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From the CONSTANTIUS FUND
Bequeathed by Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles
Tutor and Professor of Greek
1842–1883
For Greek, Latin, and Arabic Literature
P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

EDITED WITH

PROLEGOMENA, CRITICAL APPARATUS, EXEGETICAL AND
CRITICAL NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEXES

BY

ALFRED GUDEMAN
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BOSTON, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY
1894
Constantius fund.
TO

JOHANNES VAHLEN

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

THIS EDITION IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED BY ONE OF
HIS FORMER
PUPILS
PREFACE.

The present edition of the Dialogus de Oratoribus was begun as far back as 1888. Since that time I have spared no effort to read and carefully examine, sine ira et studio, everything that has been written upon this earliest production of Rome’s greatest historian. But while the abundant tralatician material, accumulated since the days of Lipsius, has not been neglected, I have mainly relied upon my own extensive collectanea, and for the style of the treatise upon the admirable Lexicon Taciteum, which had not yet been sufficiently far advanced to be of real service to previous editors of the Dialogue.

In the Prolegomena I have endeavored to give an exhaustive, but at the same time succinct and lucid, treatment of all the interesting and difficult problems which the Dialogus presents, and I venture to hope that my solutions of them may convince even those critics who have hitherto espoused other views or drawn different conclusions from those advanced in the succeeding pages.

The Adnotatio Critica aims at completeness, no emendation of any intrinsic value, published since Michaelis’ fundamental recensio, being omitted; the readings of subsequent editions are, for the convenience of the student, also added. My text-critical attitude and the arguments for the readings received into the text are fully set forth in the chapter on the MSS. and in the Critical Notes.

In writing the Exegetical Commentary I have constantly kept in mind the golden precept of Seneca: “Quo ducit materia
sequendum est non quo invitat,” and believe that no really
irrelevant matter has been allowed to intrude. In spite of
this, the commentary may possibly appear to some as out of
proportion to the brevity of the treatise itself. Its bulk might,
indeed, have been considerably reduced, but I deemed it more
expedient to cite most illustrative passages in full, being
convinced that but few readers will command the leisure to
look up the quotations for themselves, even if they had the
sources within immediate reach.

Of more recent editors, I desire to acknowledge my indebt-
edness particularly to G. Andresen and C. John. The former
has also kindly communicated to me the valuable gleanings of
his recollation of the Vaticani. As I have been compelled to
dissent from Andresen’s opinions more frequently than from
those of any other scholar, it may not be out of place to state
that the detailed attention everywhere accorded to his views is
intended as a sincere tribute to the high rank which he
deservedly occupies among Tacitean scholars of to-day. John’s
contributions have also been a great help to me, and I am the
more glad to make this acknowledgment, because his learned,
acute and instructive notes have hitherto not received the
recognition which they merit.

In conclusion, I can but inadequately acknowledge the
depth of my gratitude and obligations to my friend, Prof.
Chas. E. Bennett, of Cornell University, who has not only
kindly favored me with many valuable suggestions, but has
also with the greatest care read every line of proof in its
various stages.

The complete Index Nominum et Rerum is the work of Dr.
Wm. Muss-Arnolt, of Chicago University, while the equally
exhaustive Index Locorum was compiled by Mr. Homer J.
PREFACE.

Edmiston, of Cornell University. To both these scholars I here extend, both in behalf of myself and of my readers, my warm thanks for the arduous labor which they have devoted to the interests of this book.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 20, 1893.
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PROLEGOMENA.

I.—THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.


Before entering upon a detailed discussion concerning the disputed authorship of the Dialogus, a brief historical outline of the various phases through which the controversy, now more than 300 years old, has passed, will be appropriate.¹

The first to cast any doubt upon the authenticity of our treatise was Beatus Rhenanus (Bilde von Rheinau 1485—1547), in a short note² to his edition of the works of Tacitus published in Basle in 1519.

Naturally no attention was paid to objections based upon incredibly slender grounds, and scholars continued to regard the Dialogus as Tacitean, until the appearance of Lipsius’ famous edition, published for the first time in 1574. After pointing out some palpable differences between the style of the Dialogus and the other works of the historian, Lipsius concluded as follows: ‘Superest ut de scriptore huius libri verbo admoneam; quem Tacitum non esse tam certum apud me est quam si Apollo respondisset. Inclino ut Quintiliano tribuam.’ True to this conviction, he issued the Dialogus under Quintilian’s name (Fabii Quintiliani ut videtur dialogus an sui saeculi oratores antiquis et quare concedant, Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus). In later editions, Lipsius began to lose faith in the infallibility of the oracle, ‘falso’ was replaced by

² Hunc dialogum vix crediderim esse Taciti, quamquam auctor, quisquis fuit eius erudissimi saeculi, testatur se disertissimorum hominum sermonem repetere, quem iuvenis admodum audirevit ‘iisdem nunc numeris iisdemque rationibus,’ ut potius loqui illos ipsoe lector debeat imaginari quam eum qui conscripsit. Sane fit hic ‘anni sexti’ mentio ‘Vespasiani principatus,’ quo tempore iuvenis fuit admodum Tacitus. Fit et mentio ‘Mutiani, senatorumque eloquentium Epri Marcelli ac Crispi Vibii quorum quoque meminit Tacitus in libris Annalium. Nec Justus Fabius... ex Plinii epistolis ignotus est. Sed haud me latet etiam apud veteres tam apte conscripta quaedam esse ut antiquiora videri queant quam sunt.'
vulgo' in the title, and he was strongly disposed to abandon Quintilian altogether, because of chronological difficulties.⁸

Doubt is contagious. In the present instance the great reputation which the 'hospitator Taciti' deservedly enjoyed, unfortunately blinded subsequent scholars to the palpable weakness of his arguments. Lipsius himself would unquestionably have abandoned them, if he had been able to account for the manifest stylistic difference between the Dialogue and the historical works of Tacitus, and it is this argument which has since his day remained the one great obstacle in the way of a unanimous verdict in favor of the writer to whom all our MSS. attribute the Dialogue. Under the circumstances, however, Tacitean authorship seemed out of the question. Quintilian, in spite of Lipsius' later, albeit somewhat half-hearted retraction, had the most supporters,⁴ doubtless because

⁸ As Lipsius' final utterance on this subject, in his edition of 1685, virtually embodies, though in some cases only in solution, most of the objections subsequently urged against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue, it will not be out of place, to cite the passage in full: 'Scriptor tamen ipse incertus. Nam Tacitum fuisset, qui credam? Stylus velde abnuit, idque non fallax in hoc genere argumentum: stylum in Tacito, constictus ubique, teres, acutus et severus magis quam lepidus: hic omnia contra. (So also Andrensen, Einl. p. 9: Der Stil des D. hat mit dem historischen Stil des Tacitus nichts gemein.) At mutari is in aetate aut argumento potest, inquirit. Non nego: sed numquam ita ut abeat proorsus a seae. Quidquid Ciceron scripsit senex, iuvenes philologum, philosophum, in sis tamen linienta quaedam apparent eiusdem virtutis

⁴ We even find 'Quinctil.' added to the title of our treatise in the cod. Vindobonensis 351, but by a different hand and in different ink. The name
critics felt themselves on safer ground, if they attributed the work to a well-known author rather than to some intangible unknown individual. Among the better known scholars who espoused this view, may be mentioned Gruter, Gronovius, Graevius, Dousa, Freinsheim, Fabricius, Pichena and above all C. A. Heumann, Heumann. in his edition of the Dialogue published exactly two hundred years after Rhenanus. Their arguments were chiefly based upon the stylistic similarity between the Dialogue and the Institutio Oratoria. The insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, though hinted at by Lipsius and strongly emphasised by Dodwell, were either studiously ignored or curtly dismissed as irrelevant. It remained for Spalding, in a long note to Quint. VI Spalding. proem. 3 (vol. II [1803] pp. 424 ff.), to deal the final death-blow to the view held so obstinately and so long, although R. Novák has quite recently again made a laborious attempt to resuscitate the Quintilian theory, 'non melius,' to use Aper's words, 'quam [alii] sed felicius quia illum fecisse pauciores sciant.'

Lipsius' non liquere, however, opened wide the door for other conjectures regarding the real author, for the orthodox view had still but few supporters, the idea that the stylistic problem was capable of a solution being as yet entertained by no one. In 1778, J. I. H. Nast published a German translation of the Dialogue, in Nast. which, for the first time, the younger Pliny enters the list of competitors for the authorship of the treatise. The arguments of Nast were based on the same grounds which had prompted so many previous scholars to declare in favor of Quintilian,—alleged remarkable parallelisms in thought and diction, the biographical data of Pliny being violently twisted into conformity with the evidence, historical and literary, furnished by the Dialogus. Nast's hypothesis was subsequently championed by Wittich, Kramarcik and especially elaborated by Fr. Hess. To say that this view has been Hess. finally disposed of by Eckstein, Gutmann and Vogel is perhaps hazardous, for Pliny may still find some belated supporter as did Quintilian! It may, however, be remarked, that if we are forced to assign any argumentative validity whatever to the numerous stylistic parallelisms adduced in favor of Pliny and of Quintilian, only one of two inferences will be possible: Either Pliny and

may have been inserted, on the authority of Lipsius, by Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), to whom this MS. is known to have belonged.
Quintilian wrote the Dialogus or neither of them did! The gamut of possibilities had, however, not yet been run, and accordingly we find that there were not wanting some 'scholars' who pushed the claims of Suetonius and even of Messalla and Maternus. That no one should have espoused the cause of Aper or Secundus may, under the circumstances, well excite our astonishment.

But the claims of Quintilian and Pliny to the authorship of our treatise, having been exposed as worthless, the sceptics, forced to concede their ignorance of the real author, were now content to attribute the work to some anonymous cultured contemporary. Thus the question, after traversing many by-paths, had returned to the point, where Lipsius' 'non liquere' had placed it, and so even

Eckstein. Eckstein (1835), to whom we owe a masterly discussion of the entire controversy, after successfully refuting most of the arguments against Tacitean authorship, closes by saying 'summam superessem difficultatem in dicendi genere a Taciti usu plane abhorrente positam, quare totam rem, dum meliora proferuntur, in medio relinquendum esse censuimus.' The most persistent and obstinate advocate of the 'anonymous' theory was H. Gutmann (1830). He again emphasised the stylistic objections, but went beyond his predecessors by contending that the style showed evident signs of a decadence in taste and that the matter, barring perhaps the chapter on the education of children, was unworthy of Tacitus. "Der Herrliche verliert nichts bei diesem Spiel, er gewinnt vielmehr" (p. 148). Gutmann, following a hint thrown out by Lipsius, also objected to the phrase 'iuvenis admodum' as incompatible with the ascertainable data of the life of Tacitus.

The supporters of the Tacitean authorship, always few in numbers, had hitherto been forced to assume a defensive and apologetic attitude. The genuineness of the Dialogus was more or less an article of faith with them rather than a subject capable of demonstration one way or another. However successfully the claims of Quintilian and Pliny had been repulsed, there still remained the palpable difference in style which the opponents never wearied in pointing out as the one great argument, decisive against Tacitean authorship. The problem thus presented could not be ignored with impunity nor explained on the ground that the author was still

---

5 See Eckstein pp. 43-46.
6 e.g. F. A. Wolf, Eichstädt, Nipperdey, Andresen, Ribbeck (Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung III p. 89).
very young and that the language of the treatise was not his own but that of the interlocutors. A more scientific and rational solution of the difficulties was imperatively called for, and this was precisely what the critics up to the time of Woelflin, barring a few vague guesses, were incapable of furnishing.

It is necessary to bear this state of affairs well in mind, if we wish to understand the sensation which A. G. Lange's alleged discovery of nothing less than a contemporary allusion to the Dialogus in a letter of none other than the younger Pliny, Tacitus' intimate friend, created. The letter in question (IX 10) is addressed to Tacitus and reads as follows: Cupio praeceptis tuis parere, sed aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervae et Dianae, quas ait pariter colendas, convenire non possit. Itaque Minervae tantum servendum est, delicate tamen ut in secessu et aestate. In via plane nonnulla leviora statimque delenda ea garrulitate, qua sermones in vehiculo seruntur, extendi. His quaedam addidi in villa, cum aliiad non liberet. Itaque poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas. Oratiunculam unam et alteram retractavi, quamquam id genus operis inamabile, inamoenum magisque laboribus ruris quam voluptatibus simile. Vale. The words 'tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas,' Lange insisted, contain an unmistakable reference to c. 9 29 ff., where Aper says: adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velit, relinquenda conversatio amicorum . . . atque ut ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est and so again in c. 12 1 f. nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum quod Aper increpabat etc. This argument, taken in connection with the testimony of the MSS. and a number of internal reasons which Lange partly reiterated, partly adduced for the first time, appeared so convincing that the long-standing controversy was generally regarded as having been permanently decided in favor of the great historian. For whatever weight an unprejudiced critic might be

7 So Woltmann and Lange among others.
8 The first announcement of this find was made by Spalding in a note to his paper on Seneca's Consolatio ad Polybiun, published as early as 1803. But the hope there expressed that the fortunate scholar would give publicity to his discovery was not realised till 1814, when Lange's short treatise appeared in Beck's Acta Sem. et Soc. Philol. Lips. I 77–88. But, presumably owing to the very limited circulation of this publication, the author's article attracted no attention whatever, until Dronke reprinted it in his edition of the Dialogus in 1828 pp. XVI ff.
supposed to attach to the troublesome and apparently irrefutable objections derived from the style of the treatise, they now happily all paled into utter insignificance by the side of the unimpeachable testimony of a contemporary of Tacitus! Quod volunt, credunt. Among the many scholars who confidently and often in very strong terms⁹ expressed themselves in favor of the genuineness of the treatise, may be mentioned Boeckh, Niebuhr, Hofman-Peerlkamp, Dronke, Seebode, Ruperti, Bach, Ritter, Orelli, Doederlein, Schopen, Nipperdey, Massmann, Walch, Teuffel.

The consternation in the ranks of the opposition, caused by so unexpected an assault upon what appeared to be a fairly impregnable position, is well reflected in the absurd attempts made two years later by Gutmann (1830) and subsequently by Fr. Hess, who, though guided by different motives, both endeavored to neutralise Lange’s argument by contending that the letter in question was not by Pliny, but by Tacitus, it having by some strange accident found its way into Pliny’s correspondence! It might seem incredible, were it not for the reasons given above, that Lange’s inference should have blinded the eyes of scholars to its utterly fallacious character for a quarter of a century, for it was not till 1855 that Haase disposed of it by convincing arguments.¹⁰ Two years after

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⁹ Teuffel, Introd. to his transl. p. 20 f., well voices the sentiment of contemporary scholars: Die Zweifel an dem Taciteischen Ursprung unserer Schrift... sind vollends zu nahezu mutwilligen geworden, seitdem A. G. Lange darauf hingewiesen hat, dass wir für die Urheberschaft des Tacitus ein Zeugniss haben, wie für wenig andere aus dem Alterthum etc.

¹⁰ The grounds upon which Pliny’s alleged testimony must be peremptorily rejected may be briefly summarised: (1) The context of the letter can leave no doubt that ‘quia tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas’ and the words immediately preceding ‘quas tu aies pariter colendas etc.’ refer to one and the same source, but the latter statement has nothing whatever to correspond to it in the Dialogus. (2) The parallelism in question is a literary commonplace as old as Hesiod’s Theogony, and the identical collocation ‘nemora et lucos’ is found not only in other Tactean passages but also elsewhere. See my note to c. 931. (3) Tu putas cannot possibly contain a reference to the Dialogus, unless we absurdly suppose that Pliny totally overlooked the fact that Tacitus expressly disclaims the thought in question as his own, it being introduced as an opinion common to poets (ut ipsi dicunt). (4) It is incredible in any case that Pliny would have quoted a sentiment from a treatise of Tacitus written fifteen years or more previous, for the adherents of Lange, with the exception of Nipperdey, all agree in assigning an early date to our treatise. (5) The very vagueness of the reference in a correspondence intended for publication and by a writer so habitually πολυγυγος as Pliny were also very
Haase’s valuable commentatio de Taciti vita, ingenio, scriptis, Weinkauf.
Franz Weinkauf published his first dissertation, De Taciti Dialogo, Weinkauf.
with an index comparativus, which was followed by an index
Latinitatis in 1859. With the appearance of these weighty con-
tributions, we enter upon a new phase of the controversy, charac-
terised by a more or less general acquiescence in the genuineness
of the Dialogus. Laying due stress upon the many remarkable
points of agreement in the general mode of thought and feeling,
the criticisms on men and measures between our treatise and the
historical writings of Tacitus, some of which Lange and Eckstein
had previously collected, Weinkauf for the first time instituted an
exhaustive stylistic and rhetorical comparison which showed that
the stylistic resemblances, even down to minutiæ, were more
numerous and striking than even the most ardent advocates of
Tacitean authorship could have expected. Nevertheless, there
were not wanting critics, like Bernhardy, who still insisted that
these coincidences were after all not sufficient to counterbalance
the equally striking differences, and these Weinkauf, like all his
predecessors, had failed to account for satisfactorily. That was
reserved for Eduard Woelflin who, in a series of articles in the
Philologus, beginning in 1868, proved conclusively by a large
number of apt illustrations that this stylistic difference is the
result of a genetic development which we are still able to trace
through the works of the historian, ‘dass in dem Stile des Tacitus,’
to use his own words, ‘nicht nur das Individuelle von dem der
Zeit Angehörigen zu scheiden ist, sondern dass das erstere Element
in den früheren Schriften noch weniger zur Geltung kommt, sich
im weiteren Verlauf des Schreibens stärkt, und dass schliesslich
Tacitus in den Annalen, wir wollen nicht sagen am besten schreibt,
aber eben erst der wahre Tacitus ist.’

Five years before Woelflin’s epoch-making investigations,
Steiner’s famous ‘Programm’ appeared, in which the paramount
validity of the MS. testimony is for the first time properly em-
remarkable. The quotations under notice were simply called forth by two lost
letters of Tacitus, to which Pliny’s epistles I 6 and I X 10 are the extant replies.
Schwabe’s unqualified support of Lange’s inference even in his last revision of
Teuffel’s Röm. Lit. 6 § 331, 1, can, in my opinion, be explained only on the
ground of ‘Pietät’ or negligence.

11 In this, he had a predecessor in Pabst (1841).
12 Philol. XXV p. 96.
XX

PROLEGOMENA.

phased and convincingly demonstrated. But the most valuable part of his treatise is the proof that chronological considerations render a later date for the composition of the Dialogus than the reign of Titus, altogether untenable. "Tacitus hat den Dialog nicht unter oder nach, sondern vor Domitian geschrieben, oder er hat ihn gar nicht geschrieben" (p. 20).

The antagonists of the genuineness of the Dialogue having, thanks to the labors of Weinkauf and Woelflin, been completely dislodged from their chief stronghold, shifted their operations and now placed their main reliance upon chronological arguments which, it was contended, proved a later date than that of Titus and hence, according to the alternative formulated by Steiner himself, non-Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue. The foremost spokesman of this party is Georg Andresen.

Most of these chronological objections were skilfully refuted by Jansen (1878), in one of the ablest contributions to the controversy ever made. Psychological and rhetorical reasons are here also adduced to explain the stylistic change so conspicuous in the admittedly genuine works of Tacitus.

Finally the entire question was again taken up by Weinkauf in his 'Untersuchungen zum Dialogus des Tacitus' (1881), but this later work, though indispensable owing to the material accumulated, does not mark any advance. It is marred by a deplorable diffuseness and prolixity of treatment which obscures rather than illustrates the issues involved and by an excessive zeal which but too often tempts the author to find coincidences, where none exist.

2. THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

We are now prepared to examine the points at issue in this controversy more in detail.

Our MSS., a dozen in number, unanimously ascribe the Dialogus to Cornelius Tacitus, as do the oldest editions which were directly printed from MSS. e.g. the editio princeps (Spirensis) and edition of Puteolanus (1475). This consistent tradition naturally was a

18 With the exception of the codex Vaticanus 2064 which contains only a fragment (c. 29 f). Cf. Massmann, Tac. Germ. p. 17. On the insertion of Quintn. in Sambucus' MS., see note 4.

14 About the same time Julius Pomponius Laetus Sabinus Sanseverinus (1425-1498), the intimate friend of Pius II, the teacher of some well-known
serious obstacle to those who denied the genuineness of the Dialogue, and accordingly we are not surprised to find that Lipsius was bent upon impugning the validity of the evidence itself, his contention being that the name might have been added to the treatise, handed down to us δισεφωρον, by accident or design. When it became known that a far greater number of MSS. of the Dialogue existed than Lipsius had supposed, it was claimed that his inference still held good, inasmuch as these MSS. were not so many independent witnesses but were all ultimately derived from a single copy, not older than the middle of the XIII. century. Taking this very questionable fact in connection with the observation (!) that the Dialogue invariably occupies the last place in a codex miscellaneous containing also the Suetonian fragment and Tacitus' Germania, Hess and Haase confidently argued that the presumably anonymous treatise owed the name of Tacitus to the Germania immediately preceding it. Unfortunately, the order of the three treatises in our MSS. irrefutably disproves this very premise and with it the inference based upon it, for the Germania precedes the scholars such as Sabellicus and Peutinger and editor of Terence, Sallust, Varro, Livy, Pliny the Younger, and Quintilian, quoted a passage from the Dialogue of Tacitus (c. 26 3). This seemed such strong testimony in favor of the historian that Lipsius, as we have seen, wishing to get rid of this awkward evidence at all hazards, stultified himself by accusing Sabinus, whom he styles ignobilis grammaticus, of forging the citation! Gutmann reiterated the same absurd charge and Fr. Hess p. 16 actually censured the learned Italian for attributing the phrase 'calamistros Maecenatis' to Tacitus, whereas it is in reality used by Messalla! The citation of course proves nothing except the well-known fact that no suspicion was entertained regarding the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue before the time of Rhenanus. Sabinus may easily have obtained his information from some of the printed editions published during his life-time or even from some MS. He is known to have copied the Agricola with his own hand. Cp. Eckstein pp. 63–65 Massmann p. 156.

16 Massmann pp. 182 ff.
H — Suet. Dial.
P — Suet. Dial.
Dial in only two codices and of these one contains only Tacitean writings! If any such transference had taken place, it was far more likely that the name of Suetonius would have become attached to our treatise, the more so as the Suetonian fragment also dealt with purely literary topics. Nay more, on Haase's theory, we should be compelled to conclude that, inasmuch as the Germania, preserved in but a single MS., almost invariably follows the Dialogus, the name of Tacitus was thence transferred from the treatise which preceded! Again, it must be observed, that many a work handed down to us under a definite name, would have to pass as αδελφωρος, if critics can with impunity discredit an otherwise unimpeachable tradition, simply because it is based upon a single MS. and happens to conflict with a pet hypothesis. In the present instance, such reasoning would endanger the authenticity of the Germania and the fragment of Suetonius no less than that of the Dialogus. The archetypon, moreover, can be traced at least as far back as the ninth century. all direct knowledge of Tacitus, never extensive at any time, having been wholly lost for the six centuries preceding the rediscovery of his works. But the nearer we approach the historian's own time, the more precarious becomes the supposition of Lipsius and Haase, the more intrinsically trustworthy the testimony of the archetypon.

Such being the case, we must insist with Steiner and Jansen, that the evidence in favor of Tacitean authorship furnished by the MSS., is an argument of adamantine strength which can only be demolished by contrary proofs, overwhelming in their number and of convincing validity. It therefore follows that every examination of other objections that have been brought forward since the time of Lipsius must start out with the presumption that the Dialogus de oratoribus is as genuine a work of Tacitus as the Germania, the MS. history of both being identical.

The opponents of the genuineness of the Dialogue justify their rejection of the explicit testimony of the MSS., so far as they do not find it more convenient to ignore its existence altogether, by contending that stylistic reasons on the one hand and chronological...
difficulties on the other exclude the possibility of Tacitean authorship. It will be expedient to take up the latter objection first, but to answer it successfully, it will be necessary above all to ascertain, if possible, the dramatic date of the Dialogue and the date of publication.\(^{19}\)

P.\(^{20}\) Cornelius Tacitus was probably born not earlier than 54 and not later than 56 A.D.\(^ {21}\)

Now in c. 17 10 ff., Aper, the champion of the modern style of eloquence, in order to prove the purely relative meaning of the term 'antiqui' and the consequent injustice of its persistent application to the orators of the Roman Republic, draws the attention of his hearers to the fact that the interval that has elapsed between the death of Cicero and the present day does not exceed the limit of a man's life-time. To substantiate this assertion he gives an annalistic enumeration of the reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus down to Vespasian. (Statue sex et quinquaginta annos quiabus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit . . . ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem\(^ {22}\) quo Vespasianus rem publicam

\(^{19}\) Some critics, like Lange and Urlich for instance, in order to avoid certain objections to which they attached undue weight, suggested that possibly a long interval had elapsed between the composition and the publication of the treatise. But this hypothesis is worthless and uncalled for; worthless, because it involves the gratuitous assumption that Tacitus was prevented from publishing the treatise in the reign of Titus, and if so, that he issued this work of his youth in the reign of Trajan, when wholly occupied with historical composition. It is uncalled for, because the difficulties which gave it birth, do not exist, as we shall see.

