuerat.... Perseus caput belli erat', used of one who joins in a war after another starts it; hence here = aider or abettor, in becoming, by nominating him dictator, accessory to Caesar's madness in declaring war on his country, and to Antony's, by joining him after Mutina, and so giving him a fresh lease of life and power. Lepidus was not of high repute, as we see from Cicero's letters, and he was only tolerated by the other two triumvirs, till Octavius found it convenient to get ^{rid} ~~read~~ of him. The rhetor calls him the mancipium of each of his colleagues, i.e. with no real power, just ready to do their bidding.
- 85.18. noster dominus est: this is the last ignominy. Lepidus was left to control Italy, while Antony and Octavius sailed to meet Brutus and Cassius at Philippi.
- 85.18. mentior: The figure is illustrated in Quin. Decl. 405, (Ritter)
16, potui infitieri quod obicitur. detracta arma dicis?
nego. mentior? eamus in rem praesentem.
- 86.6. P. Scipionem: see S. VI, 2, and note. (59.1).
- 86.18. Arellius Fuscus: Bornecque thinks this passage must have inspired Vell. Pater. II, 66, 5, 'vivit vivetque per omnem saeculorum memoriam dumque hoc vel forte vel providentia vel utcumque constitum rerum naturae corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia inluminavit, manebit'

incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet
omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur,
tuum in eum factum execrabitur, citiusque e mundo ge-
nus hominum quam Ciceronis nomen cedit.

86.19. suus... suum, very emphatic, 'their due reward.'

87.2. uno..... omnibus; in the emphatic positions.

87.4. ille verus Cicero, — the Cicero that lives in his
 speeches.

87.9. quatuor et sexaginta: see S.VI, 22, and note. (74.14).

87.12. per rempublicam: in the name of the free republic
 commonwealth.

87.15 neminem scio: Similarly of the subject of S.VI, he
 says that few declaimed the other side, of this, he says
 none.

87.17. cum adeo illa pars non sit mala: Seneca means that
 the part of persuading Cicero to burn his books and
 placate Antony can be defended, and that Cicero would
 have hesitated had the choice been open to him.
 Quin. III, 8, 46, gives us an idea of what might be said
 on this side:— quare et cum Ciceroni dabimus Consilium
ut Antonium roget, vel etiam ut Philippicas (ita vitam
pollicente eo) exurat, non cupiditatem lucis allega-
bimus, (haec enim si valet in animo eius, tacentibus
quoque nobis valet) sed ut reipublicae se servet hor-
tabimur.

88.8 hic condiciones intolerabiles: either esse under-

stood, or this is a parenthetical remark of Seneca's own, like 'hic insectatio temporum fuit', S.VI, 9, and others. ^{(64.11).}

88.12. insolentis Graeciae: cf. C.I, Praef. 6, quidquid Romana facundia habet quod insolenti Graeciae aut opponat aut praeferat circa Ciceronem effloruit.

tam care spiritus empti: For Care B.V. have tangere, D has degener, the corrector of the Codex Toletanus, degener or degeneris; care is Schott's emendation. cf. multos care victuros, par. 4, and note. (84.10).

88.19. Silo Pompeius: After summarising the plausible (speciosa) arguments of Cestius, he now gives the more effective ones of Silo.

88.22. non esse tam stultum Antonium: The following considerations are just those which at first sight make the suatoria unreal, but when we remember how often the attempt was made to stamp out books considered pernicious by burning them, we see that the arguments were necessary after all. Tacitus (Ann. IV, 35) after narrating the death of Crematius Cordus, and stating that the senate decreed that his books should be burned by the aediles remarks ⁷² of the folly of those who think they can thus destroy the works of genius - 'set manserunt (libri), occultati et editi.' quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt ^{aevi} extingui posse etiam sequentis memoriam.' Bornecque refers us to Seneca, Ad Marciam 1, 3, where he con-

gratulates Marcia, daughter of Cordus, on distributing to the libraries copies of her father's works as soon as it was safe to do so.

89.6. de mortis contemptu locutus: the subject of the first Tusculan.

89.12 haec suasoria....insignita. There is a lacuna in the MSS. here. Gertz suggested haec suasoria<insania de-
declamatorum>insignita est. dixit enim Senianus etc. Morgenstern, insania Seniani.

89.13. cacozelia: see note on 33.9. Seneca did not think highly of such plays on words. Macrobius, II, 4, 21, quotes Asinius Pollio as using the same play on words; Temporibus triumviralibus Pollio cum Fescenninos Augustus in eum scripsisset ait, 'At ego taceo. non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.' There is some point in Pollio's remark, there is little or none in the one in the text.

89.20. dulces sententiae: 'sweetly - sounding' sententiae: praedulces indicates that Surdinus pushed this desire for sweet-sounding expressions to excess, until they became infractae, (having lost all vigorous r^ythm) and so effeminate and insipid. Cf. Cic.Orator, 170, where, in stating the criticism of those who object to r^ythm in forensic oratory, he says, 'hoc freti isti et ipsi infracta et amputata locuntur', where infracta denotes that the full rounded r^ythm of the period is

broken. Cf. also 230, 'sunt etiam qui illo vitio, quod ab Hegesia maxime fluxit, infringendis concidendisque numeris in quoddam genus abiectum incidunt^a versiculorum simillimum.' The well-constructed period, with its rolling music, is vigorous. If in striving after sweetness and beauty of sound and tone you refine this away, you become tame, insipid and effeminate.

90.1. iusiurandum: see note on a iureiurando, 91.12

90.3. nasutissimus: As Forcellini says, acutus in deprehendis aliorum vitiis, irrisor, dicax: he is also called mordacissimus, C.VII, Praef.8. In C.I, 3, 10, Seneca recounts another instance of Cestius's criticism.