\(^{20}\) The praenomen Publius, given by the cod. Mediceus, has been recently confirmed by a Carian inscription (Bull. de Corresp. Hell. 1890 p. 621) ‘\(\Lambda \nu \rho \nu \varepsilon \) Λεοντος Πάππος [ταντιος] Ποιας Κοριος [ταντιος].’ Tacitus. Apoll. Sidon. Ep. IV 14. 22 calls him twice Gallus, but the C., found also in a few MSS., was probably originally due to a dittography of the initial letter of the nomen gentile.

\(^{21}\) In the famous and much disputed passage at the beginning of the Histories (I 1): dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano (69–79) incohatam, a Tito (79–81) auctam, a Domitiano (81–96) longius prope etam non abnuerim, dignitatem . . . auctam is the technical designation for the quaestorship (Borghesi, Urlich), and if Tacitus was appointed to this office by Titus 'suo anno,' he was twenty-five years old and therefore born 54, 55 or 56. In the present discussion, it will be expedient to assume the earliest date with Nipperdey, for by making this concession the chronological objections will be emphasised as strongly as possible, and their subsequent refutation accordingly the more convincing.

\(^{22}\) On statio which has also created unnecessary difficulty, see note ad loc. The peculiar meaning which the word has here, is perhaps a Gallicism.
fovet. *Centum et viginti* anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas.) Now in adding up the various items, it was found, that the sum total only amounted to 117 years (43 B.C. — 74/75 A.D.). As Maternus repeats Aper’s statement in almost identical language (c. 24 ext.) and as ‘in hunc diem’ was taken to mean ‘down to this very day’ (Dec. 7. 43 B.C. — Dec. 7. 74 A.D.), the discrepancy appeared so glaring as to be explicable only on the assumption of a textual corruption. But as the number 120 was fixed by the repetition mentioned and as the completed reigns of the emperors cited are known to be indisputably historical, the error was supposed to lurk in the last item, and accordingly critics have vied with one another in correcting the writer’s faulty arithmetic. Their conjectures, enumerated on p. 21, have deservedly failed to carry conviction, and hence the great majority of modern scholars were forced to resort to the expedient of taking 120 years as a round number, a supposition which does not account for the elaborate enumeration preceding.

I am convinced that the difficulties hitherto discovered in the passage under notice are imaginary, for the statement ‘centum et viginti anni etc.’ neither expresses an exact nor an approximate

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23 We are not only under no compulsion to take ‘in hunc diem’ in this sense, but there are also weighty reasons against its being so interpreted. (1) It is not easy to understand how Maternus could have referred back to Aper’s computation more accurately than by repeating his own words, a device met with elsewhere in the Dialogue. Cf. e.g. c. 9 ext. and 12 1, c. 24 ext. and 32 22, c. 36 5 and 40 7. (2) The demonstrative pronoun ‘hic,’ eesp. when joined to time designations, is exceedingly common in the sense of ‘the present, now existing,’ (3) ‘Down to this very day’ would have been correctly expressed by ‘in hunc ipsum diem.’ (4) An exact interpretation of the phrase involves the absurd assumption that the author of the Dialogus intentionally placed the debate on the anniversary of Cicero’s death (Dec. 7), a supposition sufficiently refuted by prope quadriennium.

24 This applies also to the duration of the reign of Augustus, although the MSS. give 56 years in our passage, by which the beginning of his reign is made to antedate the assassination of Caesar! Lipsius has therefore justly changed the number to 56, for Suetonius, Dio Cassius and *Tacitus* himself date the reign of Augustus from the year 42/3 B.C. while others took the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) as a starting point. The error in our MSS. is simply due to the haphazard attempt of some ancient scribe or reader who wished to bring up the sum total to 120.

25 Andresen in his latest revision of Nipperdey’s Canon, *Einleitung*, p. 7, actually proposes in all seriousness to delete ‘sextam iam’ altogether! But no conceivable motive can ever have induced a mediaeval scribe or reader to interpolate so definite a statement.
PROLEGOMENA.

sum total of a preceding enumeration, but is the objective point
of Aper's entire argumentation. The number 120 is a fixed quantity,
for according to a prevalent belief among the Romans just so many
years constituted the ultimate limit of the natural life of man, and
inasmuch as the interval between the death of Cicero and the
speaker's time does not exceed this limit, a fact which is established
by the computation of the reigns of the emperors, the injustice
of the appellation 'antiqui,' when applied to the orators of the
Ciceronian age, is in Aper's opinion clearly demonstrated.²⁶

But if our text is perfectly sound and unobjectionable, the data
furnished by it are equally unimpeachable. We, therefore, conclude
that the dramatic date of the Dialogue is the year 75 or 74, according
as we reckon the still incompleted sixth year (iam) of Vespasian
from Jan. 1. 70 or July 1. 69 A.D. Tacitus was at that time 19/20
years old, presumably a little younger, his friend Pliny only a
boy of 13/14, and Quintilian nearly 40 and for about three years
the incumbent of a rhetorical chair in Rome.

This date is in a measure confirmed by a terminus ante quem,
furnished by c. 37 5 ff. Mucianus is there represented as still
actively engaged upon a work entitled 'Acta.'²⁷ But in the follow-
ing passage of Pliny's Nat. Hist. (XXXII 6, 62) the same Mucianus
is unmistakably alluded to as one no longer living: Haec sint
dicta de corpore, sed dicemus et de nationibus, ne fraudentur gloria
sed dicemus aliena lingua quaeque peritissima huius censurae in
nostro aeo fuit. Sunt ergo Muciani verba quae subiciam. Now
Pliny dedicated his Natural History to Titus in 77 A.D. Mucianus
must, therefore, have died a short time previously, the reference
to him being found in the 32d book. Andresen, whom Peter-
lechner, as usual, simply echoes, is not disposed to attach any
validity to the inference drawn from the above passage, because
Pliny may (!) just as well have intended to convey the meaning
'der, wo es sich um die Behandlung solcher Dinge handelte, in
unserem Zeitalter am einsichtsvollsten geredet hat.' This interpre-

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of this interpretation, the reader is referred to
my note ad loc. (pp. 186–187). Dr. Lodge, of Bryn Mawr, ingeniously suggests
that my view would derive additional weight, if we read 'colligatur' for
'colliguntur.'

²⁷ I rejoice to find that my contention that these 'Acta' had nothing what-
ever to do with the well known official publications, is shared by Kubitschek in
tation has always seemed to me singularly far-fetched and unnatural, and it may safely be said, that no reader would ever think of understanding the words in question in this sense, unless he were determined to nullify or at least to minimise at all hazards any awkward evidence that may be found in the way of a preconceived hypothesis concerning the authorship of the Dialogus. If consistent, Andresen ought also to have denied that the words in c. 25 f. venerunt ad eum M. Aper et Julius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia . . . defuit . . . contemnebat . . . nesciebat imply that both of these men were dead when the Dialogus was written.26

Intimately connected with the dramatic date of the Dialogue and in a large measure dependent upon it, is the much disputed question regarding the date of composition. Steiner had, as we have seen, greatly simplified discussion by a clear alternative: *Tacitus either wrote the Dialogue before the reign of Domitian or he did not write it at all.* 29 Accordingly, the opponents of the Tacitean authorship directed their main efforts to prove that the Dialogue could not have been written in the reign of Titus, for the makeshift that the composition and the publication were not virtually coincident was justly rejected as intrinsically improbable. The arguments adduced in support of a later date have been best formulated and most persistently advocated by G. Andresen. It will, therefore, be

26 This opinion is actually advanced, though still cautiously, by Steiner p. 24 and stoutly advocated by Jansen p. 26. Both were doubtless influenced by Nipperdey’s assertion that the Dialogue cannot have been written before the death of the interlocutors, and as Nipperdey and many others believed Maternus to be identical with the sophist of that name, executed in 91, and that Messalla is the same as the consul of the year 115, the motive which prompted the above mentioned advocates of Tacitean authorship to take the position they did, is very transparent. We shall see that, even supposing Nipperdey’s contention to be valid, there is no obstacle in the way of regarding all the interlocutors as no longer living in 81 A.D.

29 Of modern critics, Huebner, Nipperdey, Wutk, Uricius and Schanz still believe so late a date to be perfectly compatible with Tacitean authorship. The last named styles our treatise “eine mit Bewusstsein vollzogene kunstlerische That” (p. 361). I confess that this phrase conveys no meaning to me. Or does Schanz imagine that the consul Tacitus, the author of the Agricola and Germania, whose Histories were to appear a few years later, suddenly about 90 A.D. at the age of 45 and four years after the publication of Quintilian’s great work, took it into his head to write a rhetorical treatise, couched in *Ciceronian* phraseology which he culled *directly* from Cicero’s writings? This seems to me psychologically improbable. Non eadem erat aetas, non mens.
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Conducive to clearness, if the following discussion deals exclusively with this scholar's presentation of the case. 30

After dismissing, in a few words, the evidence of the MSS. as worthless and dealing with the alleged difficulties regarding the dramatic date in the traditional way, Andresen proceeds as follows: The Dialogus cannot have been written during the reign of Domitian, because it contains criticisms on men and measures which could not have been given publicity under that emperor. Nor can it have been composed before Domitian, chiefly for two reasons. (1) The words in the introductory chapter 'quos eandem hanc quaestionem perttractantes iuvenis admodum audivi' are unintelligible, unless we supply in thought "and as a mature man I now reproduce in writing, what I then heard," but as Tacitus was 27 years old in 81 A.D., he could not have designated himself as 'iuvenis admodum' with reference to the time in which, at the age of 21, he had listened to the debate in question (75 A.D.), 31 for we should in that case have expected some expression like 'paucos abhinc annos.' It is equally incredible, that so deep a problem as the causes of the decline of eloquence would readily have suggested itself to a youth of 27, even granting that he possessed the requisite intellectual maturity to grapple with it. Nor is it at all probable that Fabius Iustus, who cannot have been much more than twenty in the reign of Titus, had occupied himself with this difficult question at this time. (2) It is incredible, that the passages concerning Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (c. 8 and 13) were written at a time, when these powerful informers were still alive and in the enjoyment of imperial favor. Marcellus, it is graciously admitted, was dead when Titus ascended the throne, but Crispus lived to a green old age, highly esteemed by Domitian, until 93 A.D. Hence the Dialogus must have been written, at the very earliest, shortly after this date. But this approaches a period in which the style of Tacitus had already been fully developed, at least in its essential features, 32 and we are, therefore, put to the alternative of denying

32 "In seinen Hauptzügen." This is a somewhat tardy concession made under the influence of Woelflin's discovery concerning the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. In the second edition (1879), we still read 'vollständig
the Tacitean authorship altogether or of accepting the psychological impossibility that one and the same writer at one and the same time was capable of employing two kinds of style, so different as that employed in the Dialogus and in the Agricola and Germania.

The πρὸτον ψευδός in this seemingly cogent and logical argumentation is the utterly unwarranted assertion that the quaestor P. Cornelius Tacitus, who at the early age of 23/24 had become the son-in-law of the consul Agricola, then in the zenith of his fame, could not have designated himself as ‘iuvenes admodum’ in reference to the time, when he at the age of 20/21 was pursuing his studies under the guidance of Aper and Secundus! The indisputable fact has, moreover, often been pointed out that in no other period of a man’s life will even a few years work greater changes than in the interval between youth and early manhood, and if this is the case with men of average intellectual endowment, how much more true must it have been in a man of genius, such as Tacitus admittedly was. That the greatest Roman historian received a most thorough rhetorical training, that he acquired high distinction as an orator at an early age are facts denied by no one, and if any doubt as to his precocity still remained, it would be dispelled by the following famous and often cited letter of Pliny (VII 20, 3): erit rarum et insigne duos homines aetate et dignitate propemodum aequales nonnullius in litteris nominis alterum alterius studia fovisse, equidem adulescentulus (Pliny was born 62 A.D.) cum iam tu fama gloriaque flores te sequi, tibi longo sed proximo intervallo et esse et haberi concupisciebam. et erunt multa clarissima ausgebildet.' It is also worthy of notice that Andresen in his last edition, and in his revision of Nipperdey’s Annals, tacitly omits all reference to the alleged execution of Maternus in 91 A.D. and the inference based upon it that the Dialogus was a kind of In Memoriam tribute! See esp. his Tac. als Schülleitnre p. 322 f. This latter view is well, though superfluously, refuted by Weinkauf p. LVIII.

\[\text{Cp. Eckstein p. 70 ff. Haase p. VII f. XVI. LI. That Tacitus, like his friend Pliny, enjoyed the instruction of Quintilian is highly probable (cf. e.g. Liebert, de doctrina Tac. p. 4 ff.), in spite of Wutk’s contention to the contrary (p. XI ff.): ‘Cur ei (sc. Quintiliano) operam navaret Tacitus, viginti iam annum iuvenis, quem tum vel brevi post ad causas agendas animum convertisse conicio (1?) — et cur ad Quintilianum se conferret, cum Messallam, quem arcta familiariitate complexus esse videtur (H. III 9 IV 42), sequi posset, qui similia atque ille sentiret?! His other arguments are of an equally convincing character.} \]
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ingenia sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris!

And this man, it is seriously contended, was not likely, at the age of 27, to have had any desire to discuss or the requisite intellectual equipment and maturity to fathom a problem which must needs have suggested itself to every educated observer of the literary characteristics of his time! But, if we must assume that Tacitus could have had no scruples in calling himself 'iuvenis admodum' with reference to the days of his forensic apprenticeship, inasmuch as he even styles himself 'iuvenis,' at the beginning of Domitian's reign,²⁴ is the phrase itself properly applicable to a youth of 21? There is not the slightest doubt of it, for words designating time of life are of an extremely elastic nature in Latin.²⁵ Finally, even supposing that the term 'iuvenis admodum' were more consistently used in Latin than it is, and had been rigidly confined to the 17th or 18th year,²⁶ Tacitus, we contend, would still have had a very strong motive for intentionally presenting himself as younger than he actually was, in order to account for the certainly strange circumstance that he, though

²⁴ Ag. 3 tot annis (i.e. 81–06 A.D.), quibus iuvenes ad senectutem (at the age of 42) . . . per silentium venimus. Cp. also Ag. 9 consul filiam iuveni mihi despondit (77 A.D.).

²⁵ Thus e.g. Nepos (Att. 8, 2) speaks of Brutus as 'adulescens' at the age of 37, of Hamilcar and Eumeses as 'peradulescentes,' when 21 years old. Sallust (Cat. 3) styles himself 'adulescens' at the age of 34, and Caesar (Cat. 49) at 36 'adulescentulus.' Pompey in his 24th year was still 'peradulescens,' according to Cic. (pro leg. Man. 21). Cicero himself was 'adulescens' at the age of 26, when he defended Roscius (Orat. 30, 107), and Gell. XV 28, 5 in speaking of the same trial uses the phrase 'admodum adulescens.' Crassus when 21 years old is 'adulescentulus' and 'admodum adulescens' (Cic. de off. II 13, 47 Brut. 43, 150). In Cic. Phil. V 17, 48 we read 'superior Africanus, T. Flamininus admodum adulescentes consules facti.' Vell. Pat. II 41, 3 styles Caesar when 24 'admodum iuvenis,' and Quint. (XII 6, 1) finally goes so far as to designate Demoethenes at the age of 21 as 'admodum puerum.' Cp. also Eckstein p. 37 Haase p. XVI note 62 Weinkauff p. XXIX. XLIII. CL VII Jansen p. 34 f.

²⁶ Cp. Nipp. Andr. Einl. Ann. p. 7 "Denn frühestens ist diese Bezeichnung wohl für das 17te Jahr anwendbar, mit welchem die toga virilis angelegt wurde; wie weit sie aber für das spätere Alter ausgedehnt werden konnte, wird sich bei dem Schwankenden, dass alle Altersangaben dieser Art haben, kaum bestimmen lassen." It is very remarkable that Andersen, who so strenuously objects to the phrase 'admodum iuvenis,' should have allowed the above words to stand, although he quite omitted other equally important passages from Nipperdey's original introduction. See note 29.
admitted to a conversation which took place in the house of a friend of his teachers, yet remained so studiously in the background as not even to represent himself as joining in the general laughter at the close. We, therefore, conclude that no argument against the date of composition under Titus, the only date compatible with Tacitean authorship, can be legitimately drawn from the phrase ‘iuvenis admodum.’

We proceed to the discussion of the second objection, that the Dialogue cannot have been published while Crispus was still living and in power. It requires but little penetration to see that this argument, so far from invalidating the early date here advocated, rather confirms it in a remarkable manner. Vibius Crispus, no less feared as an informer than Eprius Marcellus, who had to commit suicide after being detected in a conspiracy against Vespasian in 79, repeatedly got into trouble under this same emperor (cf. Tac. H. IV 41. 43). During the reign of Domitian, as we have seen, he was again in high favor, but under Titus we hear nothing of him. See also note c. 8 21. Now what, I ask, can be more probable than the supposition that Crispus was at that time in disgrace, for Titus, as Suet. Tit. 8 expressly informs us, hated this whole class of ‘delatores,’ even going to the extent of prosecuting them with vigor throughout his short reign. But instead of adopting this commonsense and intrinsically plausible explanation, which is in perfect keeping with the necessary presumption that the Dialogue is a genuine work of Tacitus, we are called upon to assume a date toward the close of Domitian’s reign, apparently for no other reason than that such a supposition would compel us to attribute our treatise to some unknown cultured contemporary! But the refutation of the objections of Andrensen and his allies after all only justifies the inference that the Dialogue may have been written in

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67 See note to adrisissent, discussimus (c. 42 eft.).

68 This pernicious mode of argumentation, which meets us at every turn in discussions on the authenticity of the Dialogue, has been so well characterised by Ritschl, Opusc. 43, that I cannot refrain from reproducing his protest here: “Man wetteifert den Bericht des Alterthums zu verdächtigen, als wenn von vornherein die Aufgabe gäbe sich eines widerstreßenden Zeugnisses um jeden Preis zu entledigen, während doch alle Grundsätze historischer Kritik die Sache gerade umzukehren und eine vielverbürgerte Ueberlieferung festzuhalten gebieten, sobald sie erstens in sich selbst vernünftig zusammenhängt und zweitens durch anderweitige Bedenken und Gegengründe nicht erschüttert wird.”
the reign of Titus. Happily it can also be proved (1) that it must have been composed at that time and (2) that a later date, while quite incompatible with Tacitean authorship, is at the same time irreconcilable with the authorship of any one else, so that we are put to the alternative of attributing the Dialogue to the writer to whom the MSS. ascribe it (the biographical data of Tacitus interposing no obstacle to this assumption), or of unwarrantably supposing that some totally unknown author wrote the treatise between 79–81!

In the first place, I fully agree with Andresen and others that the view which brings the Dialogus within close temporal proximity to the Agricola and Germania involves a psychological impossibility (see also note 28).

A second obstacle in the way of a later date was first pointed out, I believe, by Steiner (p. 17 f.). In the introductory chapter, the author tells us that he intends to reproduce from memory ‘isdem numeris isdemque rationibus, servato ordine disputationis,’ a debate which he had heard as a very young man. Now on the theory that these words were written six or seven years after the event referred to, the statement, though taxing our credulity to some extent, nevertheless remains within the bounds of possibility. At any rate, it does not go beyond the wide latitude which the traditional usage of dialogue writers from Plato to Cicero has sanctioned. In fact, the proemium of the Dialogus is unmistakably modelled upon a similar dramatic device of Cicero. Plato, it is true, makes most extraordinary demands upon the memory of his Socrates, but he is very careful to confine the interval between the discussion and its subsequent detailed report to very narrow limits. In view of these facts, it may be safely denied that a writer, who shows himself so admirably successful in imparting to a fictitious debate the semblance of historical reality, would deliberately, at the very outset, disillusionise his readers by calmly asserting that he was simply retelling from memory, with all accuracy and minuteness of detail, a conversation which he had listened to more than —twenty years— previous! Such self-stultification on the part of our author is incredible, and yet we should be forced to believe in it, if our treatise was not written till after the death of Domitian.

See note c. 1 21.
That the Dialogus was published during the latter part of Domitian's life has never been seriously maintained. Some scholars, however (e.g. Vogel, Wolff), have thought it possible that it may have been written as late as 85 A.D., on the ground that the despotic nature of Domitian had not yet manifested itself in these earlier years of his reign. This hypothesis is so clearly a mere subterfuge resorted to for the purpose of escaping the alleged difficulties found in the use of 'iuvenis admodum,' that we dismiss it without further comment, especially as Vibius Crispus had by that time been doubtless restored to imperial favor, if not to his former power. Cf. also Peter, Einl. p. 16.

But we may, as already intimated, go one step further, and show that the Dialogus, if written after the reign of Domitian, would involve a literary anachronism, the subject with which it deals being no longer a theme of discussion in the time of Nerva and Trajan. If so, the reign of Titus will remain as the only possible period for the composition of our treatise, be its author Tacitus or any one else! As this important argument seems not to have been advanced hitherto, I feel justified in discussing it more at length.

In scanning the pages of literary history we repeatedly meet with certain controversies which seem to arise suddenly, one knows not whence; gradually they seize upon the minds of literary men, and a battle is waged for some time between opposing factions. The ultimate outcome is invariably the restitution of the 'status quo'; no side ever gains a decisive victory. First a cessation of hostilities ensues, a truce is declared, a reconciliation effected or a compromise made. The issue is then forgotten. Only now and then in literary records do we seem to hear a faint echo as of distant thunder, reminding one of the struggle of long ago. Other questions have succeeded and pass through the same stages of growth, culmination and oblivion. We may illustrate this by a number of concrete examples. In the days of the Sophists and Plato, we have the question whether things are νομος or φίλος. During the two and a half centuries before our era, the discussion raged fiercely as to whether anomaly or analogy was the dominant factor in language formation. In the age of Cicero, Dionysius and Caecilius we have the controversy concerning the respective merits of the Atticum and Asianum genus dicendi. At the close of Quintilian's life, it had become a dead issue. In the Middle Ages,
the learned were stirred by the dispute regarding nominalism and realism. The France of the 17th century is deeply agitated by the momentous question touching the superiority of the wisdom of the ancients over that of the moderns. The war, as often, ended in a compromise. Perrault on his death-bed became reconciled to Boileau. The same quarrel had been transplanted to England by St. Evremond; it is represented by Sir Wm. Temple, Wm. Wotton ('Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning'), Dryden (Preface to his translation of the Aeneid), Boyle and Bentley, Swift (Tale of the Tub and the Battle of the Books). There is scarcely a contemporary English writer of repute who was not drawn into the fray as a partisan. Then suddenly we hear no more of the dispute; it had ceased to exist. In France, in the 18th century, another very similar controversy arose in regard to the decline in taste and the superiority of Homer as an epic poet. The works of Regnier, Fénélon, Hardouin, Aubignac, Terrason, Buffon, etc., etc., all resound with the discussion of this pseudo-momentous issue. Finally, on April 5, 1716, Mad. Dacier and La Motte signed the articles of peace, and the latter announced in an alleged poem to a breathlessly expectant Academy, that the war was, indeed, ended, the victory being, as usual, on neither side.⁴⁰

Now the controversy concerning the decline of eloquence, I contend, belongs to the same category of burning issues as those just enumerated. The identical question was discussed in the days of Demetrius Phalereus and, in Latin literature, esp. from the 4th–7th decade of the first century, references to the same topic meet us at every turn. Cp. e.g. Petronius in the very first chapter, Seneca in his Introduction to the Controversiae, the younger Seneca in his Epistles, and the anonymous author of Πηρὶ ὑψίων in the famous closing chapter. In the reign of Domitian these voices are hushed. The controversy had, as in all the instances cited, passed off the stage. The very existence of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria bears eloquent testimony to this fact. He does, indeed, preach a return to the classical model of Cicero to counteract the pernicious influence of the emasculated though scintillating style of Seneca, so popular at the time of his arrival in Rome. But when he wrote his great work, a more hopeful, optimistic feeling had taken possession of

him; the age, owing in a large measure perhaps to his own teaching, seemed again favorable to the healthy growth and development of a truer eloquence. Without this conviction, the Institutio could never have been penned. Again, if the problem of the decline of eloquence had still been a living issue at the close of the 1st century, where should we have come upon clearer indications of its existence than in the epigrams of Martial or in the letters of Pliny, which so faithfully mirror the intellectual movements of the time? Of oratorical decadence, of corruption—not a word. The historical works of Tacitus himself point in the same direction. In fact, the amount of attention paid by these writers to oratorical achievements, the high meed of praise bestowed upon orators, the very number mentioned, prove that the decline of eloquence no longer disturbed their reflections.

Now the Dialogus is, in my judgment, a special contribution, perhaps the ablest and profoundest, to this controversy, and hence it was necessarily written at a time when the question was still agitating some of the best minds of literary Rome. But this was no longer the case at the close of Domitian's reign, or in that of Nerva or of Trajan. The Dialogus could, therefore, no more have been composed at this late date, whether by Tacitus or any other contemporary, than Perrault's Parallèles des anciens et des modernes or Swift's Battle of the Books could have been penned in the days of Louis XVI. or George I. These questions had all been finally disposed of and now figured only in history, typifying certain intellectual movements of an earlier period.41

41 It is with some reluctance that I take notice of Wutk's lamentable failure to prove that the Dialogus of Tacitus cannot antedate the 20th epistle of the 1st book of Pliny's correspondence, which he assigns on quite unjustifiable grounds to the year 90 A.D., but as Schanz, Röm. Lit. p. 363, has been led astray by Wutk's illogical and often disingenuous argumentation, this contribution to the 'Controversy' must needs be dignified by serious refutation. The letter in question—Wutk, instead of citing the original, characteristically paraphrases its contents—discusses the relative superiority of copiousness and brevity in oratorical composition, and Pliny, who declares in favor of the former, asks his friend Tacitus to give his views on the subject. Now Wutk asserts that Pliny could not have made this request, if he had read the Dialogus, inasmuch as Tacitus had there already given a satisfactory answer (c. 19 9 ff.). A copious array of alleged parallelisms between Pliny and our treatise is then adduced, all of which had been previously utilised by Nast and Hess to prove the Plinian authorship of the Dialogus!! None of these passages, moreover, have anything
It may be well, at this point, to cast a brief retrospective glance over the ground so far traversed. We have seen that the testimony of the MSS., though they are derived from a single copy of the 13th century, which may, however, be traced back to an archetype of the 9th century, cannot be justly impeached; we have seen that the dramatic date of the Dialogue, though hitherto open to doubt, owing to a persistent misinterpretation of a passage in c. 17, can be determined with satisfactory accuracy (74/75 A.D.). It has also been shown that our treatise cannot possibly have been composed and published later than the reign of Titus (79–81), every other date involving us in insuperable difficulties; that the phrase 'iuvenis admodum' is free from objections; that Tacitus, at the age of 27, in common with the subject matter of the 20th letter under discussion, and yet Wutk triumphantly concludes: ex his atque talibus locis quibus probatur vel cedem vel similibus vel diversis (!) quoque interdum de eloquentia opinionibus Tacitum et Plinium esse ductos, Plinium illum epistolam ad Tacitum dare non potuisse efficitur si dialogum legisset, antequam ad amicum scriberet. Nosset enim omnia quae interrogaturus esset in dialogo respondere. Ex quo conficitur, ut litterae a Plinio tum missae sint cum opusculum illud Tacitus nondum composuerat (i.e. after 90 A.D.). Never, perhaps, has an equally far-reaching inference been based upon more gratuitous and utterly fallacious assumptions. In the first place, it is not true that the Dialogue gives an answer to Pliny's question; on the very contrary, it must have left him completely in the dark, as it does every reader of to-day, as to Tacitus' own opinion, for the author impartially allows Aper on the one hand, and Messalla (c. 31) and Secundus (c. 38) on the other, to give expression to diametrically opposite views, so that the Dialogue, so far from rendering the 20th letter superfluous, might even have induced Pliny to compose it! But suppose for a moment the Dialogue did contain a satisfactory answer to Pliny's inquiry, it would not still follow that the letter antedated the treatise. Wutk accepts the Tacitean authorship, and as no amount of exegetical sleight-of-hand (e.g. p. XI f.) can dispose of the obstacles in the way of a later date than the reign of Titus, an interval of nearly twenty years will have elapsed between the publication of the Dialogue and the composition of the letter, taking Wutk's own date. This being so, is it unreasonable, I ask, to imagine that Pliny at the age of 37 (born 62 A.D.) might possibly have forgotten all about the passages in the Dialogue which he had read at the age of 18–19, for according to Wutk, Pliny's high admiration for Tacitus precludes his ignorance of any work his intimate friend had written? And if we add that the references in question are but incidental to the main design of the treatise, it ought to be clear to everybody not blinded by pre-conceived opinions that Pliny's letter in no sense implies the non-existence of the Dialogue. On Wutk's own theory, finally, the publication of the Dialogue would be well-nigh coincident with that of the Histories! Pliny alludes to the latter; how could he ignore the former?!
as we must infer from the high official position and the oratorical reputation to which he had already attained, was unquestionably of sufficient intellectual maturity to grapple with a problem, in which by reason of his rhetorical training he would naturally have felt an interest.

Now, if we can finally trace an adequately striking correspondence between the political, social and ethical convictions, the criticisms on men and measures, the literary judgments found in the historical works of Tacitus and the Dialogue; if even the style should reveal remarkable and numerous coincidences; if, in a word, to use Lipsius' phrase, 'liniamenta quaedam apparent eiusdem viri et vultus,' we shall be forced to conclude that the cumulative weight of these parallelisms of thought and diction will form a chain of evidence in favor of Tacitean authorship of irrefragable strength.

In the following some of the more salient coincidences of the many pointed out or discussed in the Notes, are more conveniently grouped together and classified. 42

(a) Political Views.

Sixteen years had elapsed between the Dialogus (80/81) and the Agricola (97), followed closely by the Germania (98). The Histories were published between 105 and 109 and the Annals about 115. During this eventful period, the great historian had seen seven emperors come and go; he had lived, in enforced literary silence, 43


43 Ag. 3 tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae, et at terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composesuisse. This famous passage does not necessarily exclude a rhetorical treatise like the Dialogus any more than some of Tacitus' speeches which were certainly published in the reign of Domitian, as we must infer from Pliny's letters. The composition of the Dialogue during that time is rendered impossible on internal grounds, and the above statement of Tacitus, as is clear from the context, refers only to works of a historical description. Nothing is gained by attempting to prove too much, a fault into which many advocates of the Tacitean authorship, notably Weinkauff, have repeatedly fallen.
through the horrors of the despotic reign of Domitian, which threatened permanently to destroy what was still left of freedom in thought and action, and which could not but engender that longing regret for the better days of ante-imperial times which vibrates with such pathetic intensity in Tacitus and Juvenal. The Dialogus antedates this epoch; a more optimistic feeling permeates the work; the youthful author still dips his pen in sunlight. In spite of this, occasional shadows flit across his page, harbingers, so to speak, of the storm clouds which were destined to darken the narrative of Tacitus’ later writings.

Of the three possible forms of government, Tacitus’ sympathies were undoubtedly on the side of the Republic, but he clearly recognised that the times had changed, that amid the multifarious and ever-widening interests of the Empire, peace and tranquillity could only be secured by a monarchical régime. We must resign ourselves with philosophical composure to the inevitable, however much we may depurate the abuse of the one-man power and the demoralising effects produced by it. Tacitus is, nevertheless, convinced that even under despotic rulers great and good men may live unmolested, provided they do not call down upon themselves the wrath of the Emperor by injudicious opposition. Thrasea Paetus, Helvidius Priscus and Cn. Piso demonstrated indeed the sincerity of their convictions and the purity of their motives, and Tacitus honors them for it, but they utterly failed to bring about the

44 Ann. IV 33 (cited to note c. 41 ss) VI 42 (48) populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini proprior est. I 74 manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis.

45 H. I I omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit 16 si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano posset quam bonum successorem nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. Ann. I 9 non alius discordantis patriam remedium fuisses quam ut ab uno regeretur.

46 H. IV 5 bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare II 37 f.

47 Ag. 42 sciant quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiuintque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudes descendere qui plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inlaruerunt.

realisation of the principles for which they suffered. Under these circumstances, prudence and moderation must determine our mode of conduct, and danger must not be wantonly courted, so long as honor and dignity are not jeopardised. Men like M. Lepidus,\textsuperscript{40} therefore, L. Piso,\textsuperscript{60} Memmius Regulus\textsuperscript{61} and above all the historian’s own father-in-law\textsuperscript{62} receive his unstinted applause. The lives which these men lived proves, indeed, that there were not a few of Tacitus’ contemporaries who shared his opportunistic views. But, so far as these have found literary expression in extant utterances, the Dialogus is the only work which can be said to breathe a political atmosphere similar to that which pervades the historical writings of Tacitus.\textsuperscript{63}

It is, of course, impossible to determine with absolute confidence to what precise extent the sentiments expressed by the interlocutors reflect the views of the author, for Aper, Secundus, Messalla and Maternus are unquestionably drawn to the life, and their individual characteristics stand out in bold relief; nevertheless, the prominent position assigned to Maternus, the very significance of his own utterances, and the unqualified approval which he is made to give to Messalla’s explanation of the causes of the decline of eloquence and to some of the salient features of Secundus’ argument prove conclusively that the poet-advocate must be regarded as the chief exponent of the writer’s personal convictions, much in the same way as the Crassus of the de oratore is the mouthpiece of Cicero’s own views. But if this inference be correct, and it has never been seriously denied, it is of the highest significance to observe that the coincidences between the historical works of Tacitus and the Dialogus, so far as they pertain to political opinions, are practically confined to the speeches of Maternus!

\textsuperscript{40} Ann. IV 20 hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit . . . dubitare cogor . . . an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculos vacuam.

\textsuperscript{60} Ann. VI 10 (10) L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudo fato obit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.

\textsuperscript{61} Ann. XIV 47.

\textsuperscript{62} Agr. l. c.

\textsuperscript{63} It is also highly significant that the author of the Dialogus as well as Tacitus in the Annals dates the beginning of Augustus’ reign from the year 43 B.C. See note c. 17 9.
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Maternus, like Tacitus, sincerely acquiesces in the monarchical régime for reasons of expediency, for the existing state of affairs is still far from realising his political ideals. He willingly concedes the truth of Secundus’ statement that eloquence found more favorable conditions of growth in the more turbulent times of republican Rome, but being firmly resolved to forsake the irksome duties of the forum, which had become repugnant to him, he maintains that the blessings of peace and tranquillity, possible only under the government of a single ruler, more than counterbalance the oratorical superiority of the republican period. If called upon to choose between anarchy and oratorical decadence, he would prefer the latter as the lesser of two evils. 44

Eloquence, like fire, requires fuel to feed it and motion to fan it into a blaze; in fact, any intense literary activity is incompatible with political tranquillity. This observation embodies a truth so profound, and one so far removed from mere commonplace platitude, that I cannot believe it to have occurred to two writers independently of each other, and when we find to our surprise that the same thought is met with in but one other passage in extant literature, namely the — Histories of Tacitus, only blind prejudice can fail to see the important bearing which this parallelism has upon the question of authorship. 45

The author of the Dialogue, like Tacitus, deprecates the loss of freedom of speech, and the risks incurred by giving voice to one’s convictions are alluded to by both. 46

But the striking coincidences do not end here. Maternus, in opposition to Aper’s admiring comments, has nothing but supreme contempt for the abject servility of informers and ‘amici principis’

44 Cf. notes to c. 41 and 37 32.
45 c. 36 init. 38 ext. longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidus senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat 41 ext. nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnum famam et magnum quietem et Tac. H. I 1 postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. A similar idea, with special reference to the development of dramatic poetry, has been well brought out by J. A. Symonds, Studies of the Greek Poets II p. 11 ff.
46 c. 2. 27 13 cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate a qua vel magis degeneravit quos ab eloquentia Ag. 2 H. I 1 dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate . . . rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet Ann. IV 34 f.
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who constituted so conspicuous a feature of the imperial court. 57 In like manner, Tacitus seizes every opportunity to brand in burning language the pernicious influence exercised by these fawning favorites of the emperor. 58 Of the individuals of this class expressly stigmatised in the Dialogus, three, viz.: Vatinius, 59 Vibius Crispus and Eprius Marcellus, 60 recur in Tacitus, and their characterisation, albeit intensified and more elaborated, confirms the judgment passed upon them in the Dialogue in a very remarkable manner. Marcellus' encounter with Helvidius Priscus is known to us only from the Dialogus and a naturally more detailed account in the Histories 61.

The low and, as we may add, unjust opinion of the Gracchi, 62 the clearly implied censure of Pompey 63 are also in perfect accord with the convictions of the historian at a later period.

But if the political opinions in the Dialogus and the historical works of Tacitus, in spite of the long interval between them, show a family likeness so marked, as to create a very strong presumption in favor of identity of authorship, we discover an equally pronounced resemblance in the domain of moral reflections and in the criticism of society in general.

57 Cf. c. 13 15 quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liber.
58 e.g. H. I 2 nec minus praemia delatorum invisa, quam scelera, cum . . . agerent, verterent cuncta odio et terrore 22. II 92 III 47 V 9 Ann. III 25 multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretatio-nibus subverteretur IV 30 delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum VI 1 (7) XII 50 odio delatoris XIV 39 — II 12 libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem II. I 76 II 95.
60 On Vatinius, cf. c. 11 10 and Ann. XV 34 there cited.
61 On Crispus, cf. c. 8 1 (with note) 11 ff.; on Marcellus, c. 5 30, 32 (with notes) 8 11 ff. H. II 53 invisum memoria delationum . . . Marcelli nomen, and in general c. 13 10 ff. See also note 79 below.
61 Cf. notes c. 5 ext.
62 Cf. c. 40 26 nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges and Ann. III 27 secatae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliciae ob prava per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis.
63 Cf. c. 38 6 primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuit-que veluti frenos eloquentiae and Ann. III 28 Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul correngendis moribus delectus sed gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor.
PROLEGOMENA.

(b) Ethical and Social Views.

One of the most characteristic features of the historical works of Tacitus is his almost pathetic longing for the irrevocable days of old. Amid the moral degeneracy which he saw about him, he fondly conjures up a primitive golden age of justice and innocence, and in the Germania pictures, for the benefit of his contemporaries, a sturdy race not yet contaminated by the vices of civilised Rome. The terms 'priscus, antiquus, vetus' are everywhere laudatory epithets. Still he does not give way to despair, but recognises that his own age is not altogether incapable of noble achievement, and that the halo which envelops the past is apt to blind us to the good qualities of which no period is wholly destitute.

These views coincide in all particulars with the sentiments in the Dialogus. Messalla deplores the indifference of his contemporaries for the 'mores antiqui'; the golden age of pristine purity is pictured in glowing colors by the poet Maternus; antiquus, vetus and priscus are invested throughout with the same significance as in the historical works and the habit of idealising the past at the expense of the present is repeatedly alluded to.

The reflections in the Dialogus on modestia, impudentia, licentia, on moderatio, invidia, adulatio, on the love of fame, the consulship as the goal of a Roman's ambition, on the laxity of educational methods, on the demoralising effect of the passion for the theatre, horse-racing, gladiatorial contests, the idea of the spread of corruption into the provinces from Rome as a centre, the aristocratic contempt for mercenary professions and lowly descent, the pointed contrast between the educated classes and

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44 e.g. G. 19 ext. nemo illic vitia ridet nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur... plusaque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

45 Cf. notes c. 28 7. 14 29 1 with the parallel passages from the Agr., Germ. and Annals there cited.

46 Cf. notes c. 12 12 15 2 18 18 41 ext.


48 c. 40 23 41 23 Ag. 4. 42 Ann. VI 10 (10) XII 37 XIV 63 H. III 86.

49 c. 23 26 27 24 4 H. IV 8 Ann. II 72 III 10. 63 IV 41.

50 c. 13 15 Ag. 43 G. 8 H. I 1. 15 IV 4 Ann. III 57. 65 XIV 64 XV 59. 73.

51 c. 10 1.

52 c. 13 3.

53 c. 28 28 f.

54 c. 28 7 H. I 30.

55 c. 32 22.

56 c. 8 15 Ann. I 76 II 85 IV 3 VI 27 XI 30.
PROLEGOMENA.

the proletariat,79 on the irksome necessity of remembering the emperor in wills,80 legacy hunting,81—all display the true 'color Taciteus,' as evidenced by parallel passages in his works.

In his fondness, finally, for crystallising psychological and ethical reflections or general truths in pointed epigram and well-balanced antitheses, the author of the Dialogue reveals—ex ungue leonem—the keen analytic observer so well known to us from the Histories and the Annals.82

(c) Literary Criticism.

The Dialogue was written by a man equipped with a thorough rhetorical training, and possessed of a wide knowledge of the characteristics of Roman eloquence and its history. If so, can we assert with confidence that the historian Tacitus was similarly qualified by natural endowment and training to write the treatise which has come down under his name and which otherwise reflects

79 c. 19 a.
80 c. 13 ext.
81 c. 6 a.
82 e.g. c. 18 ff. ut aut de ingenios male existimandum sit, si idem adeque non possimus aut de judiciis, si nolumus 8 27 divitiae et opes quas facilus invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat 10 3 mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci 12 12 aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat qui bene facta canerent non qui male admissa defenderent 13 13 nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi 18 18 nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vito autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse (see Ann. II 88 cited ad loc.) 21 28 non melius quam Cicero sed feliciss quia illos fecisse pauciores sciant 23 17 prope abest ab infirmitate, in qua sola sanitas laudatur 26 13 oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur 27 11 utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia (see G. 46 in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitate degenerant) 29 18 coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur 32 2 aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutueret 33 20 eandem esse rationem et perciendi quae proferas et proferendi quae conceperis 37 ext. ut secura velint, periculos ellextollant 40 ext. nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut patet et leges nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit 41 8 supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. and 37 21. 22. Cp. also Hofman-Peerlkamp p. 100 'Saepe noone auctor dialogi its scribit ut praeter Tacitum nemo unquam scripsit... nam sicuti multum homines hoc habent, ut ex incessu motuque corporis euminus cognoscantur idemque alium incessum motumque fingere ac simulare perpetuo non possint, ita Tacitum sua ars et ratio satis manifestum ostendunt: natura illius ubique recurrat et quasi flamna, ut ait poeta, indicio proditur ipsa suo.'
his individual characteristics in so striking a manner? The answer must again be in the affirmative. We have already seen that Tacitus began his career as an orator, that he won such high distinction in this field at an early age as to call forth the unstinted admiration of the younger Pliny, and the latter's correspondence alludes to two of the doubtless numerous speeches of Tacitus in eulogistic terms. Happily we are not confined to second-hand testimony, for the works of Tacitus himself not only furnish superabundant evidence of the oratorical education of their writer, in the many speeches put into the mouths of the actors of his historical drama (which, moreover, exhibit a marked difference in style from that employed in the narrative portions proper), but he never loses an opportunity of characterising or criticising the oratorical efforts of individuals. Nor is this all, for on comparing the judgments passed upon those men who are also mentioned in the Dialogue, 

83 See Ep. VII 20 cited above.

84 Ep. II 1, 6 laudatus est (sc. Verginius Rufus) a consule Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit laudator eloquentissimus II 11, 17 Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et quod eximium orationi eius inest, opusculum. That Tacitus also published his speeches, which Huebner (Hermes I 440) denied, seems to me to be clearly implied in the well-known passage in Plin. Ep. IX 23, 2 Narratab (sc. Tacitus) sedisse se cum quodam Circensibus proximis: hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisasce 'Italicus es et provincialis?' se respondisse 'nosti me et quidem ex studiis.' Ad hoc illum 'Tacitus es et Plinius?' expressere non possum quam sit iucundum mihi quod nomina nostra, quasi litterarum propria, non hominum, litteris redduntur, quod uterque nostrum etiam ex studiis notus quibus aliter ignotus est. The doubt was justifiable only, if 'Tacitus and Pliny were known to Tacitus' neighbor as 'celeberrima tum ingenia fori.' Had the Historiae (106 a. D.) been already before the public, the two names would scarcely have been at once associated in the mind of the questioner, on being told 'nosti me et quidem ex studiis.' If so, we shall also have a terminus ante quem for the otherwise indeterminate date of this letter.

85 e. g. Ag. 30–34. H. I 15 f. 29 f. 37 f. 83 f. II 47. 76 f. III 13, 19 f. IV 14, 16 f. 24. 42. 58. 64. 73 f. 76 Ann. I 22. 28. 42 f. 58 II 37 f. 71 III 12. 16. 50. 53 ff. IV 8. 34 f. 37 f. 40 V 6 (VI 1) VI 8 (14) XI 24 XII 37 XIV 43 f. 53 ff. Cp. E. Walter, De T. studiis rhetorics (confined to the speeches in Ann. I–VI).

86 e. g. H. I 90 et erant qui genus ipsum orandi nosecerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans 19 comptior Galbae . . . sermo, Pisonis comis oratio IV 42 occurrat truci oratione Montanus 43 eloquentia clarus (sc. Cluvius Rufus), Ann. III 31 oratorium ea actae uberrimus erat VI 29 (35) (de Mamerco Scauro), III 34 (Valerius Messalinus), IV 61 (Haterius, see note c. 6 23), V 11 (VI 6) Tricio . . . foro exercitus, VI 15 (21) mitia ingenio et comptae facundiae (sc. Vinicius), 48 (54) Balbus truci eloquentia
we again find a very pronounced family likeness, it being also a peculiar characteristic of both authors that their prejudices against the moral conduct of a man do not prevent them from doing full justice to his intellectual abilities. 87

The same association of ideas, finally, is noticeable in certain miscellaneous items, 88 particularly in utterances on the materialistic character of forensic oratory as compared with that of the past, 89 on the influence formerly enjoyed by orators, 90 the pursuit of philosophy 91 and the like. Everywhere "apparent liniamenta eiusdem viri et vultus," but what is still more significant perhaps, the entire treatise contains not a single thought that can be said to have been repudiated or contradicted in the historical works of Tacitus. 92

(d) The Stylistic Character of the Dialogus.

We have reached the last stage in our journey and are now prepared to consider the argument derived from the style of the Dialogus, which constituted, as has been repeatedly remarked, the one great obstacle in the way of a general acceptance of the treatise as a genuine work of Tacitus.

habebatur, promptus adversus insontes, XIII 3 oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praefecerat ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatum (see also XIII 11 XIV 52 and note c. 21 12) ... Augusto prompta et profuens ... eloquentia fuit (see note 2 11.14). Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba exponendarum tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguum, etiam Gai Caesarii turbata mens vim dicendi non corripit. nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireret.

87 Cp. his remarks on CAESAR, note c. 21 21; on EPRIUS MARCELLUS, c. 5 30 adjectus et minax H. IV 43 minacibus oculis Ann. XVI 29 cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torus ac minax, voce vultu oculis ardescerat and note l. c.; on HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, c. 5 32 sapientiam et H. IV 5 doctores sapientiae secutus est; on VIPSTANUS MESSALLA, H. IV 42 magnam ... eloquentiae famam V. M. adeptus est et c. 15 6 ff.; on VIRIUS CRISPUS, c. 8. 12 H. II 10 pecunia potestia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos IV 42 quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispi ... iminentur; on POMPONIUS SECUNDUS, note c. 13 10; DOMITIUS APER, ibid.

88 Cf. notes c. 5 12.19 10 22 12 19 13 2.25 17 12 19 9 32 34 37 22.
89 c. 8 and note c. 12 9 H. IV 42 and esp. Ann. XI 5 ff.
91 Cf. note c. 19 12.32 ext.
92 Ann. IV 01, cited c. 6 25, is hardly a genuine exception, for although Tacitus may in his later years, as has been pointed out ad loc., have esteemed extemporary effusions less highly, it must be remembered that in the earlier passage he speaks more particularly of the pleasure afforded by improvisations, whereas the passage from the Annals deals rather with the ephemeral character of impromptu speeches.
To begin with, it cannot be too strongly or too often emphasised that the refusal to accept the Dialogus as Tacitean is ultimately and primarily based upon a methodological aberration. For, let us consider for a moment the status quo. Here was a treatise ascribed to Tacitus in our MSS. which was found to exhibit remarkable stylistic discrepancies, when compared with the admittedly genuine writings of the historian, especially the Annals. This being so, one might have supposed that the only legitimate method of criticism would have been to ascertain, if possible, some plausible reasons for the phenomenon in question. But instead of adopting this course, scholars from the time of Lipsius precipitately abandoned the unimpeachable testimony of the MSS., boldly declaring the stylistic character of the Dialogus to be incompatible with Tacitean authorship. This wholly unwarranted inference being regarded almost in the light of an axiom, a perverse ingenuity subsequently succeeded in discovering other confirmatory evidence of the spuriousness of the treatise. These objections have been dealt with in the foregoing pages and it has been shown that they not only possess no validity whatever, but that weighty internal reasons, which the sceptics studiously ignore or strangely overlook, confirm the MS. tradition. We shall now prove that the observable stylistic differences, though habitually exaggerated on the one hand, can be satisfactorily accounted for, while on the other they are offset by equally striking coincidences which, quite apart from the abundant evidence already furnished, cannot but dispel any doubt still remaining as to identity of authorship.