Varus Quintilius, son of the Varus who lost the legions in Germany, had been declaiming in the presence of Cestius. * In criticising and condemning a figure which Varus had used Cestius finished by saying: 'ista negligentia pater tuus exercitum perdidit.' Seneca's comment is that in scolding the son he reviled the father, 'filium objurgabat, patri maledixit.' It is interesting to see that Seneca regards the criticism as unfeeling.

90.7. Ciceroni etiam infestus: In the preface to C.III. Seneca quotes the views of Cassius Severus on the inflated reputation that Cestius enjoyed among certain critics of his time. He says that many prefer Latro and

Cestius to Pollio, Messala and Passienus. The young people who crowd the schools would prefer Cestius even to Cicero, did they not fear a stoning. They learn by heart the declamations of Cestius, but not the speeches of Cicero, except those to which Cestius has written a reply. Then Severus tells an amusing story of how he persecuted Cestius to try to get him to admit that he was less eloquent than Cicero, but without avail. In par.13, below, Seneca relates how the son of Cicero took revenge on this rhetorician.

90.8. M.Tullius, filius Ciceronis: This passage is one of the sidelights on young Cicero's character. Seneca marks his wit, his lack of memory and his drunkenness. The story seems to portray a man besotted with drink. Still Augustus had made him proconsul of Asia, so he must have had some capacity. Later Augustus made him legatus of Syria. Cicero's son, whom his father attempted to make into an orator and philosopher, seems merely to have been a very ordinary person, fond of physical exercise, a fair athlete soldier, no scholar, and ultimately a devotee of wine and of the table. Pliny tells us that he took from Antony the palm for being the heaviest drinker of the Roman world, as he

could drink a gallon and a half of wine at a sitting. For a detailed account of him see Tyrrell and Purser's note in the Correspondence of Cicero, Vol.V, pp.LVI-LXIV, probably too sympathetic.

- 90.19. flagra iussit: As Tyrrell and Purser say, "The chastisement was ^{perhaps} ~~probably~~ merited; but it represents a strange state of manners to thrash a guest at one's own table for an offence committed at a previous time." *Montaigne comments on this story. (Essais, T.4, L.II.10).*
- 90.20. de corio satisfecit: The same phrase is found in the passive in C.X, Praef.10, non ergo ... ^{debut} de corio eius nobis satisfieri?
- 90.21. ubi pietas non exigeret: The Subj. of actions frequently occurring is used by Livy and later writers where generally the writers of the Ciceronian age use the Indic. This is an interesting example as ubi does not mean 'in every case where,' but 'in some cases where.' see Roby, II, 1716.
- 91.1. scordalus: one ready to take offence, a quarrelsome fellow. H Hybreae
- Hybreae: an orator of the Asiatic school, who, St. Jerome says, flourished in 33 B.C. Val. Max. IX, 14, ext.2. speaks of him as a native of Mylasa in Caria, and says he was an 'orator copiosae atque concitatae facundiae'. Seneca quotes him several times, not always with approval.

91.2. ἡμεῖς οὖν. As usual with the Greek quotations the MSS. are corrupt. This is the correction of V. de Wilamowitz. The words in brackets are restored from Iliad IV, 405, which has, however, τοί for οὖν

91.4 postulatione: postulatio, strictly, the first step in a trial, when the formal demand is made to the praetor to be allowed to prosecute a definite person on a definite charge. It may here be used generally, 'in a certain case.'

91.6. Young Cicero is said to have had his father's wit. These do not appear to be particularly witty remarks.

91.7. quousque: the famous opening of Cic. In Cat.1.

91.8 Gargonius: Seneca tells us in C.I, 7, 18, that he was a pupil of a rhetor called Buteo, and succeeded to his school. His voice was hoarse and pugnacious. A certain wit said he had the voice of a hundred men hoarse with cold, (rauci). Seneca quotes him several times with disapproval.

fatuorum amabilissimus: fatuorum is not in the MSS.

Müller inserted it, quoting C.VII, 5, 12, nihil est autem amabilius quam diligens stultitia; and X.5, 25, non mi-
stulte
nus, Aemilianus quidam Graecus rhetor, quod genus stultorum amabilissimum est, ex arido fatuus dixit etc.

The latter quotation is in the controversia in which Parrhasius is being tried for torturing a slave to death in order to enable him to paint Prometheus on

his rock being torn by the vulture. Aemilianus was urging the judges to condemn him and in the middle of a dull, dry discourse (ex arido) he said: "Put him to death lest next time he paints a picture he takes one of you as his model."

91.12. a iureiurando: so Surdinus, par.12, Seneca remarks that the schoolmen were now becoming fond of this figure. It is one of emphasis. Horace, beginning of Odes, I, 3, illustrates it in an elaborate way, 'so may the gods give thee a fair voyage, as you shall bring Virgil safely home.'

dixisset multa: as we might say colloquially, 'had talked a lot,' contemptuous. Gargonius means to say, 'may Cicero and his works (totus) live, or may Cicero die with his works undestroyed, as surely as I shall never destroy what I shall say today.' Of course totus moriatur is ambiguous, and the last clause is bathos.

Iuba / 91.17. Iuba et Petreius: Mommsen says that King Iuba and M. Petreius fleeing after the battle of Thapsus, and being shut out of Zama retired to one of the King's country houses; and that after a copious banquet the King challenged Petreius to fight him to the death in single combat. Iuba killed Petreius, and then caused himself to be stabbed by one of his slaves. The rhetorician here makes them slay one another. The stupidity of the remark seems to rest in the word faeneraverunt; one cannot lend death to a man.

st/ The MSS. now say that the second book begins, but this book is lost. There were then at least two books of suasoriae, ^{? more} perhaps three.

End of Notes.