Schanz, Röm. Lit. II p. 303, well says 'Das Problem besteht nicht darin die Stilverschiedenheit des Dialogs zu erklären, sondern die der historischen Schriften,' but how the same writer can contend in the same breath that this difference is not 'das Produkt einer Entwicklung' but 'eine mit Bewusstsein vollzogene künstlerische That' is incomprehensible to me. See also note 29.

Cp. the remarks of Teuffel, Introd. to his German translation p. 18 f.: 'In der That kennen wir kaum eine schwerere Verirrung des Urtheils als die Bezweifelung oder Bestreitung des taciteischen Ursprungs unserer Schrift und wir erblicken darin einen abschreckenden Beweis, auf welche Abwege es führt, wenn man bei einem schriftstellerischen Producte statt in dessen Tiefe einzudringen, vielmehr an der Oberfläche und dem Aeusserlichen kleben bleibt. Dass ein Unterschied ist zwischen der Darstellungsweise unserer Schrift und den übrigen taciteischen — zumal wenn man vorzugsweise die Annalen der Vergleichung zu Grunde legt — kann ein Blinder sehen; aber nur ein Solcher kann auch die ganz wesentlichen und charakteristischen Punkte der Gleichheit und Aehnlichkeit verkennen, und nur plumpes Zutappen kann aus jenen
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Relegating the reader for detailed comment to my Notes and to the chapter on ‘Style and Language,’ I here content myself with an enumeration of some of the more striking stylistic coincidences between the Dialogus and the historical works of Tacitus.

a. The ‘happy audacity’ with which Tacitus enriched the vocabulary of the language is already noticeable in the Dialogus, the following expressions being also found in the later works, but not elsewhere: *histrionalis* (c. 26 9 29 11 Ann. I 16), *clientulus* (c. 37 2 Ann. XII 36), *educationibus* in the plural (c. 28 23 Ann. III 25) and perhaps *et* — *et* after a negative (c. 5 5 34 11 Ag. 35).

b. Expressions invested with a new meaning and apparently not elsewhere in *prose*: *cura* = ‘liber’ (c. 3 13 6 22 Ann. III 24 IV 11), *lenocinari* (c. 6 24 G. 43), *sacra* = ‘sacra loca’ (c. 13 19 H. III 33 Ann. I 54. 79), *inpeca* in a figurative sense (c. 20 10 and perhaps Ann. XVI 10), *cogitatio* = ‘consilium’ (c. 3 13 21 21 Ag. 39 H. I 27 II 74 Ann. XV 54), *incitamentum*, an extremely rare word, except in Tacitus (14 times), and not elsewhere used of *persons* (c. 40 11 H. II 23 Ann. VI 29), *obviam ire* used in a non-hostile signification (c. 41 19 H. IV 46 Ann. IV 6 XIII 5), *inauditus* in a legal sense first found in Tacitus and, with two exceptions, always joined with ‘indefensus’ (c. 16 14 H. I 6 II 10 Ann. II 77 — Ann. IV 11 XII 22).

c. Expressions of very rare or not common occurrence in good Latin prose met with both in the Dial. and the historical writings of Tacitus: *quisque* with plural predicate (c. 1 17), *utrique* = ‘uterque’ (c. 2 6), *modo* ... *nunc* (c. 3 16), *gloria* ‘literary fame’ (c. 5 10), *mediocratas* (c. 7 4), *ingerō* ‘din into the ears’ (c. 7 14), *notabilior*, *honoricentius*, *audentius* (c. 8 12 9 9 18 7), *ἀπὸ κοινῷ* construction of relative pronoun (c. 8 24), *dare* = ‘dedere’ (c. 8 30), concessive *ut* (c. 9 18), *vanescere* (c. 10 24), *ullus* as a noun (c. 12 14), adj. with *inf.* (c. 16 11), *sita* for *posita* (c. 18 2), use of *quodsi* (c. 19 16), *etsi non* ... *at certe* (c. 19 21), *adfluens* (c. 20 8), *nisi quis — nisi qui* (c. 21 24), epexegetico *que* (c. 22 9), *concessu* = ‘consensu’ (c. 25 12), *ante* — *post* ‘superior — inferior to’ (c. 26 31), *numerare* ‘esteem’ (c. 26 32), *delegari* = ‘committere’ (c. 29 1), *habere* = ‘continere’

Differenzen auf Verschiedenheit des Verfassers schliessen, statt sich des Glückes zu freuen, dass uns von einem denkwürdigen, schriftstellerischen Entwicklungs- gang wie die Mittelstufen erhalten sind.”

95 See the lists in Boetticher, *Lex. Tac. LI-LV* Dr. Stil p. 116 ff.

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(c. 30 19) 'opus esse, sufficere, expedire' with ut to avoid the dependence of one infinitive upon another (c. 31 1 32 2 Ann. III 69), pudendus as an adjective (c. 32 14), ingenuitas (c. 32 21), dum with ind. pres. in orat. obl. (c. 32 33), adversus 'as compared with' (c. 33 5), ut = 'ita ut' (c. 33 19), facile dixerim and similar phrases (c. 35 6), fidelius (c. 34 25), robustiores opp. to 'pueri' (c. 35 16), compositus (c. 36 5), hinc 'out of such conditions arose' (c. 36 8 Ann. III 27), reus in a less restricted, non-legal sense (c. 36 10 Ann. II 24), distrahere (c. 36 13), quo modo in comparative clauses (c. 36 32), rubor = 'pudor' (c. 37 1), nec = 'nee ideo' (c. 37 24), proeliator (c. 37 33 Ann. II 73), ius 'privilege' (c. 40 1 Ann. II 30), saluber = 'validus' (c. 41 11 H. V 6 Ann. II 33), conferre 'discuss' (c. 42 5 and perhaps Ag. 15).

d. Words and constructions in the Dialogus, especially frequent in Tac. or characteristic of his style: ipse (c. 1 4 3 12), tamquam used objectively (c. 2 2), nec—et (c. 2 10), in quantum and like prepositional phrases (see below), quo minus = 'quin' (c. 3 5), vertere as a middle (c. 4 3), adj. = adv. (c. 4 3), dativus subjectivus (c. 4 8), praevalere = 'plus valere' (c. 5 4), indefinite relative pronoun followed by alius (c. 5 9), fovere (c. 5 10), adj. = subordinate clause (c. 5 23), officium 'office' (c. 6 6), subnixus (c. 6 12), et—quoque (c. 6 18), ellipsis of sed (ibid.), diu = 'iam diu' (c. 6 27), ellipsis of verb (c. 7 4), auditus = 'auditu cognitus' (c. 7 18), obliteratus (c. 8 3), habere with gerundive and gerund (c. 8 11), donec = 'quamdiu' (c. 8 17), principes in amicitia (ibid.), mansurum, and the use of a fut. act. part. = adj. clause (c. 9 22), ellipsis of verb governing acc. with inf. (c. 10 33), ellipsis of verb after hinc (ibid.), increpare (c. 12 1), praecipitus in a superlative sense (c. 12 2), et before negative (c. 12 8), crimen = 'sceles' (c. 12 12), adjective with genitive (c. 13 22), an as a disjunctive conjunction (c. 13 13), ablative of rest (c. 13 25), compound verbs with acc. (c. 14 4 25 14), satis constat (c. 16 21), cum maxime (c. 16 29), mox 'subsequently' (c. 17 10), abandonment of the oratio obliqua (c. 17 19 25 4 30 17 32 32), ita = 'itaque' (c. 17 19), rursus = ad (c. 18 24), iter = 'ratio' (c. 19 22), quasi-instrumental ablative (c. 19 23), postquam with pluperfect ind. (c. 22 8), asyndetic collocations (c. 23 10), affirmative et (c. 25 24), nunc (c. 26 27), primum — mox (c. 28 7), haurire, in a figurative sense (c. 28 28), perfect passive participle for abstract noun (c. 29 11), et ipsis 'likewise' (c. 30 1), an in indirect questions with 'utrum'
omitted (c. 32 4), ellipsis of demonstrative pronoun (c. 32 8), plural predicate after two singular subjects in adversative clauses (c. 42 6).

e. Peculiar collocations and figurative expressions common to the historical works and the Dialogus: Repetition of the same word within short intervals (c. 1 8 13 8), non modo, non . . . modo, non solum, non tantum (c. 2 6 7 13 14 16), paupertas et angustia rerum circumstiterunt (c. 8 12 H. I 17 IV 79), a general term more closely defined by a specific word or phrase (c. 9 1 2 12 13 3 16 29 19 7 24 20 8 22 18 24 10), in herba vel flore (c. 9 20 H. V 7), natura — denegavit (c. 10 10 Ann. XV 42), oblectare otium (c. 10 12 Ann. XII 49), nomen inserere famae (ibid. H. II 61 Ann. VI 2), variation and repetition of preposition (c. 10 26 critical note), aut probata . . . aut excusata (c. 10 38 Ag. 3), ingredi auspiciatus — pleonasm (c. 11 8 18 7 35 12), in Nero nem improbam . . . potentiam (c. 11 9), sacra studiorum (ibid.), nullis contacta vitis pectora (c. 12 8 10 18 31 25 Ann. I 10 III 30), position of adverb (c. 12 19), quos vocetis . . . quam determinetis and analogous amplifications (c. 16 16), sing. predicate with two subjects (c. 22 20 26 18 40 14), non . . . neque . . . sed (c. 29 7), position of unus (c. 34 31), hanc illam famam circumdeterunt (c. 37 29 Ag. 20 H. IV 11. 45 Ann. XIV 15. 53), verb-subject-verb or object-verb-object (c. 37 35).96

f. One of the most noticeable features of the style of Tacitus, when compared with that of post-Augustan prose-writers, is his peculiar predilection for alliterative combinations.96 It is, therefore, of the highest significance in the present discussion to observe the same fondness for alliteration in the Dialogus. See ‘Style and Language.’

The failure of so many scholars from Lipsius to Andresen to recognise any resemblance between the style of the historian Tacitus and that met with in our treatise was primarily due to the deplorable fact that the Histories and more particularly the Annals were taken as the sole criterion and standard of comparison. In the later works, Tacitus, like Thucydides, seemed, if we may appropriate the language of Quintilian, densus et brevis et semper instans,'
while the writer of the Dialogus is 'dulcis et candidus et fusus; ille vi [melior], hic voluptate.' And such, it is true, must be the superficial impression which every reader will carry away from a perusal of the historical works and the rhetorical treatise, but it is, nevertheless, a one-sided one, because superficial. A closer examination, as the above coincidences, intentionally selected almost exclusively from the Histories and Annals, must have made tolerably clear, on the one hand utterly invalidates the assertion of Lipsius and his followers that the Annals and our treatise, published more than thirty years previous, have absolutely no stylistic features in common, while on the other, it as fully confirms Lipsius' dictum 'mutari is (sc. stilus) in aetate aut argumento potest . . . sed numquam its ut abeat prorsus a sese.'

But if we must needs admit that remarkable stylistic coincidences exist side by side with equally remarkable stylistic divergencies, all objections urged against Tacitean authorship, quite independent of the weighty internal evidence already adduced, will be disposed of, if we finally succeed in giving some plausible answer to the following questions: (1) How came Tacitus to write in the fluent, exuberant, rhetorical style of the Dialogue? (2) How came he to abandon it for the nervous energy, the studied brevity, and the succinctness of expression, thought-laden to the verge of obscurity, so characteristic of the Annals?

We have seen that Tacitus enjoyed a thorough rhetorical training preparatory to the forensic career which he had chosen. At the time when the future historian began his studies, Quintilian had already started out on his life-long crusade against the stylist Seneca by preaching a return to the chaste and classic model of oratorical excellence which he saw typified in Cicero. Now even if it were not all but certain that the young Tacitus, like his friend Pliny, had been a pupil of the great rhetorician, the treatise itself would prove that its author had at all events come under his influence, for so far from reflecting the stylistic mannerisms of Seneca, so much affected by the writers of the time, the Dialogue displays not only a profound and extensive acquaintance with the works of Cicero, as we shall see, but its very diction is saturated throughout with Ciceronian phraseology. The documentary evidence of this has been collected in the Commentary, and the index locorum s. v. Cicero will reveal at a glance the great extent of the author's
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indebtedness.\textsuperscript{100} This conscious imitation is of course primarily responsible for the ubertas dicendi which pervades the entire treatise; more concretely it is seen in the writer’s fondness for collocations of a more or less synonymic and tautological character.\textsuperscript{101} Of about 100 examples of this kind, fully one-half may be paralleled from Cicero, our author often betraying his source by intentionally inverting the order of the original collocation.\textsuperscript{102}

But successful as the author of the Dialogus unquestionably was in reproducing the tone-color of Ciceronian diction, he was after all but a child of his day and as such naturally as incapable as were Quintilian and the younger Pliny, who imitated the same stylistic model, of entirely effacing all traces of the idioms and the usage of his time. Hence it is that we constantly meet with clear evidence in the Dialogus of what is commonly, but very inappropriately, designated as Silver Latin, so many threads, as it were, interwoven into the Ciceronian texture.\textsuperscript{103}

To these two strata we must finally add a third element which goes to make up the heterogeneous and composite character of the style of this treatise, an element naturally less pronounced in youthful authors of talent, but never wholly absent, namely, the individuality of the writer himself. It shows itself not so much in the tendency to coin new expressions or to put old words to new uses, a tendency very strong in the later writings of Tacitus, and already noticeable in the Dialogus, as we have seen, but rather in


\textsuperscript{101} In Weinkauf’s long list (pp. 39–47), the particular passages and even the title of the Ciceronian works in which the parallel instances occur, are consistently omitted! His collection (136 instances in all) contains, moreover, numerous repetitions and erroneous references, many collocations cited by him being more appropriately classed under the head of Hendiadys, in the use of which Tacitus cannot be said to transcend the limits observed by other good prose writers. Cp. also Roth, \textit{De T. synonymis et per figuram iv \& \& duo\&\& dicis.} Nürnberg 1826 Eckstein pp. 80–83 Ruperti, Index III, s. vv. Hendiadys and Synonyma, Spitta, Ulbricht (see Bibliography), Jansen pp. 74–76.

\textsuperscript{102} To the instances enumerated in note c. 4 d, add c. 32 6 10 37 37 39 10.

\textsuperscript{103} Of the numerous illustrations of post-Augustan usage, duly pointed out in the Commentary, a few may be here enumerated: c. 1 2 18 2 2 10 3 2 5 8 17 5 4 8 2 7 3 4 8 7 9 11 15 9 22 30 10 24 11 12 13 1 22 15 8 18 1 19 16 19 20 13 21 19 23 9 25 23 20 24 31 27 28 28 30 2 5 33 7 3 4 36 11 17 18 30 9 24 40 27 42 2. Cp. also Weinkauf, Dialogi quaedam vocabula apud alios scriptores obvia pp. 30–36 Kleiber pp. 38–68.
boldness of metaphor and in peculiar rhetorical features generally.\textsuperscript{104} A few instances of such peculiarities found only in the Dialogus or else of but sporadic occurrence in later Latin may suffice:

\textit{a. Vocabularly}: \textit{sanguinans = 'sanguinaris' (c. 12 6)}, \textit{statio 'year of reign' (c. 17 14)}, \textit{planitas (c. 23 24)}, \textit{tinnitus in a figurative sense (c. 26 4)} — all \textit{āraē cippuē, antiquarius (c. 21 19 37 8 42 6)}, \textit{uniforme (c. 32 2)} and especially noteworthy the use of \textit{abstract} nouns with a rhetorical signification which elsewhere belongs only to the corresponding adjectives e.g. \textit{altitudo, scurrilitas, laetitia, sordes, tepor, lentitudo, planitas}. See note c. 21 16.

\textit{b. Metaphorical phrases}: e.g. \textit{complecti provincias (c. 5 16)}, \textit{metum et terrorem feras (c. 5 22)}, \textit{substantia facultatum (c. 8 15)}, \textit{utilitates alunt (c. 9 3)}, \textit{suum genium propitiare (c. 9 28)}, \textit{odoratus philosophiam (c. 19 15)}, \textit{adfluent auditor (c. 20 8)}, \textit{veterno inquinatus (c. 20 19)}, \textit{ratio temporum colletorit (c. 24 15)}.

\textit{c. Rhetorical structure}: Two \textit{synonymous} verbs joined by \textit{et}; if in \textit{causal} relation, by \textit{atque} (see note 4 3); libration or equilibrium of clauses (see e.g. c. 10 24 f. 12 ext. 13 25 f. 15 ext. 22 15 ff. 23 22 ff. 28 20 f. 29 ext. 30 ext. 31 12. 22 ff. 32 11 f. 34 ext. 36 30. 32 f. 37 16 ff. 39 17 f. 41 9).

So much in answer to the first question propounded above. We now turn to the second: 'How came Tacitus to abandon the style of the Dialogus for the characteristic diction of the Histories and Annals?'

The principal reason for this change, first pointed out or at least first properly emphasised by Jansen,\textsuperscript{105} is of a \textit{psychological} nature.

\textsuperscript{104} It should be noticed, however, that by far the majority of these stylistic peculiarities are put into the mouth of Aper, doubtless with the design to individualise the diction of this passionate advocate of the new school of oratory.

\textsuperscript{105} pp. 69–72. I cannot forbear to quote part of Jansen’s admirable discussion: \textit{Haec est animi humani ratio ac natura, ut, si quis iratus ac lacessitus statim nanciscatur occasione aleriendi, quae animum angat et premant, oratione volupti, profunet, perenni iure indulget, si vero per quoddam tempus ad animi impetus coercedendum cogatur, obdata tandem libere loquendi potestate, diu in cogitationibus iracundis versatus, indignationem inveteratam patefaciat sententias asperis, brevibus, abruptis, acerbis. Per quindecim annos T. ad invitam desidiam et turpe silentium coactus, durissimo imperio pressus ac vexatus . . . vitam degerat animi dolore et angore, continua iura ac indignatione plenam ac referat. Quare minime mirum, eum, cum recuperata tandem libere loquendi facultate "memoriam prioris servitutis et testimonium praesentium bonorum" componere inciperet, redintegrare non potuisse floridum illud ac}
and is found in the indelible impress made upon the mind of Tacitus by the horrors of the reign of Domitian, for according to Buffon's famous phrase, "le style est de l'homme même," and so Goethe says "Im Ganzen ist der Stil eines Schriftstellers ein treuer Abdruck seines Inneren." But if the man Tacitus necessarily revealed himself in the stylist Tacitus, it was as natural that the buoyant optimism of his youth should revel in the exuberance of diction which characterises the Dialogue, as that a brief, succinct, nervous, and energetic style should become the fit vehicle of expression for the feelings of intense indignation which had taken possession of Tacitus when, after the death of Domitian, he determined to devote himself to historical composition.

Still another reason for the change under discussion is the difference of the subject-matter itself. A speech, a history, a dialogue or a letter call for distinctly different stylistic treatment, at least in the hands of an ancient writer, for Latin, as well as Greek, though perhaps in an inferior degree, by reason of an incomparable flexibility of structure and elasticity of form, can be made to reproduce, like a musical instrument, characteristic features of thought and feeling. In fact, it is only in music that we can find a modern analogue to this unrivaled versatility of expression of Greek and Latin, modern languages being far more rigid, less plastic and more devoid of stylistic freedom. Hence we find the various species of literary composition in the classic tongues conforming to particular types or genera dicendi peculiarly adapted to the thought which they are designed to embody, and the numerous ancient systems of rhetoric, which to modern notions seem so often only the result

laetum, numerosum et aequabile dicendi genus, quo iuvenis viguerat, sicut continuus imbris vexata et prostrata seges non ad priorem integrum laetumque florem resurgit, cum praesertim uberes iam et frequentes spicas conceperit. Animo eius concusso, ex acerbato, indignato talis sermo non amplius conveniatur; uti potuit oratione non fere alia, quam qua usus est, brevi et nervosa, interdum aspera et acerba. Sive igitur Taciti in scribendo consilium sive animi eius immutationem respicimus, saevo Domitiani imperio effectam facere eum non potuisse videmus, quin in historicis suis scriptis componendis uteretur sermone a dialogi stilo prorsus alieno.

26 It is this mechanical element which alone explains the successful perpetration in antiquity of such literary frauds as that of Anaximenes' *Trepidans* or the numerous apocryphal writings of Lysias, Demosthenes, etc., no less than the stylistic parodies of Plato. See Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Driscoll 1894, 'Literary Frauds among the Greeks.'
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of an over-ingenious subtlety of analysis, are but called forth by the infinite stylistic capabilities of the languages themselves. That oratory and history, with which we are here more immediately concerned, demand different rhetorical treatment, is particularly emphasised in a well-known passage of the younger Pliny.\textsuperscript{107}

These two causes, then, the \textit{psychological} and the \textit{rhetorical}, taken in connection with the long interval of years that had elapsed between the publication of the Dialogus and the larger historical writings, would in themselves be sufficient to account for the stylistic change which confronts us.

An examination, however, of the Agricola and the Germania, which are chronologically intermediate between the Dialogus and the Annals, shows that still a third factor had its share in effecting the change under notice. For we observe that the Agricola and the Germania have still many stylistic features in common with the Dialogue which one would look for in vain in the subsequent writings. Again, not a few characteristic usages, still rare in the Dialogue, occur with constantly increasing frequency in the later works, while others common in the Dialogus show a corresponding decrease, often disappearing entirely in the Annals. In other words, the style of Tacitus, as it is revealed to us in its maturest and latest form, is to a considerable extent the result of a \textit{genetic development}, passing gradually through various phases of growth or decay, which we are often still able to trace. This fact, thanks to Woelflin, is now all but universally admitted,\textsuperscript{108} and it will, therefore, suffice for our present purpose to illustrate the point by adducing a few salient examples.\textsuperscript{109}


\textsuperscript{108} Wolff, \textit{Die Sprache des Tacitus} and Schanz l. c. are, so far as I know, the only scholars who seem disposed to question the truth of Woelflin's observation, but even Wolff does so only in part, while Schanz merely denies it without the slightest attempt at refutation.

\textsuperscript{109} Cp. also Jansen pp. 73–78 Weinkauff pp. cxxxvii–cxlII. This index \textit{comparativus} abounds in erroneous references and irrelevant quotations, and may so far as \textit{stylistic} questions are concerned, be practically dispensed with, the monumental \textit{Lex. Tac.} being nearly completed.
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The following words are common to the minor writings of Tacitus, but not found in the later works: *adligo* (c. 13 16 G. 24), *ascendo* in a figurative sense (c. 7 9 G. 25), *attinet* impersonal (c. 25 31 Ag. 33), *caementum* (c. 20 25 G. 16), *citra = sine* (c. 27 10 Ag. 1 G. 16), *colligo = computo* (c. 17 16 G. 37), *cognatio* (c. 25 28 G. 38), *in commune = in publicum* (c. 26 29 G. 27), *concentus* (c. 15 16 G. 3 virtutis c.), *concito* (c. 14 1 Ag. 38), *confero = discussa* (c. 42 5 Ag. 15), *contentio = verbal encounter* (c. 4 2 Ag. 9), *contactus = contaminated* (c. 12 8 G. 10), *conversatio = usus familiaris* (c. 9 30 G. 30), *cura = research* (c. 16 3 Ag. 10), *dominus sc. infans* (c. 29 6 G. 20), *fas est with acc. and inf.* (c. 36 5 Ag. 46), *lacertus* (c. 10 23 G. 17), *liniamentum* (c. 33 3 G. 16 but in the non-tropical sense), *offensa* (c. 3 5 10 30 and in the Histories; in the Annals only offensio, neither form appearing in the Agr. or Germ.), *opinari* (c. 2 10 G. 3), *positio* (c. 16 20 Ag. 11), *re missio* (c. 28 20 Ag. 9). Cp. also the use of *cupido* and *cupiditas* (c. 2 8), *eligere* and *deligere* (c. 10 32), the frequency of abstract plurals, use of neut. adj. sing. and plural for nouns, perfect passive part. for abstract nouns, fut. part. for adj. and many other examples commented on in the Notes and in the chapter on 'Style and Language.' Syntactical illustrations are furnished by the usage of anastrophe of conjunctions and prepositions, *et* before negatives, *et* in asyndetic collocations, change and repetition of prepositions, the use of particles and the like.

The cumulative weight of this evidence in proof of a genetic development in Tacitean style is considerable, but it is perhaps most conspicuous in the decreasing frequency of synonymous collocations, discussed above, inasmuch as the fondness for such combinations is equally characteristic of many other writers, Quintilian alone forming a rather remarkable exception, when we consider the length of the Institutio. Now the Agricola (97 A.D.) still exhibits 64 instances of synonymous groupings; in the Germania (98 A.D.) there is a decided falling off, only 28 examples being found, while

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110 It is curious to notice that Tacitus in the *second* part of the Annals occasionally reverts to his earlier usage, *conversatio* is used in the sense of 'conversation' in Ann. XII 49. Cp. also *cum... tum* (c. 5 6 14 19 Ann. XV 48), *damnari = improbari* (c. 16 15 Ann. XVI 28), *denego* (c. 10 11 Ann. XV 42), *disciplina = instruction* (c. 30 8 34 2 Ann. XV 52), *divitiae* (c. 8 27 Ann. XVI 3 elsewhere 'open'), *elementum τροπίσων* (c. 19 21 30 1 Ann. XIII 3), *ergo = igitur* (c. 34 1 G. 22 45 Ann. XIV 3 XV 33), *etsi non = at certe* (c. 19 21 G. 33 Ann. XII 30), *intentio* (c. 14 3 Ann. XVI 34), *lictus* concessive (c. 9 5 13 3 Ag. 32 Ann. XIV 55), *numerare* (c. 21 35 G. 7 Ann. XV 41), *percontatio* (c. 1 7 Ann. XV 58).
the entire historical works (105–115 A.D.) furnish scarcely more than 50 genuine instances in all, the proportion being about 2:1 in favor of the Histories, some particular groupings, however, occurring repeatedly, e.g. discordia, turbæ, dissensio; fama, laus, gloria, nomen; quies, pax, otium; vires, arma, manus; inauditus, indefensus. The great majority of instances are met with also in the minor writings, but the following collocations in the Dialogus are exactly paralleled only in the Agricola and Germania: metum ac terrem (c. 5 22 Ag. 32), tueri et defendere (c. 7 8 G. 14), nemora et lucos (c. 9 32 12 1 G. 9 10 45), fortuitæ et subitae (c. 10 31 G. 11), gloria . . . honor (c. 12 14 G. 5), ingenium ac studium (c. 14 10 Ag. 3), caeli siderumque (c. 16 29 Ag. 12), vi et potestate (c. 19 23 G. 42), vim et ardorem (c. 24 2 Ag. 8), severitate ac disciplina (c. 28 11 G. 25), remissiones lususque (c. 28 20 Ag. 3), probitati neque modestiae (c. 29 7 40 G. 36), angustias et brevibus (c. 30 27 G. 6), consilio et auctoritate (c. 36 22 G. 12), quies . . . otium (c. 38 17 Ag. 6. 21. 42).

Only about a dozen, finally, apparently lack an exact or analogous equivalent, either in the other writings of Tacitus or elsewhere.\footnote{Cp. e.g. notes to veteres et senes (c. 6 11), iuvenes . . . adolescenses (c. 7 13), paupertas et angustia verum (c. 8 12), notitia ac nominis (c. 11 11 36 18), poetis et vatinibus (c. 12 12), adfuentes et vagus (c. 20 8), tristem et inexactam (20 10), ossa . . . maciem (c. 21 4), lentitudinis ac teporis (21 26) locupletem ac lautum (c. 22 17), in publicum et in commune (c. 28 29).}

Lastly, attention may be drawn to the extensive use made of the so-called oratio binembris and trimembris, which consists in the more or less redundant amplification of a thought and evidently serves the purpose of establishing a stylistic equilibrium or rhetorical libration of clauses. Weinkauff (pp. 89–97) has with great industry, though an excessive zeal, collected 315 (!) alleged instances of this usage from the writings of Tacitus. Unfortunately, by far the greater number, especially in the case of those given under oratio binembris, exhibits no feature that might not be readily paralleled e.g. from Cicero, Livy, and Pliny. They are, therefore, quite valueless for purposes of comparison of the usage of the Dialogus and the other writings of Tacitus. Nevertheless, there remain not a few illustrations which, by reason of a peculiarity of collocation, are not without some significance in the present discussion. E.g.

\textit{a. The amplifying clause is preceded by a parenthetical phrase:}
c. 2 10 purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens 9 8

\textit{Oratio amplificata.}
egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem 12 ii felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum 12 i7 Orphea et Linnm ac, si introspicere altius velis, Apollinem.—
G. 2 inmensus ultra, utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus 33 non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificiuntius, oblectatione oculisque Ann. I 13 [eum] non indignum et si casus daretur, ausurum.— Ag. 46 admiratione... et immortalibus laudibus et si natura suppeditet, similitudine G. 40 (Weink. and Jansen 127) vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum H. I 51 f. odio, metu et, ubi vires suas resperexerat, securitate II 80 dum quaeritur tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficiilimum est, prima vox.

b. The amplifying phrase is a negative clause, generally ET NULLUS: c. 12 8 in illa casta et nullis contacta vitis pectora 28 24 sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus... detorta natura—Ag. 16 innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus G. 10 candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti 28 promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas H. IV 42 ignotum adhuc ingenium et nullis defense nibus expertum Ann. II 25 invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos III 37 solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus.

c. The last member preceded by ET TANTUM: c. 6 19 illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota G. 4 (cited as H. IV f. by Wkfl.) magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida 29 exempti oneribus... et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi H. II 45 expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis—or by ET CETERI c. 21 25 Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque... libros 25 27 et livore et ceteris... vitis adfici 37 11 Lentulos et Metellos... ceteram procerum manum Ag. 12 oleam vitemque et cetera... sueta 32 tributa et metalla et ceterae... poenae H. I 22 II 16. 71 III 20. 49 IV 5. 10. 14. 26. 71. 74 V 17. 25 Ann. I 7 II 73 IV 6. 9. 71 XI 6. 30 XII 46 XIII 6 XIV 3 XV 53. 55 XVI 26, 'omnia' or 'alia' often taking the place of 'cetera' in the Annals.—
or by a RELATIVE PRONOUN: c. 10 15 iucunditatem et... lascivias et... lusus et quamcunque aliam speciem 15 16 Nicetes et si quis alius 18 3 Galbae aut C. Carboni quoque alios 19 11 series et... ostentatio et... gradus et quidquid aliud 21 3 Canuti aut Atti... quoque alios 25 5 sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine 35 18 praemia aut... electiones aut... remedia aut incesta... aut quidquid aliud... H. I 63 feminis puerisque

112 These passages are omitted in Weinkauf's list.
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quaeque alia 89 oriens occidensque et quidquid II 6 III 52 Ann.
I 32 vigilias, stationes et si qua alia 35 II 33 III 28 XII 36 XIV
3. 5.—or by an adverb: c. 16 18 veters et olim natos 24 10 more
vetere...saepe celebrato Ag. 14 vetere et iam pridem recepta
G. 2 vocabulum recens et nuper additum 5 veters et diu notam
13 robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis 41 inclutum et notum
olem H. II 38 vetus et iam pridem insita 53 (for Ann. II 53! in
Wkf.) novus adhuc et...nuper adscitus Ann. IV 34 (43 Wkf.)
novo ac tum primum audito XIII 19 non vetera et saepius iam
audita XV 5 vetus et penitus infixum 24 priora et totiens iactata.
d. sine with subst. followed by adj.: c. 40 11 sine obsequio, sine
severitate, contumax, temeraria G. 35 sine cupiditate, sine impo-
tentia, quieti secretique.

e. The last member is amplified: c. 6 11 veters et senes et totius
orbis gratia subnixos 9 22 amicitiam...clientelam...mansurum
in animo beneficium 13 18 sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate
cotidie aliquo contra animum faciendi 30 9 labor...meditatio et
in omni genere studiorum adsiduæ exercitaciones 31 22 ff.
adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concluendens
dicendi genus...fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus
oratio Ag. 13 delectum ac tributa et inuncta imperii munera 41
vigorem et constantiam et expertum belli animum G. 33 superbiae
odio...praedae dulcedine...favore quodam erga nos deorim H.
I 18 tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum III 25
miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli execratio 41 vis et pecunia-
et ruentis fortunae novissima libido IV 44 ingenia et opes et
exercita malis artibus potentia Ann. I 41 pudor...miseratio et
patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria II 14 pila et gladios et
haerentia corpori tegmina 69 carmina et devotiones et nomen
Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum XIII 8 corpore ingens,
verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie
inanium validus XV 6 tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Roman-
um ius.

We may now briefly summarise the arguments in favor of the Summary.
Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus, presented in the preceding
pages. It has been shown:

(1) That the testimony of the MSS. is unimpeachable.
(2) That the treatise cannot possibly have been composed after
the reign of Titus (79–81).
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(3) That this date, examined in the light of the ascertainable facts of the life of Tacitus, is free from all chronological or internal objections, and therefore no obstacle to the assumption that the Dialogus was written by the author to whom the MSS. assign it.

(4) That the Dialogus and the admittedly genuine writings of Tacitus reveal an attitude of mind and heart in the judgments and criticisms passed upon men and measures so remarkably similar, as to be explicable only on the supposition of identity of authorship.

(5) That by the side of palpable stylistic divergencies, there exist equally palpable coincidences.

(6) That these differences in no sense militate against the genuineness of the Dialogue, being demonstrably the necessary result of certain natural and well ascertainable causes which combined to shape as well as to change or even to destroy many stylistic features characteristic of the earliest publication of the future historian.

Under these circumstances, we might be free to dispense with a discussion of the rival claims of Quintilian or of Pliny the Younger to the authorship of the Dialogue. But inasmuch as their cause, notably that of the former, has from the days of Lipsius found staunch adherents among scholars of repute, we must needs enumerate, as briefly as possible, the reasons on the basis of which their case would have to be summarily rejected, even if the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus were less firmly established than it is.

The Plinian hypothesis need not occupy us very long, for the reasons which Nast, Hess, Wittich and Kramarzick have advanced are either ridiculously absurd or absolutely gratuitous. The spuriousness of the treatise was of course taken for granted and the numerous insuperable obstacles in the way of their theory persistently and disingenuously ignored. We are told, among other things, that the dramatic date of the Dialogue admirably agrees with the ascertainable data in Pliny’s life, that Pliny was by virtue of his oratorical training and talents peculiarly fitted to discuss the problem dealt with in the Dialogue, that in fact the method of treatment of the subject is quite in the manner known to us from his correspondence! Fabius Iustus also, to whom the treatise is addressed, is repeatedly and significantly mentioned in the letters as a friend.

Finally, the style of the Dialogue exhibits most astonishing resemblances to the other writings of Pliny.

That these statements are partly open to the gravest objections, partly of no argumentative validity whatever, can be easily shown. In the first place, Pliny was only 13 years old in 75 A.D., the dramatic date of the Dialogue, which fact renders his presence at the discussion in the house of Maternus an impossibility, not to mention the trifling circumstance that a boy, and be he never so precocious, would not have been capable of following the conversation with intelligence. For, unhistorical as the reported dialogue unquestionably is, the author, we must remember, represents it as having actually taken place in his own presence. Again, Aper and Secundus, the leading advocates of the period, are introduced to us as the teachers of the writer, to whom he was devotedly attached; Pliny, on the other hand, nowhere even alludes either to Aper or to Secundus, but on the contrary expressly informs us that he was a pupil of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos! 114

Still another argument against the Plinian authorship of the Dialogus must be found in the simple fact that Pliny himself strangely fails to claim the beautiful treatise as his own, it being not so much as even casually alluded to. The significance of this argumentum ex silentio will be apparent, when it is remembered that this vain author seizes every possible opportunity in his letters to mention, for the benefit of an inquisitive posterity, all literary productions115 that ever emanated from his busy and versatile pen, even down to the most trivial doggerels.

Regarding Pliny’s style, finally, for it is tiresome and needless

114 I am sorry to observe that Hillscher, Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl. Vol. XVIII (1891) p. 415, again assumes but one rhetorician of this name, identifying him with the Nicetes mentioned by Seneca, Tacitus (c. 15 is where see my note), Pliny, Philostratus, one Automedon in an epigram (Anth. Pal. X 23) and Hieronymus (to the year 52 B. C.: Nicetes et Ilyreus et Theodorus et Plutio nobilissimi artis rhetoricae artis Graeci praeceptores habentur). If so, he must have been about 140 years old when Pliny came under his instruction! The eider Nicetes, mentioned by Tacitus, was probably born at the beginning of our era, his death falling at the close of the reign of Tiberius (see Seneca). In that case, the above epigram refers to a younger namesake, Pliny’s teacher, and the poet Automedon will remain a contemporary of Nerva as heretofore, the reign of Augustus, to which Hillscher assigns him, being out of the question.

115 For Pliny’s numerous references to his own writings, see Teuffel § 340, 2-4.
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to multiply objections\textsuperscript{116} against the hypothesis under discussion, it may be said that it bears as much resemblance to the diction of the Dialogus as it does to that of his teacher, Quintilian. Of the many so-called parallelisms collected by Nast, Hess, Eckstein and Vogel, by far the greater number, it must also be observed, belong to the common vocabulary of the language; others more particularly exhibit the features of post-Augustan usage and the stereotype character of what may be called the rhetorical vernacular of the schools of the day. More important is the fact, that amid so much of unavoidable similarity, the diction of Pliny on closer inspection displays, when compared with the style of the Dialogue, so many inherent divergencies, as to render identity of authorship quite impossible.\textsuperscript{117} The arguments advanced in favor of Quintilian\textsuperscript{118} are substantially based upon the same observations and considerations as some of those just mentioned. They are, however, more numerous, more subtle and, as the non-Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue is ex hypothesi complacently regarded as indisputable, not without some shadow of probability.

Lipsius and his followers were, it seems, primarily lured into boldly declaring in favor of the great rhetorician, not so much by stylistic considerations as by the fact that Quintilian himself repeatedly\textsuperscript{119} refers to a treatise, published but a few years before the Institutio, entitled \textit{de causis corruptae eloquentiae}, for this title appeared to Lipsius, as we have seen, to harmonise so perfectly with the subject discussed in the extant Dialogue that he had no scruples in identifying it with the lost treatise of Quintilian. It is psychologically interesting, in this connection, to observe how completely a preconceived opinion was able to blind even so great a critic as Lipsius to the palpable fact that the very quotations from the '\textit{de causis corruptae eloquentiae}' are not only not found

\textsuperscript{116} See esp. Eckstein l. c. I am not disposed to attach too much weight to the objection, based upon Pliny's omission of any reference to Messalla or Maternus, for these were doubtless long dead when the earliest extant letter was written (97 A.D.), and it is doubtful if the alleged poetic reputation of Maternus, alluded to only in the Dialogus, long survived him.

\textsuperscript{117} See Vogel p. 270 f.


\textsuperscript{119} Cf. Quint. II 4, 41 f. V 12, 17–23 VI prooem. 3 VIII 3, 56–58. 6, 73–76.
in the Dialogue, but could not, from their very nature, have ever occurred in it, as they deal with the faults of “elocutio” proper, such as the κακογγελον, hyperbole and the like. But if so, we are put upon the horns of a dilemma, of which it would be hard to say which is the more absurd. For either Quintilian wrote a book ‘de causis corruptae eloquentiae’ and the Dialogus de oratoribus, but by some strange accident repeatedly referred to the former only, or else the two are identical, the author’s citations being by an equally strange accident absent from the extant treatise — which had no place for them anywhere!

The remaining arguments adduced in favor of Quintilian pertain to the matter and the form of the Dialogue, the treatise revealing, it is contended, so many elements in common with the Institutio Oratoria as to establish identity of authorship beyond question.

Now as regards the contents of the two works, there can be no possible doubt, as we may at once admit, that many and even striking points of resemblance exist, and they have been duly noted in the Commentary, but this fact can in no sense justify the inference that has been drawn, for the following reasons:

(1) Similarity of subject matter necessarily leads to similarity in its presentation.

(2) Very many of the coincidences collected by the writers mentioned are not peculiar to Quintilian, but may be readily paralleled from other authors, notably Cicero, to whom both Quintilian and Tacitus are alike largely indebted. This is equally true of the numerous aesthetic criticisms of literary men, upon which undue stress has been laid, for here, if anywhere, the great rhetorician is almost wholly dependent upon earlier sources, not only in Greek, but to some extent even in Latin literature, where we certainly might have expected greater independence and originality. These judgments had in course of time become stereotyped and common property, so to speak.


122 It is amusing to find some early advocates of the Quintilian theory getting over this difficulty by supposing that the passages in question possibly all have been miraculously accumulated in the lacuna after c. 35!

123 Cf. Index locorum s. v. Quintilianus.

124 See H. Usener, De Dionysii Italic. imitat. religiae 1880 H. Nettleship, Jour. of Phil. XVIII 225 ff. Peterson to Quintilian X Bk. pp. xxii-xxxix.
(3) Some utterances which happen to be found only in the Dialogue and Quintilian, so far as they might not have occurred independently to two writers like Tacitus and Quintilian, may well owe their existence in our treatise to the fact that the youthful author had heard them from the living lips of Quintilian, having either remembered them or taken them from lecture notes.\textsuperscript{124}

(4) There are unmistakable contradictions between the Dialogue and the Institutio. Cf. e.g. notes to c. 5 6 21 7 22 12 35 ext.

(5) In still other passages Quintilian seems to take direct issue with statements made in the Dialogue. Cf. e.g. c. 12 5 23 1.

(6) The political tone, which, as we have seen, is the same throughout the Dialogue and the historical writings of Tacitus, is wholly different in the work of the eulogist of Domitian.

(7) The chronological data of the life of Quintilian are absolutely incompatible with the theory under discussion. 'The writer of the Dialogue was a very young man in 75, but Quintilian nearly forty at that time. The author of the treatise tells us that in 75 he was still assiduously pursuing his forensic studies under the guidance of Aper and Secundus; Quintilian, on the other hand, is known to have been a pupil of Remmius Palaeemon (schol. Iuv. VI 451) and especially of Domitius Afer, as he tells us himself (V 7, 7 X 1, 86). Aper is never mentioned, Secundus repeatedly (X 1, 120. 3, 12 XII 10, 11), but as an intimate friend and equal in age (aequalis), and when Secundus and Aper, accompanied by their young pupil, paid their visit at the house of Maternus, Quintilian had been for three years or more the occupant of a professorship of rhetoric establised by Vespasian.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{124} That his pupils were wont to take notes is not only intrinsically probable, but is expressly attested in a well-known passage of the Institutio, I proem. 7: duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque edita me namque alterum sermonem per biduum habitum pueri, quibus id praestabatur, exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus, quantum notando consegui poterant, interceptum boni iuvenes sed niumium amantes mei temerario editionis honore vulgaverant. Wilamowitz's (?) statement cited by Reuter p. 63 `Tacitus' Dialog ist der Reflex der quintilianischen Kritik in der Seele eines Historikers,' though nicely put, is only partially true, as it implies too late a date for the composition of the treatise. On Tacitus as a pupil of Quintilian, see Liebert (cited note 33), Gruenwald pp. 49 ff. Walter p. 10 ff. and below, note 147.

\textsuperscript{125} These chronological objections alone are so completely subversive of the Quintilianean hypothesis, that its latest advocate, R. Novák, takes refuge in the gratuitous supposition that Quintilian intentionally concealed his identity;
(8) Regarding the stylistic coincidences, it has already been remarked (p. xv) that the mere fact that the authorship of Pliny no less than that of Quintilian has been based upon them, constitutes a clear reductio ad absurdum of the hypothesis itself.

But this is not all, for when we examine the congeries of illustrations collected in 'deadly parallel' columns, by the excessive zeal of Kleiber, Vogel, Gruenwald and Novák, we find that fully one-half are met with elsewhere, are in fact part of the common vocabulary of Latin or of the rhetorical vernacular of the time. Others present no analogies or coincidences that would be recognised as peculiar or significant by any one not bent upon proving a preconceived theory. In the case of a few phrases which Quintilian and the author of the Dialogue seem to share between them, it would be difficult, a similar idea once being given, to express it in dissimilar language.

Finally, amid many genuine parallelisms of diction, we at the same time come upon most striking stylistic divergences. Thus, to mention but a few instances, Tacitus is exceedingly fond of alliterative and synonymic collocations, Quintilian habitually and studiously avoids them, while constructions such as postquam with plup. ind., habere with gerundive, dum with the pres. ind. in orat. obl., liber = 'oratio,' and the omission of utrum, though common in the writings of Tacitus, never occur in Quintilian.

or, if he was not the author, then some one else was, Tacitus being considered by Novák as out of the question!!

The only independent value of Novák's treatise consists in his adducing a number of stylistic resemblances from the so-called Declamationes of Pseudeo-Quintilian, hitherto overlooked. But when he calmly regards these rhetorical exercises as genuine productions of Quintilian and utilises them to prove the Quintilianian authorship of the Dialogue, he thereby at once forfeits all claims to further consideration, even if he had not also, throughout his treatise, intentionally suppressed the numerous parallelisms in the historical works of Tacitus, while even earlier writers, such as Cicero and Livy, are mentioned not more than 25 times in a list of over 350 alleged coincidences between the Dialogue on the one hand and Quintilian and the Declamationes on the other!

For other instances, see Weinkauff p. cxi and Vogel p. 255 f.
II. — THE DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF THE DIALOGUS, AND THE INTERLOCUTORS.

Outline.

The scenery of the Dialogue is laid in the house of the poet Curiatius Maternus. One afternoon of the year 74/75 a.d., presumably in the winter, as the conversation takes place in-doors, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, two intimate friends, accompanied by a devoted disciple, the youthful Tacitus, call upon their mutual friend and to their surprise find him reading the very tragedy which he had the day previous recited and which had, as we are told, given offence to the 'powers that be,' because of some pronounced liberal sentiments put into the mouth of Cato Uticensis, the hero of the play. Secundus deprecates the outspokenness which the poet has injudiciously thought fit to display, and Aper endeavors to impress upon him the necessity as well as the expediency of entirely abandoning so precarious and useless a pursuit, particularly as it must seriously interfere with his forensic duties. Maternus in reply, to the evident astonishment of his visitors, expresses his unalterable determination to withdraw entirely from the forum and the law-courts, and to devote himself henceforth exclusively to the cultivation of the Muses.

This announcement naturally leads to a discussion between Maternus and Aper, touching the intrinsic value and respective superiority of oratory over poetry, Secundus having politely but firmly declined to act as umpire, because of ineradicable prejudices for one side of the question. The ensuing debate, conducted in set speeches, which admirably portray the character and convictions of the two contestants, is made to end in a draw, for reasons to be pointed out below, a turn in the conversation being brought about by a not uncommon dramatic device, borrowed in this instance directly from Cicero, namely, the introduction of a new speaker, in the person of Vipstanus Messalla.

The new-comer observing from the countenances of those present, that the discussion, interrupted by his entrance, had been unusually warm and animated, it naturally fell to the lot of Secundus, as the only passive listener, to acquaint Messalla with the subject of

128 The time of day may be inferred from c. 42 ext. nisi iam dies esset exactus, for the entire dialogue is of comparatively very short duration.

129 The youthful author being a persona muta throughout, keeps himself studiously in the background and is, dramatically considered, non-existent.
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the previous conversation. Messalla expresses his sincere delight on learning that his friends, as indeed befits men of true culture, employ their leisure hours in discussing subjects not directly connected with their profession, and compliments the eminent lawyer Secundus for his historical researches, while Aper, no less illustrious as an advocate, isironically praised for not allowing his forensic duties to alienate him from the theoretical and scholastic exercises of modern rhetoricians.\textsuperscript{100} This last utterance (otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere), though apparently nothing more than a harmless, ironical fling at Aper's fondness for the rhetorical practices of his time, which Messalla held in very low estimation (see c. 35), is of paramount importance in the dramatic development of the Dialogue. For, by calling forth Aper's rejoinder: Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem studio inridere atque contemnere . . . cum neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes, the question which is to form the main theme of discussion is with wonderfully artless art brought upon the tapis. It in turn naturally leads to the desire of learning the reasons for this vast difference between the oratory of the past and the present (c. 15 11 f.), a difference which, in Messalla's opinion, was not brought about by any healthy progress, but by the gradual abandonment of loftier standards. The conflict having thus been prepared, and a distribution of the contesting speakers arranged, the debate begins. Aper, who has to stand up single-handed against a united opposition, opens the discussion (c. 16 14) by a casuistical argument concerning the relative meaning of the term 'antiqui' and its proper applicability to the orators of the Roman republic, and then passes on to a scathing indictment of its greatest representatives and a glowing eulogy of the characteristic features of modern eloquence.

Messalla thereupon takes up the cudgels for his beloved 'ancients,' so disparagingly criticised by Aper, but, being recalled to the main theme at issue, gives, what he regards as the principal reason for the decline of eloquence. The close of his argument is lost. The next speaker, who, as we shall show below, is Secundus, supplements, according to the agreement made in c.

\textsuperscript{100} Maternus is not likewise commended for the versatility of his interests, because, though he too was an advocate by profession, his poetical predilections were too well known to have special attention drawn to them.
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168, the reasons for the decadence in question, by pointing out that it is in a measure due to the lack of opportunity for the display of eloquence, unsettled political conditions, such as existed in democratic Athens and republican Rome, affording a more favorable soil for the growth of oratory, than the regulated order of things found under a monarchical government.

Maternus, in summing up the debate, brings about a reconciliation by observing that the differences between the ancient and modern types of eloquence are indeed historically conditioned on the one hand, but on the other not due to any intellectual inferiority of contemporary speakers, for which reason we should take things as we find them and make the most of the opportunities which one’s own age unquestionably offers in satisfactory abundance.

The foregoing outline will have made it clear that the Dialogue develops naturally and consistently from c. 14 to the end. But this manifest unity of plan will seem to have been very seriously destroyed, if it be true that the first thirteen chapters, dealing with the respective superiority of poetry and oratory, are a mere introductory episode, without any organic connection with the enquiry into the causes of the decline of eloquence, which Tacitus himself repeatedly affirms to be the main theme at issue. 181 This seeming flaw in dramatic construction has actually led one scholar to assert, in the face of the author’s own unequivocal testimony to the contrary, that “Die Frage, ob die Beredsamkeit vor der Poesie (und vielleicht der übrigen Thätigkeiten eines otium litteratum !?) den Vorzug verdiene, diese Frage, die den Gegenstand des ersten Theiles des Dialogs bildet und die Maternus am Schlusse entscheidend löst (??), sie ist der eigentliche Gegenstand der gesammten Schrift!” 182

181 Cf. besides the proemium, c. 15 io ff. ac velim imperatrum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huilo infinitiae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat . . . qua video etiam Graccis accidisse ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetis . . . quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessimus 24 11 ff. expro ne nobis . . . causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus 27 i 3 ff. sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante dixisti (viz. c. 15) 32 22 ff. hanc ego primam et praeципuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus.

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This amusing paradox must, of course, be rejected, but does the alleged incongruity of c. 1–13 and 14–42, which gave rise to it, really exist? Is the first part of our treatise, as scholars have hitherto either tacitly or expressly assumed, nothing more than a kind of dramatic setting or frame-work, designed primarily to bring out some of the interlocutors into strong relief? I am disinclined to rest satisfied with this explanation, for I regard it as an unjustifiable and unmethodical proceeding to stamp one third of an entire work as virtually irrelevant and external to the principal theme, which in the remaining portions exhibits an undeniable unity and consistency of plan. We must therefore look for some closer interdependence between these parts, and perhaps the following considerations may go to prove that such a link does indeed exist.

It has often been observed that Latin literature of the first century bears an unmistakable poetical coloring, and that poetical effusions greatly preponderate over prose productions. 'Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim' might well serve as the motto of this period. Even prose, in order to please, had to clothe itself in poetical raiment, and so Aper, the passionate advocate of the eloquence of his time, continually insists that a speech must, above all, possess rhythm and poetical imagery. Cf. e.g. c. 20 18 exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor 22 13 sensus apte cadunt et quodam lumine terminantur 20 26 marmore nitent et auro radiantur. Eloquence, in the beautiful peroration of Messalla (c. 32), once the queen of all the arts, who held sovereign sway over the souls of men, is now banished from her proper realm; she is stripped of her retinue, without honor, without freedom. But, so we may add, keeping up the personification, her life was not extinguished, but she passed as a slave into the hands of poetry. Hence it is that the poetry of the age is saturated throughout with oratorical elements; it had become declamatory, as prose had become poetical, making free use of the poet's vocabulary and con-

stellt sich betreffs derselben mit der angegebenen Alternative einstweilen (!) auf den Standpunkt seiner Zeitgenossen, er verschämmt (?) es bereits jetzt anzudeuten, dass er sie auf eine der üblichen Auffassung nicht entsprechenden Weise zu lösen und mit ihr zugleich eine tiefere, ihm mehr am Herzen liegende (?) und zugleich im Anfang der Schrift zu stellende Frage, die Frage nach dem Werth der Beredsamkeit zu entscheiden gedenke. Und der Spannung der Leser hat er damit einen guten Dienst gethan (!)." How gratuitous and absurd this all is!
structions. 'Facundus,' in the period under notice, is significantly enough one of the highest attributes of the poet, while the very term 'eloquentia' is made to include all species of poetical composition (see c. 10 13). This being so, the question must have presented itself to so analytic an observer as Tacitus admittedly was, which of these two species of literary composition, poetry or oratory, was the more important, and hence, before entering upon a detailed discussion of the causes of the decline of eloquence, he very appropriately introduces the orator Aper and the poet Maternus in a preliminary debate concerning the relative superiority of poetry and eloquence. The problem is purposely left unsolved. Why? Because it did not admit of a solution, the author clearly perceiving that in the literature of his day, oratory, so far as it still flourished, did so only by paying heavy tribute to poetry, while the latter in its turn was distinguished by its oratorical character. In other words, neither seemed complete without the other; each was regarded as essential to the other. Viewed in this light, the introductory chapters become, in my judgment, an integral and organic part of the dramatic plan of the Dialogue.

Of the four interlocutors, but little in the way of concrete biographical information is known to us beyond what Tacitus has thought it sufficient to tell us about them.

The host Curiatius Maternus is introduced to us in the double capacity of a renowned advocate and a tragic poet of great repute. He seems to have been a native of Gaul, although this is not certain. He was undoubtedly the oldest in the company, having scored a pronounced success as the author of a fabula praetextata in the reign of Nero (c. 11 9). The time when the dialogue is supposed to have taken place marks a turning point in his career, as he announces his intention to retire permanently from the forum and the bar, in order to devote the rest of his days 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife' to the peaceful cultivation of the Muses.188

He was very probably no longer living when the Dialogue was written, for the opinion universally entertained down to very recent times, that he is identical with a sophist of that name executed in

188 There is possibly some truth in Baehrens' remark (Comm. Crit. p. 99): ad versus faciendos sum traxit animi mentisque indoles, in foro ut versaretur causasque susciparet coegerunt rerum angustiae paupertasque.
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91 A.D. by Domitian for declaiming against the tyrants, is now justly abandoned. This identification is improbable on many grounds. In the first place, it involves an impossible date for the composition of the Dialogue. Then again, the term σοφιστής is in no sense applicable to Maternus, the poet and pleader, not to mention that it is intrinsically improbable that a man of such idealistic aspirations should sixteen years later have degenerated into a mere school-rhetorician. Finally, the name itself is exceedingly frequent. A Curiciatus Maternus is met with twice in inscriptions, while Maternus (or Materna), apart from the Spanish jurist so highly complimented by his fellow-townsmen, Martial, and the two well-known Firmici Materni of the 4th century, occurs about 100 times.

Maternus is undoubtedly the protagonist of the Dialogue, and may be considered, for the reasons given on p. xxxviii, as in a large measure representing the author’s personal convictions. The scene of the debate is laid in his house. He suggests the preliminary discussion; directs the course of the conversation, answering for himself and for Secundus (c. 16 8); he summarises the arguments of the various speakers (c. 24 1 ff. 33 1 ff.); recalls Messalla to the main theme at issue; requests him to continue, at the same time assigning the particular topic which he desires him to treat. It is also Maternus, finally, who closes the entire debate by a speech designed to reconcile the opposing factions.

124 Dio Cass. LXVII 12 Ματέρνος δὲ σοφιστής ὁι κατὰ τυφάννοι εἶπε τί ἀσκέων (= declamans) ἀκτέων. It has even been supposed that the closing words of c. 13 were intended by Tacitus as a vaticinium ex eventu! See p. xxvii note 32.

125 C. I. L. II 3783 III 429.

126 Mart. X 37 inurus et securum cultor sanctissime legum | veridico Latium qui regis ore forum | Municipi Materne. See also I 96 II 74.

127 See the indexes to the Latin Corpus. Vol. II (Spain—about 30 Materni and 23 Maternae) III (5 times) V (6—No. 850. 7950 from Gaul) VII (England—4) VIII (Africa—5) XII (Gallia Narbonensis—about 25 Materni in all). As the great preponderance of the name in Vols. II and XII can hardly be accidental, the Maternus of Tacitus must have hailed either from Spain or Gaul, the presumption being very strong in favor of Gaul, because both Aper and Secundus were natives of this province.

128 See p. xxxix, the synopsis on p. 368 and Doederlein, Rhein. Mus. III p. 16: bis endlich der Dichter Maternus, welcher bei allem Talent fur das praktische Leben doch nur in contemplativer Thatigkeit Ruhe und Frieden sucht und findet, auf den welthistorischen Standpunkt tritt und den Zwiespalt vermittelt und versoehnend zeigt, wie der Verfall der Beredsamkeit als ein nothwendiges
M. Aper.

Marcus Aper, known to us only from the Dialogus, is a man of a quite different stamp. Born in some Gallic municipality, not particularly favored, perhaps neglected by the central government, he seems to have emigrated at an early age to the imperial city. Having acquired a thorough rhetorical training and an all-round education, he soon succeeded, in spite of the obstacles thrown in the way of a novus homo from a distant province, in reaching the praetorship. But he too does not seem to have long survived the debate in which he is given so conspicuous a part; at all events, he was dead when Tacitus composed the treatise, as is evident from c. 25 f. He is not mentioned either by Quintilian, who pays so glowing a tribute to Secundus, or in Pliny’s correspondence, and his name does not appear in our lists of the Roman consuls.

Aper exhibits all the self-satisfied complacency and pride of the successful self-made man, and is naturally an enthusiastic advocate and staunch supporter of the existing political régime, under which he was enabled to rise from obscurity to affluence, influence and fame. His views are thoroughly utilitarian; wealth and power command his respect and admiration, regardless of the moral worth of their possessor. ‘Corriger la fortune’ is his motto. A man of a combative and polemical nature, a shrewd lawyer, he does not shrink from casuistry, exaggeration and even misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose.

His oratorical ideal is that of the modern school, as represented

Uebel aus dem unschätzbaren Gut eines festen inneren Friedens fleißig; in demselben Sinne in welchem Tacitus selbst (see p. xii and note 67) ... die Klage über die Gegenwart zu mässigen pflegt. I cannot afford to discuss the aberration of those critics who hold that the attitude of Maternus in the closing part of the Dialogue is irreconcilable with his views in the opening chapters, an opinion which reached an absurd climax in the contention of Strodbeck that the closing utterances of the poet must be regarded as purely ironical!

120 c. 10 s ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar.
121 c. 7 3 in civitate (probably ‘city’) minime favorabili natus.
122 He had also been in Britain, as we learn from c. 17 17, but whether this visit antedates his departure for Rome or whether he went there in some official capacity subsequently, cannot be ascertained. The latter seems to me on the whole the more probable.
122 See p. xxvi. The supposition that he possibly left Rome shortly after 75, never to return, is in my judgment quite incompatible with the attitude of a man whose very being was so intimately bound up in the city of his adoption, and whose appreciation of the rewards of oratorical success, possible only in a large city, was so keen as that of Aper. See c. 6 and 9 ext.
by Cassius Severus and Seneca, and he vehemently protests against the disparagement of contemporary rhetoric at the expense of the ancient type of eloquence, which he regards as no longer suited to the demands made upon modern orators by the altered taste and the higher culture of his time.

In giving a characteristic tone to Aper's diction, the author displays greater skill than in the stylistic individualisation of the other interlocutors. It is typified by redundancy of expression, a fondness for metaphors, often singular and bold, and an occasionally peculiar vocabulary, all of which features are far less conspicuous, if not wholly absent, in the speeches of Maternus, Messalla or Secundus.\textsuperscript{148} How far Aper's style is a faithful reproduction of the original, can, of course, not be determined. The fact, however, that the man himself, drawn to the life as he seems, has been invested with some touches which were unquestionably copied from Cicero's portrayals of Antonius in the de oratore, suggests the probability that Aper's speeches, with their numerous Ciceronian reminiscences in thought and phraseology, are also from the formal side an artistic production of the author, the really historical elements, if such exist at all, being exceedingly few in number.

\textit{Julius Secundus} is far better known to us, for Quintilian speaks of him in three passages: X 1, 120 Julio Secundo, \textit{si longior contigiisset aetas} clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret; adieciisset enim atque adieciat ceteris virtutibus suis quod desiderari potest, id est autem ut esset multo \textit{magis puinax} et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Ceterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum: ea est facundia tanta in explicando quod velit gratia, tam candidum et lene et speciosum dicendi genus, tanta verborum etiam quae adsumpta sunt proprietas, tanta in quibusdam ex periculo petitis significantia 3, 12 \textit{aequalem} meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, \textit{infinitae tamen curae} XII 10, 11 elegantiam Secundi. He was probably a knight, and has very plausibly been identified by O. Hirschfeld with the Σεκκουδος τοῦ βήτωρ (i.e. the well-known

\textsuperscript{148} Some of these features, from a mistaken notion of the purpose for which they are designed, have been severely censured and used as an argument against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue, but, as Weinkauf (p. cxxxv) has well observed, emphatic reiteration, while possibly objectionable to a \textit{reader}, is in itself not ill-suited to a \textit{spoken} speech which purports to represent an actual improvisation.
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orator) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὀθωνος mentioned by Plut. Otho c. 9.144 That he died at an early age, perhaps about the same time as Aper, is clear from Quintilian and c. 25 of the Tacitean treatise.145

The internal agreement between Tacitus and Quintilian, in the high estimate of the oratorical abilities of Secundus, is remarkable and seems to prove that his picture, as drawn by the former, is a tolerably faithful likeness. He is coupled with Aper as among the 'celeberrima ingenia fori'; his cautious disposition and non-combative nature, alluded to by Quintilian, is revealed in the very first words put into his mouth by Tacitus (c. 2 4 ff. nihilne te . . . fabulae malignorum terrent . . . sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem . . . securiorem?) and Quintilian's statement regarding his overscrupulous care finds an echo in the phrase in c. 39 9 curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur.146 This characteristic seems to have occasioned the charge that he lacked readiness and fluency of speech,147 a criticism which his devoted pupil does not really refute, when he assures us 'Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit.' Combining all these features, one can-

144 Cf. Friedlaender S. G. I 8 183.
145 88 A. D., the date given by Andresen and Peterson, Quint. X 1, 120 is much too late, for apart from the fact that Secundus would still have been living when the Dialogus was published, we should be involved in another difficulty. For it is not likely that Tacitus came under the instruction of Quintilian before the death of Secundus. Now, Tacitus must have completed his studies before Agricola betrothed his daughter to him (77 A. D.). But if so, what is more natural than to suppose that the young Tacitus, Secundus having died shortly after 75 A. D., became for a short time the pupil of Quintilian, who had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with his departed teacher? Both must have been previously acquainted, and it is pleasant to think, albeit a mere fancy, that Quintilian may have been an occasional participant in the 'disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis,' which Tacitus so often had the privilege of listening to in the house of Secundus (domi quoque . . . adsectabar). At all events, we may say that the assumption of any later date for the death of Secundus than the one here advocated, would at the same time necessitate the rejection of the all but certain hypothesis that the future historian had come under the direct influence of the great rhetorician.

146 It is no exaggeration to say that this statement is as eminently characteristic of Secundus, as it is absolutely out of place in the mouth of the poet Maternus.

147 c. 2 10 f. quamvis maligne plerique ('very many') opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem.
not help thinking that nature had rather marked him out for a scholar than for the active and less peaceful vocation of an advocate, and hence we are not surprised to learn that he also devoted himself to historical research, and had published an admirable biography of Julius Africanus (c. 14 21 f.).

In the present mutilated condition of the Dialogue, Secundus scarcely figures as an interlocutor at all. But that the author did assign to him a much larger share in the conversation seems to me indisputable. For the conspicuous manner of his introduction, the careful description of the oratorical characteristics of himself and Aper, with whom he is placed upon a perfect footing of equality, finally, the very phrase of the prooemium, 'cum singuli . . . causas adferrent,' no less than the words in c. 16 8 pro duobus promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exeque murm eas partes etc. render the supposition that the author had nevertheless condemned him to silence throughout the debate quite inconceivable. But whether his contribution to the discussion was lost in the large lacuna after c. 35, which has been the opinion of some scholars, or whether we still possess part of it in the speech commonly assigned to Maternus, is quite another and more difficult question, which we shall endeavor to answer at the close of the chapter.

The fourth interlocutor, and the last to appear upon the scene, is Vipsanuus Messalla. He was the only native Roman in the company, of illustrious family, and probably a direct descendant of the famous M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. This is nowhere

149 This unequivocal and positive promise of a speech by Secundus is quite generally set aside as worthless, but Tacitus was under no compulsion to make a purposeless statement, nor does an artist introduce a 'motive' merely for the sake of abandoning it at pleasure. It has also strangely been argued that Secundus' want of oratorical facility may well account for his not appearing as an interlocutor. But this explanation utterly ignores the fact that the author expressly attributes what he regards as an unjust accusation, to the malignity of some critics. If so, he had the more reason for exhibiting Secundus as a fluent speaker instead of virtually confirming the charge by allowing him to remain silent!


141 This is made evident not only by c. 28 9 vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitis loquar, but also by the fact that he alone speaks of maiores nostri (c. 30 6 34 1 35 3), while Maternus, addressing Messalla, designates the orators of the Roman republic as maiores tuos (c. 27 6).
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expressly indicated in the Dialogue, but clearly implied in the significant omission of his ancestor in c. 25 ff. This extremely meagre information can happily be considerably augmented from Tacitus himself.

Messalla was born about 46/7 A.D., for in the year 70 he had not yet reached the senatorial age, which had been fixed by Augustus at 25. In the war between Vitellius and Vespasian (69 A.D.), he was tribune of the seventh or Claudian legion, which formed part of the Moesian army, and subsequently joined the forces of Antonius Primus, then stationed at Hostilia, near Verona, taking part in the second battle of Bedriacum and at the siege of Cremona. After his return to Rome, he seems to have written historical memoirs describing, with the accuracy of an eye-witness, the chief events of the war, a work which Tacitus utilised as a secondary source for his narrative of this period.

Like the rest of the interlocutors, he was probably no longer living in the reign of Titus, and he does not appear in Pliny's correspondence. The high compliments which Tacitus, in the Histories, pays to his character and his oratorical accomplishments coincide so perfectly with what is said of him and what he is made to say in the earlier treatise, that we cannot but recognise in this

141 For 'Maiores tuos' has been misinterpreted to mean 'Your ancestor.' See note ad loc.
142 Tac. II. IV 42 magnum eo die pietatis eloquentiaque famam Vipsanum Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, aausus est pro fratre Aquillo Regulo deprecari.
143 Tac. III 9 f. Interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana advenit. Legioni tribunus Vipsanum Messalla praecerat, clarus maioribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas adivisset.
145 The identification of Vipsanum Messalla with M. Valerius Messalla — the cognomen is exceedingly common — who was consul with one M. Pedo Vergillanus in 116 A.D., though advocated by the great majority of scholars, from Lipsius, Schulze and Eckstein down to Steiner and Jansen, must be rejected. Partly because we should in that case have certainly met with his name in Pliny, who mentions his half-brother Regulus so often, partly because it is incredible that a man of his prominence and talents did not reach the consulship till past the age of 70!
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one of the many clear proofs of the identity of Tacitus with the
author of the Dialogue.\footnote{Cp. Classen, *Eos* I p. 6 ff. The fact that Messalla himself repudiates the name of an orator, though eminently entitled to it (c. 15+ ff.), indicates perhaps that the soldier and man of affairs took up the career of an advocate more as an avocation than a profession.}

Full of enthusiasm for the sublime oratorical achievements of
his countrymen, he represents, in pointed contrast to Aper, the
uncompromising laudator temporis acti who is unable to see in the
elocution of his time anything more than a deplorable corruption
and retrogression from the higher ideals and the chaster models of
the republican period. This remarkable change he primarily
attributes to the prevailing laxity of home training and the per-
nicious educational methods of contemporary rhetorical schools,
which totally unfit the young and ambitious aspirant to forensic
reputation for the practical duties of his profession. The close of
Messalla’s argument is unfortunately lost in the large lacuna after
c. 35. In what follows, quite a different subject is under discus-
sion, which unquestionably points to another speaker. Can his
identity be determined?

The problem here presented is intimately or rather inextricably connected with the question whether the existence of another
lacuna, not indicated in the MSS., must be assumed; and this in
turn depends upon the degree of homogeneity inherent in these
closing chapters, a point on which critics even to this day widely
differ. The problem is rendered still more complicated by the fact,
that even those scholars who postulate a second lacuna are not
agreed as to the place in the text to which it must be assigned,
some holding that the gap occurred before the words ‘Finierat
Maternus,’ while others insist that it must be placed after ‘admo-
vebant’ (c. 41’7). Still others deny the existence of any additional
lacuna whatever, attributing the whole argument from c. 36–42 to
Maternus. Under these circumstances, it will again be expedient,
before discussing what I hold to be the true solution of the diffi-
culties, to give a very brief historical survey of the phases through
which this controversy has passed.

As usual, it was a remark of Lipsius which started the problem
on its career, for to c. 42 init. in the first edition (1574) he in a
hapless moment jotted down these words: ‘Hinc colligere est quam multa huic syntagmati desint. Neque enim initium sermonis
Materni extat sed haec omnia continenter sub Messallae persona leguntur.' Lipsius did not pursue the thought any further, nor did he state his reasons, but he doubtless felt, as Lange and Steiner did at a later period, that the closing words were somehow inconsistent with the previous utterances of Maternus,¹⁸⁷ a conviction which subsequently culminated in Strodtbeck’s and Eckstein’s interpretation of Maternus’ closing address as ironical, a supposition which obviated the assumption of a lacuna and allowed the whole speech to be spoken uno tenore by the interlocutor whom the MSS. expressly designate as the last speaker.

Lipsius’ conjecture was universally rejected or ignored for nearly 300 years, until Steiner¹⁸⁸ endeavored to restore it to honor, only differing from him in that he substituted Secundus in place of Messalla, as the preceding speaker, partly because Messalla would otherwise have monopolised the discussion of all the causes of the decline of eloquence, partly because he was convinced that Secundus could not have been so strangely ignored by the author. A lacuna after c. 40 7 he rejected, because the MSS. do not indicate it.¹⁸⁹ Steiner found some support for Lipsius’ view in a few dots which Cyrillus asserted were found between the words ‘utatur’ and ‘finierat’ in the codex Farnesianus (C).¹⁹⁰ But even granting that these problematical dots pointed unmistakably to a lacuna, Steiner’s theory, which has found no follower save Weinkauff (p. lxviii, lxxxiv), falls to the ground, if it can be shown that the c. 36–42

¹⁸⁷ Lange apud Dronke p. xxiii note 5: Maternum dominationis laudes in exitu praedicantem sibi non satis constare. Steiner p. 30 f.
¹⁹⁰ “interest spatium distinctum ac lacunam indicans.” Eckstein in Walther’s edition, followed by most critics, supposed this insignificantly small space to have been left vacant “ad finem sermonis indicandum,” while Baehrens (Conn. Crit. p. 99 note) thought “nil nisi litteram initialem omissam esse scilicet a rubricatore addendum, id quod de Vaticano (A) quoque testatur Michaelis” (viz. interar—F in margine minio picturis erat librarius). But the very existence of these dots in C is doubtful. Michaelis is silent about the Farnesianus, and no trace of any dots or vacant spaces is found in the other MSS. in the place mentioned!
cannot be assigned to one single speaker, be his name Messalla, Secundus or Maternus, because of the heterogeneous character of their contents.\footnote{181}

Another theory was advanced by Heumann, who contended that a lacuna must be assumed after the words ‘facerès admovebant,’ because of the want of any organic connection with what follows. The words cited he regarded as the close of Messalla’s argument, while the remainder was assigned to Maternus. This view did not find a champion till Becker\footnote{182} strongly advocated it a century later, with the modification, however, that he too assumed the preceding speaker to have been Secundus, his grounds being similar to those advanced by Steiner. But this explanation was also neglected or rejected, until Andresen, fifty years still later, again returned to the original hypothesis of Heumann,\footnote{183} adding, what his predecessors had failed to do, a few passages as evidence of the contradictory character between the two parts. Finally the whole question was taken up anew by Habbe,\footnote{184} who in turn argues in favor of Becker’s solution of the problem.

The great majority of editors and critics, however, obstinately hold to the view that everything from c. 36 to 42 was spoken by Maternus, some of these clinging to the belief that Secundus did not speak at all,\footnote{185} while others maintain that he did so, but that his contribution to the debate, together with the close of Messalla’s argument and the beginning of Maternus’, was lost in the lacuna,\footnote{186} which they in consequence assume to be one of considerable magnitude.

\footnote{181} When Steiner also argues that Pontanus (the cod. B is the apographon of his copy, now lost) left the middle of p. 30\textsuperscript{a} and the whole of p. 30\textsuperscript{b} vacant, in the hope that the lost speech of Maternus might some day turn up, his prejudices allowed him to forget that if such had been Pontanus’ motive, we should, to say the least, have expected some space to have been left vacant after the word ‘utatur,’ and not merely at the close of the entire treatise ! Cp. also Baehrens l. c. and Meiser p. 53 f.

\footnote{182} Becker, Seebode’s Archiv II (1824) 71 ff., reprinted in Orelli\textsuperscript{1} pp. 95–98 and in Ruperti ad c. 35 ext. (Vol. IV pp. 445–447).

\footnote{183} Tacitus’ Dialogus als Schullecture, in Zeitschr. f. Gymn. XXV (1871) pp. 319 ff. In his various editions of the Dialogus, Andresen, however, continually vacillates between Secundus and Messalla as the speaker of c. 30–41 7.


\footnote{185} e. g. Eckstein, Peter, Wolff, John (Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift 1880 p. 534).

\footnote{186} So e. g. Brotier (see below) and Doederlein (Rhein. Mus. III p. 10).
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I am convinced that the explanation given by Becker and followed by Habbe is the only true solution of the problem, but their argumentation seems to lack precision and cogency, and has consequently failed to carry conviction. Perhaps the following remarks may contribute something to the more general acceptance of their view.

The chief objection of the conservative critics against the assumption of a lacuna seems to be that the MSS. furnish no clue to its existence. But the non-indication of a lacuna is by no means a clear proof of its non-existence. For while it may be admitted that the writer of the archetypon of our MSS. may have been careful enough to leave a vacant space, in the expectation that the missing portions might some day be found, the scribes of a later age, no longer cherishing such hope, would either content themselves with a few dots or a vacant space, which in turn might be easily overlooked by subsequent copyists, or else they would at once write on continuously, thus covering up all signs of an original gap. That this happened repeatedly in actual practice is a fact indisputably established by palaeographical research; nor are such neglected lacunae confined to the omissions of mere words and phrases. To show the inherent weakness of the objection in question, it is only necessary to draw attention to an instance very near at hand, which has nevertheless been completely overlooked even by the supporters of a second lacuna in the Dialogus. I refer to the condition of Bk. V of the — Annals of Tacitus! For after the words (c. 5) ' nec ultra deliberatum, quo minus non quidem extrema decernenter (id

enim vetitum) sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur,’ the Mediceus, one of the most carefully written MSS. which we possess, after an intervening space of only three or four letters, continues with ‘quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habita, and yet there is not only a huge gap in the narrative, covering a period of two years, but modern scholars, following Lipsius, even begin a new book at this point, no previous editor having had the slightest suspicion of a lacuna! Now when it is observed that the editors of the Dialogus before Beroaldus do not even indicate a lacuna after c. 35 (doubtless because they found none in the MSS. from which their text was printed) and that our best MSS. are some four centuries younger than the Mediceus and incomparably inferior to it in point of scholarly accuracy and care, it is certainly no rash inference to assume that the scribes of our late MSS. may possibly have failed to mark a lacuna after c. 41 7, supposing it to have existed in the archetypus, when a vacant space of three or four letters was thought sufficient to represent an immeasurably greater gap in the Annals, not to mention that it is just as possible that this small space may have been after all only intended to indicate the beginning of a new paragraph! We therefore conclude that even in the absence of any external evidence, the assumption of a lacuna will be methodically justified, if we can adduce weighty internal grounds in its favor. Happily these are not wanting.

The speaker of c. 36 had pointed out that the development of the splendid eloquence of republican Rome was directly conditioned and stimulated by the anarchical state of affairs which then existed (horum quoque temporum oratores ea consequi sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus). This is the very cornerstone of his argument, and he therefore, lest it be lost sight of, repeats it in the very next chapter (c. 37 20 f. sed ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis

168 It will also be noticed that both sentences, at the beginning and the end of the lacuna, are complete in sense, which disposes of another objection (made by Peter, Wolff, and others) to the effect that the grammatical completeness of the two sentences in the Dialogus (c. 41 7) militates against the assumption of a lacuna. As a matter of fact, gaps would be far more easily overlooked in such cases than if the sentence broke off in the middle, as it does in c. 35 ext. So e.g. in Plaut. Most. 940 A alone reveals the existence of a lacuna.
meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit). And yet we are asked to believe that the same speaker, after the fervid exclamation 'quantum ardorem ingeniis quas oratoribus faces admovebant,' immediately continued with 'non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur!' "Yes, we know you are not," so we can imagine his hearers saying, "for you had told us so at the beginning, and only just reiterated it in a still more emphatic manner, asking us to remember and understand that it is only 'turbida et inquieta tempora' that you have in mind; why then repeat it a third time, particularly as your eloquent exposition left no doubt on that point?" There is, therefore, a decided difficulty here, not to mention that the transition is intolerably abrupt and sudden. Now the assumption of a lacuna at this juncture solves this difficulty. But if so, it also follows that the words 'non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur' belong to a different speaker, the very phrase itself, as shown in my note ad loc., pointing to the same conclusion.

This inference will be fully justified, if we succeed in proving that the speech preceding the lacuna conflicts not only with the following utterances of Maternus, but also with those put into his mouth in c. 11–13. As these discrepancies have been duly noted and discussed in the Commentary, I can content myself in this place with a mere enumeration of them:

c. 36 17 plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae atque nominis apud plebem c. 6 ff.

c. 36 20 hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultero videbantur

c. 36 29 ff. cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent . . . ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat

c. 12 14 nec ullis aut gloria maior erat aut augustior honor 13 5 neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia etc.

c. 13 3 licet illos certamina et pericula sua vel ad consulatus evexerint
c. 13 18 remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi . . . nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem experiar 11 15 nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tue tur quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint
c. 36 15 magnis cumulare praemilis videbantur... facilius honores adsequebantur... hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant etc.

c. 36 4 quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribu fas erat. 38 10 omnia in foro... quod maius argumentum est

c. 36 7 moderatore uno carentibus... hinc contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris etc. 40 1 contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi ff.

c. 36 26 ff. cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere

c. 37 35 plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt

c. 36 11 hinc procerum factiones et adsiduas adversus plebem certamina

c. 38 3 ff. nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas... modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat 39 7 ff. est aliquid oratorum campus... saepe interroget index etc.

c. 37 19 ff. quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitas status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingeniam eloquentiae materiam subministrabant... non quia tanti fuerit etc.

c. 11 13 nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium conceptis non magis quam aera et imagines

c. 41 1 quod superest antiquil oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est

c. 41 15 ff. quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum... non multi... deliberent sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntatis accusationibus 40 21 nulla superiorum reventia.

c. 41 14 quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententis

c. 40 23 tuit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam

c. 40 21 nulla fuit in foro pac, nulla in senatu concordia

c. 41 22 f. nulla in judiciis moderatio... nullus magistratum modus

c. 40 26 nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

To my mind, these numerous contradictions and repetitions, with their polemical additions, are quite incompatible with the supposition that Maternus is the speaker throughout, and this may be further shown by some more general considerations.

In the first place, the high eulogy which is indirectly paid to the orators of the Republic, the intense admiration for their superior
oratorical achievement which pervades every line of c. 36–40 s (cp. esp. 37 11 ff.), is quite out of place in the mouth of Maternus, because he expressly restrains Messalla from indulging in a similar strain, regarding any panegyric of the eloquence of the republican period as superfluous. Cp. c. 24 11 expromine nobis non laudationem antiquorum, satis enim illos fama sua laudat 27 2 neque hoc colligi desideramus, disertiiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est.

Again in c. 36 23 ff. 34 f. the indispensability of eloquence is strongly maintained, but Maternus cannot well have shared this opinion, for otherwise he would hardly have bidden farewell to the forum. Maternus accepts the reason for the decline of eloquence as given by the previous speaker, but with this cardinal difference. The one contends that a sturdy eloquence, however desirable, if possible only under anarchical conditions, is no compensation for a peaceful commonwealth with a corresponding oratorical retrogression; the other leaves us to infer that he would rejoice in a superior oratorical development at any cost, though he prizes the blessings of peace no less highly than his friend. Maternus, as behooves the poet, in Aristotle's opinion, takes a philosophical view; he deals more or less with general truths. The attitude of the speaker of c. 36–40 s, on the other hand, is that of the historian who searches into the causes that underlie historical phenomena, and who illustrates his argument by concrete illustrations and learned detail. Cp. e.g. the reference to Mucianus, the date of one of Pollio's speeches, the enumeration of Cicero's orations, the allusion to an enactment in one of Pompey's laws, the discussion concerning the procedure in the law courts, the attire of advocates, and many minor items. 'Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate' proves conclusively that the same speaker gave the same reason for the decline of Greek oratory as for the Roman. But this exposition is again unsuited to the poet Maternus.

It furnishes the true solution, moreover, of the singular coincidence which Messalla had told his hearers often puzzled him (c. 15 13 quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem etc.). The passages dealing so successfully with this perplexing problem cannot therefore have been spoken by Messalla. The same inference must be drawn from a more external observation. Messalla's share in the debate takes up about three tenths of the
entire extant treatise. Now if we assume him to have continued
down to c. 40 s, including the certainly not inconsiderable portions
lost in the lacuna, he would have given *all* the causes of the decline
of eloquence, thus practically monopolising the entire conversation
after the close of Aper’s speech,—a preposterous supposition, un-
worthy of the literary artist who penned the Dialogue, and flatly
contradicted, not only by c. 16 s ff., but also by the fact that
Messalla had ceased speaking at c. 32 ext., being prevailed upon
only at the urgent request of the host to bring his discussion to
its proper close. But what follows from c. 36 on deals with an
entirely different subject. If, therefore, for the reasons given,
neither Maternus nor Messalla can be the speakers of the part
between the two lacunae, there remains only *Secundus*, the histo-
rian. How perfectly in keeping with his attainments and convic-
tions the passages thus assigned to him are, must be clear from
the foregoing remarks. We have also seen that there are other
strong grounds for believing that Secundus was not relegated to
the background, and that the very phrase in c. 39 s ipsum quin
immo curam et diligentis stilli anxietatem contrarium experimur
is preéminently appropriate to the individual whom Quintillian
had characterised as being ‘infinitae tamen curae.’

There is still one objection to the view here advocated which
calls for a brief consideration, as it has often been advanced to
show that an important role cannot well have been assigned to
Secundus in this debate,—namely, the omission of his name at the
close of the treatise [*’Ego’ inquit (sc. Maternus) ’te poetis, Messalla
antiquariis criminaлимur’ *’At ego (sc. Aper) vos rhetoribus et
scholasticis’ inquit]. A little reflection, however, will, I am con-
fident, be sufficient to dispose of this objection also, as it proceeds
from a strange misconception of the attitude of the respective
speakers. For Secundus, alone of the interlocutors, though an
admirer of the ancients, nowhere exhibits the uncompromising
antagonism toward contemporary oratory so marked in Messalla’s
answer to Aper, nor again does he extol poetry at the expense of
elocution, as does Maternus in opposition to the same Aper.
Furthermore, both Aper and Messalla attack or eulogise certain
oratorical manifestations in the *persons* of their chief representa-
tives; Secundus, on the other hand, simply analyses *conditions* from
an objective, historical point of view. His strong partiality for the
ancients is, in perfect keeping with the cautious nature of the man, brought out in a negative way by his contention that the moderns did not enjoy the essential conditions which made the oratory of the past what it was. The prerequisite element of a direct and irreconcilable antagonism between the two eminent teachers of Tacitus is therefore wholly and significantly wanting, and hence there existed no motive for including Secundus in the 'criminatio,' with which Maternus and Messalla on the one side, and Aper, their equally fervent opponent, on the other, good-naturedly threaten one another in parting.

Summing up the previous discussion, we conclude that, after Messalla had finished, Secundus followed in a speech, and that he in turn was succeeded by Maternus, who brings the entire debate to a close. But the beginning and end of Secundus' speech, the end of Messalla's, and the beginning of that of Maternus are lost in the two lacunae (c. 35 ext. 40?) which unfortunately disfigure the closing portions of the treatise.

There remains the vexed question as to the probable extent and contents of the lacuna after c. 35, the text breaking off and beginning in the middle of a sentence.

Of our MSS., only the X class (A and B) seem at first sight to furnish a definite clue to the exact size of the gap, both stating that six pages were missing. But unfortunately the Dialogus takes up 16 pages in A and 29 in B, which proves that the words 'sex pagellae' were simply copied from their common source, now lost, so that we are still ignorant as to the actual dimensions of the page in the original archetypion. Egger maintained that nine pages had been omitted, basing his calculation upon the worthless cod. Parisiensis 7773, but his premise is a pure fancy, and has justly been rejected by Habbe (p. 8). His own attempt, however, though ingenious, rests upon no firmer foundation, as he operates with two undemonstrable assumptions. He tacitly takes it for granted: (1) That the number six was found in the margin of the cod. Hersfeldensis (2) That the codd. Med. 47, 36 and 68, 1, containing respectively the letters of Pliny and Tac. Ann. V (VI), and written by the same hand, were copied from a codex miscellaneous, comprising also the Dialogus, the Germania and the Suetonian

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\(^{166}\) See also E (pp. 9\textsuperscript{th}-10\textsuperscript{th}): hic est multum: in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas.


\(^{171}\) Cf. op. cit. pp. 7-10.
fragment. If so, he argues, we can ascertain with mathematical accuracy the size of the page of the archetype by a simple comparison with the known extent of the omissions in Pliny's letters, these lacunae not being found in all MSS. of Pliny. Habbe thus calculates the gap in the Dialogus at one-seventh of the entire treatise.¹⁷³ With those who, like myself, are unable to attach any argumentative validity to his premises, the result reached by means of them will not carry conviction, and I am inclined to think that no satisfactory answer can be given to the question under notice without the accession of new MS. material.

In the determination of the contents of the lacuna, scholars were of course influenced by the views which they held regarding the degree of prominence given by the author to Secundus. Those who maintained that he did not speak at all were unable to invent anything else that might have been spoken by Maternus; of others who believed that Secundus' entire speech was lost in the lacuna, only Brotier has ventured to reconstruct in detail the topics discussed in the missing portions. His restoration, though written in fluent Latin, would scarcely deserve mention, save as a jeu d'esprit, did not Habbe, after giving a short synopsis of it (p. 10 f.), express his conviction that this supplement is in every way worthy of being rescued from oblivion. 'Atque Broterium,' he continues, 'melius meritum esse de aureolo illo libello recte perciendo quam nullulos illorum . . . partis amissae imaginem non multum a veritate abhorrentem ante oculos legitium exposuit.' ¹⁷⁴

This favorable comment is, in my judgment, a deplorable aberration, for Brotier's supplement is based upon a complete misunderstanding, not only of the scope and the plan of the Dialogue, but also of the attitude and the character of the interlocutors. The utterances put into the mouth of Messalla, of Secundus (six long chapters are devoted to him) and of Maternus are a kind of conglomerate or potpourri of criticisms, anecdotes and the like, culled from Seneca Rhetor, Velleius, Seneca the philosopher,

¹⁷³ I append the conclusion (p. 10):

3 " = 6 " " = " 3/3 + 1/1 = 1 1/3 = 1/3 (Dial.).
Dialogi autem quod reliquum est ad hunc codicem Mediceum ut 1 ad 6. Ergo
pars Dialogi amissa = 1/6 = 1") Q. E. D.

¹⁷⁴ The same favorable view is taken by Krauss, who incorporated the Broterian supplement into his German translation, Stuttgart 1882.
Quintilian, Pliny, Juvenal and Tacitus. Only a few selections from Brotier's restoration (?) can here be given, by way of illustration. Thus the over-cautious Secundus is made to fulminate 'ingentibus verbis' against the vices of his time! Seneca, who is dealt with at length, represents in his eyes the very incarnation of everything that is loathsome and corrupt in morals, oratory and literature. Even Largus Licinius—save the mark!—comes in for a good deal of seathing denunciation; an elaborate eulogy is pronounced upon Vespasian; Maternus is congratulated on his resolution to quit the forum amid conditions so hopelessly corrupt; the poet again gives his reasons for his determination, and then suddenly comes to the rescue of the too much abused rhetoricians (!), Quintilian being lauded to the skies, as a kind of prospective 'vagae moderator summe iuventae, gloria Romanae togae.' Human affairs are then compared with the human body, which passes from youth to maturity, and then to decay, and we learn with regret that nature is not prodigal of genius, and that every field of human activity has but one golden age, so to speak. The language of men is a mirror of the times in which they live, of which truth direct application is made. Maternus ends his epigrammatic philosophy by a characterisation of the eloquence of Demosthenes, and then proceeds as in the MSS. Some of Maternus' utterances are not unworthy of the contemporary of the French Revolution, and we actually hear of the powerful effect of eloquence in allaying internal dissensions or terrifying into retreat an invading army of foreign enemies! There is, in fact, scarcely a single thought in the entire supplement which is in keeping with the context or relevant to the design of the treatise or possible in the mouths of the interlocutors as Tacitus has drawn them! So far as I can see, there is but one topic that can, without fear of contradiction, be put down as having been dealt with in the portions now lost. It is, as already intimated, a more or less detailed treatment of Attic eloquence, introduced to show that the same causes that led to the development of a superior type of

174 One is sorely tempted to enquire why Secundus did not, under the circumstances, also retire.

175 The savage criticism of Seneca (a bombastic amplification of Quintilian X 1, 125 ff.), as well as the eulogy of Quintilian himself, supposed to have been uttered in 74/75, is of course an amusing anachronism!

176 See above p. lxxxii.
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oratory in republican Rome were operative in producing a similar phenomenon in democratic Athens. To attempt to go beyond this is to leave the terra firma of fact for the limitless regions of conjectural fancy.

III.—THE LITERARY SOURCES OF THE DIALOGUS.

The Dialogus de oratoribus purports to be, as we have seen, the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate which the young Tacitus had been privileged to listen to, and which, about seven years later, after the death of the noted interlocutors, still seemed to him of sufficient interest and positive value to merit the attention of posterity.

The great majority of editors and critics, with the solitary exception of Kleiber and Rausch, tacitly assume that the author's explanation of the origin of the treatise was given in good faith, a few only venturing far enough to concede at least the bare possibility that the debate in question may be in reality essentially unhistorical. The above-mentioned scholars dealt with this subject only incidentally, and neglected many clear indications of the correctness of their view. The following remarks will therefore not be out of place.

The Dialogus, we contend, is a treatise cast into the dramatic form of a debate by its author for the same reasons that prompted Plato or Cicero to choose this particular species of literary composition. For it, and it alone, enabled them thoroughly to discuss a subject from all points of view, without ex cathedra utterances or dogmatic exposition. The grounds which compel me to look upon the Dialogue in this light are briefly as follows:

(1) There is no instance of a similar work in any literature which can be regarded as strictly historical. In all dialogical composition the author invariably exercises the right of the creative artist to invent his characters and to place them in such situations, as may be best conducive to the accomplishment of his object, but, being an artist, he also endeavors to impart an air of verisimilitude to his creation by giving a kind of pictorial reality to the scenery

Kleiber pp. 19-21 Rausch pp. 5-7.
and by investing his dramatis personae with the requisite historical coloring. The letters of Cicero may be cited as accurately representing his own method of procedure no less than that of the ancients in general.\textsuperscript{178}

(2) The artistic structure and unity of plan which our treatise reveals is in itself sufficient to refute the supposition that the debate represents an accurate and faithful reproduction of an informal and improvised discussion between intimate friends.\textsuperscript{179}

(3) The language put into the mouths of the interlocutors is unmistakably Ciceronian in thought and phraseology.

(4) In the structure of the Dialogus the author has repeatedly appropriated dramatic devices and motives from Cicero:

\textsuperscript{178} Cp. esp. the dedicatory epistle to Varro (ad fam. IX 8): Feci igitur sermonem (viz. Acad. Post.) inter nos habitum in Cumano, cum esset una Pomponius. Tibi dedi partes Antochinas quas a te probati intellectu mihi videbar, mihi sumpsi Philonio. Puto fore ut, cum legeris, mirere nos Id locutos esse inter nos quod numquam locutis sumus sed nosti morem dialogorum ad Att. XIII 19, 3 sic enim constitueram newinem in dialogos eorum qui viderent . . . si Cottam et Varronem fecissim inter se disputantes . . . meum κανόν τριβοτον esset. hoc in antiquis suaviter fit ut et Heracleides in multis et nos sex de republica libris fecimus . . . sunt etiam de oratore nostri tres . . . puer me hic sermo Inducitur ut nullae esset possent partes meae . . . haec Academia, ut scis, cum Catulo, Lucullo Hortensio contuleram. \textit{Sane in personas non cadebant}, erant enim \textit{λογικότερα} quam ut illi de eis sommiasse unquam viderentur . . . acumen habent Antioch, \textit{nitorum orationis nostrium.} ad Quint. frat. III 5 (concerning the plan of the de republica), ad fam. I 9, 23 scripsi igitur Aristotelio more quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatone ac dialogo de oratore. See also the introduction of the de oratore and of the Laelius (1, 4): Catonem induxi senem disputantium quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa actate loqueretur . . . idonea mihi Laelii persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa disseret. \textit{Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitas.}

\textsuperscript{179} Cp. the previous chapter and the \textit{set} speeches throughout the Dialogue, with their careful announcement and subsequent recapitulation of the topics discussed, as well as the elaborate perorations (c. 5 i s f. 16 i s 17 i 22 i 23 ext. 26 i 28 f. 11 32 ext. 33 s ff. 14 f. 34 i ff. 28 f. 38 i). The following expressions are also out of place in an Impromptu conversation: c. 14 i is lucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista disputatis adferunt, tum etiam \textit{illa ad quorum aures perseverint} 27 s nec vos offendi debeat si quid forte aures vestras perstringat cum \textit{scatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem} ludicium animi citra damnnum affectus proferre (see above 'nosti morem dialogorum') 32 32 quo si forte haec audierint.
c. 1 1 saepe ex merequiris 10 ff. vix hercle andrerem si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum ... hominum sermo repetendus esset quos sandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes admodum iuvenis audi. ita non ingenio sed memoria et recordatione opus est
dearat. 1 2, 4 ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sanc satis explicata recordatio, sed, ut arbitror, apta ad id quod requiris, ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissim ... senserint de omni ratione dicendi de rep. 1 8, 13 nec nostra quaedam est instituenda nova et a nobis inventa ratio sed ... clarissimorum ... virorum disputatio repetenda memoria est quae mihi tibique adulescentulo est ... expressa, in qua nihil fere ... praetermissum puto.

c. 2 11 ff. Secundo ... Aper omni eruditione imbutus contunnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat tamquam maior ... gloriam habiturum si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis innitil videretur
dearat. II 1, 4 sed fuit hoc in utroque ut Caesar ... Antonius autem probabiliorem hoc populo rationem fore censebat, si omnino dicerisse numquam putaretur, atque ita se uterque graviorem fore, si contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur.

c. 3 1 igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendiimus
dearat. de nat. deor. I 7, 15 nam cum ferias Latinis ad eum venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exedra et cum Velleio disputantem.

c. 4 1 perturbarel hact tua severitate
dearat. I 51, 219 neque vero istis tragoidiis tuus perturbor.

c. 11 2 subridens Maternus 'parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat ... arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo ils qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent
dearat. I 17, 74 tum ridens Scaevola 'non luctabor tecum' inquit ... 'id enim ipsum quod contra me locutus es artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi quae ego vellem non esse oratoris concederes et ea ipsa ... rursus detorqueres atque oratori propria traderes.

c. 14 1 ff. vix dum finierat Maternus, cum Vipetanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est ... 'num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secre tum consulium ...' 'minime, minime,' inquit Secundus
c. 15 i tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum... mirari... cum... neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes... cum eam gloriam quam tibi auli concedunt ipse tibi denegares'

de rep. I 13, 20 tum Manilius: 'Per... glane eam, Laeli artem inludere in qua primum excellis ipse

Brut. 87, 297 rem commovistis nova disputatione dignam de rep. I 21, 34 erat sequum de re publica potissimum principem rei publicae dicere sed etiam quod memineram persaepe te cum Panaetio disserere solutum... qua in disputatione quoniam tu paratior es, feceris, si de re publica quid sentias explicaris, nobis gratum omnibus.

c. 16 i 'magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movistis, sed quae eam lustius explicabit quam tu ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantium ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit? 16 ii causas... quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro.'

de orat. II 7, 27 ipse obmutescam, nisi prius a vobis impertraro... ego, inquit Iulius, pro utroque respondeo Brut. 32, 122 de orat. II 89, 39 de leg. I 11, 32 de orat. II 29, 126 neque... nos privabis ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explores, neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse.

c. 165 ff. 'aperiam... cogitationes meas si illud a vobis ante impertravero... 'pro duobus,' inquit Maternus, 'promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exsequens eam partes quas intelleixerimus te non tam omissse quam nobis reliquisse'

de orat. II 7, 27 ipse obmutescam, nisi prius a vobis impertraro... ego, inquit Iulius, pro utroque respondeo Brut. 32, 122 de orat. II 89, 39 de leg. I 11, 32 de orat. II 29, 126 neque... nos privabis ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explores, neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse.

c. 2318 vos vero... ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi

de orat. I 8, 34 quam ob rem pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes atque in id studium in quo estis incumbite

c. 249 ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit sed more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contradicendi partes

de orat. I 62, 283 Atque nescio an alter sentias et utare tua mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine... in philosophorum consuetudine versatus

c. 2629 veritus credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excerpisset.

Brut. 65, 231 vereri te, inquit, arbitror, ne tibi succensent quos praeterieris de rep. I 1, 1 commemorare eos desino, ne quis se aut suorum aliquem praetermissum queratur.

c. 281 tum Messalla: non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris nec aut tibi

de orat. III 37, 148 tum Crassus: Per... volgatas, inquit, et tibi non incog-
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... ignotas etiam si mihi partes ad-
agnatis proferendi in medium quae
omnes sentimus.

c. 33 deinde cum Aper quoque et
Secundus idem adnuisset, Messalla
quasi rursus incipiens: quotiam,'
inquit

Hortens. fragm. 4 quod cum uterque
nostrum adnuisset Brut. 55, 201
cum haec disseruissem uterque as-
sensus est. et ego tamquam de
integro ordiensi; quando, igitur, in-
quam.

But if the Dialogue, barring a certain historical background and
a tolerably faithful portraiture of the interlocutors themselves,
must be regarded as a work of the creative imagination, the
question as to the Sources which the author consulted and utilised
at once assumes an independent and intrinsic importance.

That Cicero's works were the chief and foremost of these Sources
is universally admitted and sufficiently clear from the foregoing.
But that the youthful author's indebtedness to the great orator
extends far beyond phraseological imitation and the repetition of
dramatic motives, is made equally manifest by the astonishingly
large number of reminiscences of Ciceronian ideas in general.
Indisputable analogies in other ancient writers would alone have
amply warranted the assumption that Tacitus' appropriations were
not restricted to the passages expressly cited from Cicero.¹⁰⁰
Happily we are not confined to mere inferences, justifiable though
they be, for the singularly fortunate preservation of the originals
themselves still enables us to determine not only the precise extent
of this indebtedness, but what is incomparably more interesting
and instructive, we can also observe in what manner the writer
assimilated and utilised his borrowed material. Some of the more

¹⁰⁰ viz. the Hortensius (note to c. 16 28 and below) Orator
(c. 32 27) de orat. (c. 35 5), to which may be added Tiro's Life of Cicero (c. 17 7).
The following orations are incidentally alluded to: pro Tullio, pro Caecina
(c. 20 3 f.), pro Archla, pro P. Quintio, in Catilinam, the Phillippics (c. 38 26 f.),
pro C. Cornelio, pro M. Scauro, pro L. Bestia, in P. Vatium (c. 39 29), pro
Milone (38 27 39 21), in Verrem (c. 20 3 38 27). Finally the general statements
in c. 30 19 in libris Ciceronis reprehendere licet and c. 38 12 neque Ciceronis . . .
liber apud centumviri dictus legatur also seems to imply a profound knowledge
of Cicero's writings.
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striking of these reminiscences from among the many collected in the Notes may here be enumerated by way of illustration:

c. 5 20 ff. quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum...ultrro feras? ipse securus et... potestate munitus...eloquentia...praesidium simul ac telum quo propagare pariter et incessere...possis

d. 18 18 non esse unum eloquentiae vultum sed in illis quoque...piures species deprehendi nec statim de teriurus esse quod diversum est and c. 25 9-17.

c. 22 22 procul arceantur...oblitterata et obsoleta; nullum sit verbum velut rubiginem infectum

Brut. 56, 214 atque in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sunt dis similae. de orat. II 23, 94 III 7, 25.

c. 23 11 quos more antiquo apud indi cem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigatur perpetuitar

Brut. 84, 289 cum isti dicunt Attici non modo a corona...sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.

c. 30 24 ita est...ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia

de orat. I 6, 20 nemo poterit esse orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum scientiam consecutus. Et enim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio

181 See also Kleiber pp. 24–33 and the passages marked with an * in the index locorum s. v. Cicero.
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c. 31 1 ff. hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant... opus esse non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent

c. 31 to ff. de quibus copiose et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitateque vitiorum... ex his fontibus etiam illa profuunt, ut facilius iram judicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur.

c. 39 13 res velut in solitudine agitur, oratori autem clamore plusaque opus est et velut quodam theatro... cum tot pariter ac tam nobles forum coartarent etc.

de orat. I 33, 149 equidem probat ista ut causa aliqua proposita consimilis causarum earum quae in forum deferantur, dicatis quam maxime ad veritatem accomodate. Sed plerique in hoc vocem modo... exercent
deo orat. I 12, 53 quis enim nescit maximam vim existere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce isdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandas? quae nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.

That the lost dialogue Hortensius was also more extensively used than might appear from the solitary quotation in c. 16 28 could have been safely conjectured on general grounds, for it is not likely that an author who proves himself so profoundly conversant with Cicero's works would have neglected to pluck some flowers from the 'regina dialogorum,' as the Hortensius has been justly styled.182 One such reminiscence can still be traced with absolute certainty, while in two other instances direct indebtedness is at least not improbable.

Scholars have long ago demonstrated that Iamblichus in the Protrepticus as well as Cicero in the Hortensius alike drew upon a common source, namely Aristotle's Προτρεπτικός.183 Bearing this fact in mind, we may compare the following two passages:

182 That the subject of eloquence was also discussed in it has been shown by Plasberg, De Ciceronis Hortensio p. 34 f., although he strangely overlooked the passage cited from Augustinus.
183 For the detailed proof, see Bywater, Jour. of Phil. II 55 ff. Usener, Rhein. Mus. XXVIII 300 ff. Diels, Archiv f. Gesch. der Philosophie I 477 ff. The attempt of P. Hartlich, Leipz. Stud. XI 291–300 and passim, to show that
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Tac. Dial. c. 16 25 ff. quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi huius aevi perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit etc.

This remarkable parallelism cannot, in my judgment, be accounted for, except on the supposition that the passage preceding the direct citation from the Hortensius is also based upon this same dialogue.

Still another echo of this Ciceronian treatise I am disposed to find, although, unlike the previous instance, my suspicion does not admit of positive proof, in the following parallel with a fragment preserved by Augustinus, de trinit. c. XIV 9:

Si nobis cum ex hac vita emigraverimus in beatorum insulae immortale sevum ut fabulae ferunt degere licet, quid opus esset eloquentia cum judicia nulla fierent . . . nec iustitia cum esset nihil quod appetentur alieni nec temperantia quae regeret eas quae nullae essent libidines, ne prudentia quidem egeremus nullo defecto proposito bonorum et maiorum.

Dial. c. 41 7 ff. quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator . . . quid voluntariis accusatis omnibus (sc. opus est) cum tam raro et tam parce pecetur 12 ii felix illud . . . aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inope . . . inter quos neminem causidicum.

Finally, it may be remarked that the fact that the Hortensius contained a detailed discussion of poetry, lends some color to my conjecture that Tacitus was possibly indebted to it for some ideas found in Maternus' "Defence of Poetry."

That Tacitus had also read and studied the works of Seneca, the brilliant writer so popular in the days of his youth, may be confidently asserted, even if all positive evidence were lacking, which is far from being the case.

Cicero derived the bulk of his information not directly from Aristotle, but through the intermediary channel of Poseidonios, has not convinced me.

185 Cf. Quint. X 1, 126 tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescetium fuit.
This being so, we should not be surprised to find distinct traces of Tacitus' acquaintance with Seneca in the Dialogus. And accordingly Peter, starting out with this presumption, recognises this influence "in der Freiheit, mit welcher, wie unser Verfasser, so auch Seneca, nur in viel ausgedehnterem Maasse als dieser, dem Sprachgebrauch Gewalt anthut, um den Ausdruck bezeichnender und ausdrucksvoller zu machen" and in Seneca's fondness for epigrammatic expressions. Now it is curious to observe that in the many illustrations given by Peter of Seneca's stylistic audacity, the Dialogus either furnishes no analogous usage or, where it does, the expression is neither peculiar to Seneca, nor in any way characteristic. The same criticism holds good of the formidable array of evidence accumulated by Kleiber. For of the 64 instances of stylistic parallelisms between the Dialogus and the writings of Seneca cited, there is not a single phrase which can confidently be regarded as a genuine reminiscence. For even in the case of some synonymic collocations like emendatus et compositus (Ep. 4, 1 Dial. c. 41 2) or quietum compositumque (Ep. 100, 8 Dial. c. 36 5), which apparently do not occur elsewhere, it were extremely rash to assert, in view of the demonstrable fondness for similar fullness of expression, not only in the minor works of Tacitus, but in Latin writers generally, that they were taken directly from Seneca! The other instances present at best but a very remote resemblance, whether in thought or diction, or they are of frequent occurrence elsewhere, or purely commonplace and nondescript.

188 Einleitung pp. 10-14.
189 See also Kleiber pp. 78-80. But this is a highly characteristic feature of the stylistic individuality of Tacitus, conspicuous in all his writings. Cp. p. xlii.
190 This applies also to the use of incipit sequitur with inf. (c. 16 22), for which Novák (p. 160) adduces a number of parallel instances from Pseudo Quintilian's Declamationes: 26, 5 quare si apparuerit te malam causam habere, incipis rem iniquissimam postulare 160, 5 quotiens nullo praecinitum est tempus, incipit esse 213, 8 illo vero sublato incipit ultimum esse quod relic tum est. The others cited from 233, 9 and Quint. III 6, 17 are not in point.
191 pp. 73-80. Index locorum s. v. Seneca.
192 As it is inexpedient to reprint Kleiber's entire list, I must content myself with a haphazard selection, which will, however, be sufficient to substantiate the statement made above: hoc enim vocari solebant (Sen. Dial. II 18, 41 and c. 1 6), toto animo incumbam (Ep. 72, 2 — c. 3 13), intra se (Dial. XII 5, 1 — c. 3 12), malignis sermonibus (Dial. VII 17, 1 — c. 3 4), securum esse (Dial. II 2, 1 — c. 5 9), rebus prosperis (see note c. 5 24), quicquid optimum est (Dial. XII
The works of Seneca, moreover, with the solitary exception of a few epistles, like the 100th and the 114th, furnish little or no material which the author of a treatise on eloquence might have incorporated with advantage. Tacitus, under the influence of Quintilian's teaching, took Cicero for his model, and the Dialogue in consequence betrays at every turn the paramount influence which the profound study of all the orator's writings exerted upon the youthful author. This fact alone renders it intrinsically improbable that he should at the same time have allowed himself to be captivated by the scintillating brilliancy of Seneca's style, a view amply borne out by the absence of all genuine reminiscences. We therefore conclude that, while an acquaintance with the writings of Seneca on the part of Tacitus cannot be denied, we are not justified, on the face of the evidence accessible to us, in including his works among the sources of the Dialogue.

Ancient writers rarely cite their authorities, and Tacitus is no exception to this rule. Sometimes, however, the source of some particular piece of information is given, and if the original work is fortunately still extant, as for example in the case of Cicero, we are apt to discover to our surprise that the extent of the author's indebtedness is far greater than one could have supposed. Now this fact, for which we possess numerous analogies, necessarily creates a very strong suspicion or presumption that a closer relationship, than might appear at first sight, exists, where an equally casual acknowledgment is made to some work, preserved to us only in fragments, as the Hortensius, or entirely lost. To this latter class belong the compilations of Mucianus, entitled 'Acta' and 'Epistolae,' which are known to us only from a solitary reference in the Dialogue. The former of these, as has been remarked
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in the note to c. 37 8, was undoubtedly a kind of oratorical anthology. If so, it is in the highest degree probable that some other similar details concerning the orators of the Republic, especially in those instances in which the Brutus of Cicero could not have been Tacitus' source, were culled from Mucianus' handy collection.

To this 'Quelle' I am disposed to assign the interesting passage in which we are told that the great orators of the Republic delivered no speeches before the centumviral court, Pollio's celebrated speeches for the heirs of Urbinia constituting only an apparent exception. See note to c. 37 14.

The other passage which, in my judgment, was taken from the 'Acta,' is the close of c. 34, which gives the age at which Crassus, Caesar, Asinius Pollio and Calvus made their oratorical début, and the names of the men whom they prosecuted on that occasion. For it will not be denied that it is intrinsically improbable to suppose that Tacitus laboriously collected each single item from independent and necessarily widely scattered sources, a hypothesis rendered the more precarious, when it is remembered that our passage contains two palpable chronological errors, and that one of these data (concerning Crassus) is given correctly by Cicero in the de oratore, with which dialogue our author, as we have seen, was very familiar. The detailed information bears all the marks of having been due to some compendium or annalistic record of literary history. Several works of this kind are known to us. But the Chronica of Nepos were unavailable, because they were published before 63 B.C., and could not, therefore, have included Pollio's speech against C. Cato; the Annales of Atticus are also excluded, because they constituted Cicero's source in the de oratore.

The Annales of Fenestella recorded the dates of the speeches of celebrated orators, their chronology having already in his day become confused, as we may infer from a well-known passage in Gellius.184 Tacitus may, therefore, have been indebted to this

183 See my note to c. 34 32 ff. (p. 324 f.).

184 N. A. XV 28 Cornelius Nepos et rerum memoriae non indiligens et M. Ciceronis ut qui maxime amicus familiaris fuit. Atque is tamen in librorum primo quos de vita illius compositum, errasse videtur cum eum scripsit tres et viginti annos natumprimum causam iudicii publici egisse Sextumque Rosciun... defendisse. Dinumeratis quippe annis... sex et viginti anni reperiuntur... In qua re etiam Fenestellam errasse Pedianus Asconius animadvertit quod eum scripsisset sexto vicensimo anno pro Sextio Roscio dixisse. Cp. also Transact. Am. Phil. Ass. XX p. 147.
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author for his information, the errors included. But since the data under notice are of a nature extremely well suited to a work such as we must conceive the 'Acta' of Mucianus to have been, and as this collection is expressly cited in the Dialogue, it will be more methodical to assume this same publication as the direct source of Tacitus, while Fenestella or Varro may possibly have been among the informants of Mucianus.

But not only were the 'Acta' probably laid under contribution in the two additional instances just dealt with, but Tacitus' indebtedness to the 'Epistolae' of Mucianus seems also not to have been confined to the passage in which they are cited, for I feel convinced that what we learn of the epistolary war waged between the adherents of the Attic school and Cicero (c. 18 21 ff. 25 23 ff.) is directly based upon this identical compilation, it being again extremely unlikely that Tacitus had recourse to the not easily accessible original letters of Brutus and Calvus, when he might have availed himself of Mucianus' labors. The same convenient edition of these collected letters was doubtless used by Quintilian and perhaps by Plutarch.

I must still discuss one other possible source of Tacitus, to which the Dialogus itself, however, furnishes no direct or indirect clue.

The remarks on the education of children, put into the mouth of Messalla (c. 28 f.), are admittedly among the most interesting and beautiful passages of the Dialogus. F. A. Wolf was, indeed, disposed to regard them as the gem of the entire treatise, and even Gutmann expressly exempts this portion from his otherwise disparaging criticism. Now the impression of a certain maturity of judgment and experience which these chapters unquestionably leave in the mind of the reader, has led some scholars to think that the author must have been more than 27 years of age when this tirade against the laxity of contemporary educational methods was written, from which it would follow that the Dialogue was not composed in the reign of Titus, and all that this inference implies. But the early date as well as the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogue rests upon too firm a foundation to be thus easily overthrown, for even admitting, what is by no means certain, that Tacitus at the age of 27 would not likely have given expression to the views in question, it does not seem to have occurred to any one

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186 c. 37 32 haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent...
186 See note c. 18 21.
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that Tacitus, here too, as elsewhere, may simply have followed in the footsteps of one or more previous writers, and this seems in fact to have been the case.

The education of children was frequently made the subject of monographic treatment by the ancients, more particularly by the Greeks.\(^{187}\) The originals have unfortunately been entirely lost, or preserved only in meagre and insignificant fragments, but among these Chrysippus' Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς seems to have been the most extensively used. Its popularity was not so much due to any originality of treatment, stylistic charm or profundity of observation, for the Stoic Chalcénteros was not distinguished for any of these qualities, but rather to the accumulation of the opinions of others,\(^ {188}\) which could not but make his compilations a repository of useful information, highly welcome to later writers. We are accordingly not surprised to find that Quintilian, in discussing the education of children, has recourse to this identical treatise of Chrysippus, and, what has hitherto escaped notice, that the unknown author of Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς, which has come down to us under Plutarch's name, is also indebted for some of his material to the same Stoic source. The indisputable proof of this is furnished by the following passages:

Quint. I, 1, 4 Ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus quas, si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optavit, certe quantum res pateretur, optimas eligit voluit. et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est.

Ps. Plut. c. 5 τὰς γε τίθεις καὶ τροφοθεῖς, όδός τις γυναῖκα, ἀλλ' ἕν όλην μάλιστα σπουδαία δοκιμαστέν ώστι c. 6 ἐργατόν πρῶτον τὰ μὲν σπουδαία τοὺς τρόπους ἐν μένῳ Ἑλληνικά καὶ περί τρανα λαλεῖν ἵνα μὴ συναπαρακαίμησοι βαρβάροις.

I 3, 14 caedi vero discentes, quamlibet et receptum sit et Chrysippus non improbet, minime velim, primum

Ps. Plut. c. 12 κάκειν φημι, δεῖν τοὺς παιδεῖς ἔτι τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἐπισθενῶν ἄγνων παρακλέεσοι καὶ λέγοις, μὴ μὰ Δία πληγαῖς

\(^{187}\) See the list of titles in Wytenbach, Animadv. to Plutarch's Moralia, Vol. I p. 32 f., Graefenhahn, Gesch. der Philologie II p. 162, and Graesberger, Erziehung und Unterricht II pp. 9-12. Of Latin treatises, only Varro's Catus, de liberis educandis, is known to me.

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quia deforme atque servile est ... 

But if Quintilian and Ps. Plutarch drew from the same fountain, it follows that other striking parallelisms between them, where Quintilian, however, fails to acknowledge his direct indebtedness, can only be explained on the same assumption:

Quint. I 1, 2 f. præstat ... ingeni

I 1, 8 de pueris vero ... idem quod de nutritibus dictum sit: de paeda-
gogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim, aut se non esse eruditos sciant

I 1, 6 in parentibus vero quam pluri-
mum esse eruditionis optaverim

190 Chrysippus' Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς is quoted by Quintilian in three other passages, to which there are no strictly analogous parallelisms in Ps. Plutarch: I 1, 16 sed ali quoque auctores, inter quos Eratosthenes, idem praecipuus, mellius autem qui nullum tempus vacare cura volunt, ut Chrysippus. nam is, quamvis nutritibus triennium dederit, tamen ab illis quoque iam formandam quam optimis institutis mentem infantium iudicat. I 10, 32 et Chrysippus etiam nutritum illi quae adhibetur infantibus adlectioni suum quoddam carmen adsignat. I 11, 17 cum praeesit in haec chironomia quae est, uti nomine ipso declaratur, lex gestus ... et a Chrysippo in praecptis de liberorum educatione non omissa. The last phrase also bears witness to the completeness of the Greek treatise, for to say 'nor has this been omitted by Chrysippus in his precepts etc.' implies that Quintilian would have been very much surprised, had he done so. The word χειρομοία itself may have been coined by Chrysippus; at least it does not seem to occur before the time of Lucian, being found, significantly enough, in the περὶ ἀρχήσων c. 78. The verb χειρομοίειν is met with occasionally in Plato e. g. de leg. 705d. 706e.
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I 3, 8 danda est tamen omnibus (sc. pueris) aliqua remissio quis nulla res est quae perferre possit continuum laborum etc.

I 1, 36 nam et maxime necessaria est ... memoria et ea praecipe firma tur atque altur exercitacione etc.

Now the Dialogus of Tacitus contains a number of equally striking coincidences with passages in the Ps. Plutarchean treatise. It therefore follows that he too is ultimately indebted to Chrysippus' Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγαγής, the common source of Ps. Plutarch and Quintilian:

c. 5 Δεί δὲ ... αὐτὰς τὰς μητέρας τὰ τέκνα τρέφων καὶ τούτοις τοις μαστοῖς ἅπτεμαι. συμπαθητεύον τὰ γάρ θρήσκων καὶ διὰ πληθος επιμέλειας οἷς διὰ ενδοθν ... ἀγαπᾶν τὰ τέκνα. αἱ τίποτε δὲ καὶ αἱ τροφαὶ τὴν εὕρων ἐντολήν ἐπόδηλων ... ἔχουσιν, ἄρα μαστοῦ φιλοῦσι.

c. 28 13 ff. nam pridem suus cuique filius ... non in cellula empta nutricis sed in gremio ac ait matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et insinuere liberis.

c. 28 16 aut eligebatur maior aliquae natu propinquaque cuius probatis speci tatisque moribus ... suboles committeretur.

c. 29 1 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alci ac collae cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servius plurumque vilissimus nec cili quam serio ministerio accommodatus.

c. 29 3 horum fabulis et erroribus virides statim et teneri animi imbuntur nec quisquam ... pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat.

200 There are other traces of Chrysippian influence in this treatise, which it would be irrelevant for my present purpose to enumerate. Cp. however, e.g. c. 4 init. with Plut. De Stoic. repugn. p. 1033 (Chrysippus Περὶ βιων).
c. 14 καὶ μέντοι καὶ θὶ αὐλοχολογίας ἀπάστερον τοὺς ἄσθενες. . . . Εἰπά γὰρ μὴν ἔστεντικος αὐτὸς εἶναι παρασκευαστῶς καὶ φιλοπροστήμιον. ὡς γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τῶν ἡδῶν ἐστιν ἐξαισθήτη εἰτε. 
Cp. also Quint. I 2, 6 ff.

We may also compare:

c. 8 ο ν τὴν συμμετρίαν τῆς λέξεως καὶ τα- πείνωσιν παραίτησι διευθετεῖθαι. . . . καθάτερον δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐ μόνον ύγιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθεῖαν εἶναι χρή. καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑστατίως οὐκ ἄνοιξιν μῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐφωνίαν εἶναι δεί.

c. 9 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλῆς ἐπαινεῖται μόνον τὸ ἐπικείμενον καὶ διαμάζεται.

c. 28 18 coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu 29 6 quin etiam ipsi parentes non prohibitae neque modestiae parvulus aduen- factunt sed lasciviae et dicactitae per quae paulatim impudentia in- repit.

c. 33 10 neque enim solum arte et scientia sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri 19 nisi ut scientiae meditatio, medicitioni faculas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat . . . si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitazione separat. See notes ad loc.

c. 37 ext. ut secunda velint, periculosæ extollant. See crit. note.

Finally, I desire at least to suggest the possibility that Varro's Catus, de liberis educandis, may also have furnished our author with some ideas. Tacitus unquestionably knew the writings of Varro (see notes c. 23 9 30 18); that he was acquainted with the particular treatise just mentioned, can of course not be convincingly demonstrated. It is still cited by Gellius N. A. IV 9 and Macrob. Sat. III 6, 5, but what appears to me especially significant, is that Tacitus uses 'educare' in c. 28 16 of physical training. I have been able to find but one other passage where this word must have the same meaning, namely in an example cited by Nonius from—Varro, de liberis educandis! Varro, moreover, as is well known, was the laudator temporis acti par excellence, so that nothing is more probable than that a complaint, similar to that put into the mouth of Messalla, may have been made in his Catus. A

Cp. esp. the fragments of the Γεροντοδίδασκαλος, the man of sixty and the like.
slight self-contradiction of Tacitus, moreover, seems also to betray an earlier source. The author makes Messalla say that the time-honored custom by which a young man would attach himself to some great orator, had gone out of vogue in his day (c. 34 init.), and yet Tacitus represents himself in the introduction as conforming to this very practice! Now this discrepancy is at once accounted for on the supposition that Tacitus is here simply echoing the views of his 'Quelle.' But be this as it may, deny, if you will, that neither Chrysippus nor Varro was directly consulted, the fact that the chapters on education are not entirely original with Tacitus must nevertheless, on the strength of the evidence accumulated above, be regarded as indisputable.

We have seen that the author of the Dialogus is under the greatest of obligations to previous writers, notably Cicero, but in spite of this we cannot but admit that Tacitus, even in his youth, was no servile imitator, but that he assimilated his borrowed material in such a manner as to make it practically his own, admirably succeeding in producing a work, homogeneous in construction, artistically elaborated in its style, and bearing all the outward indications of an original composition.

IV.—STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

A. Syntax.

1. Substantives.

(1) Abstract for concrete:

ingenia (c. 2 6), amicitia (c. 8 18 Ann. II 27. 77), clientelas (c. 30 17).

(2) Abstract plurals:

amicitia (c. 5 14), voluptates, comitatus, egressus, gaudia (c. 6 14).

202 On the originality of Tacitus in his larger historical works, see the very able discussion in Fabia, op. cit. pp. 206–312. 416–452.

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4. 14. 18), tribunatus, praeturae, consulatus (c. 7 s f.), lasciviae, lusus (c. 10 16 f.), educationes, pravitates (c. 28 23 23).

(3) **Rhetorical plurals**: Menenii, Appii (c. 21 31).
(4) **Substantival adjectives and participles**: See s. vv.
(5) **Cases**.

a. **Accusative**: cogitare (c. 2 3), arguere with acc. of the person (c. 5 13), audio (c. 10 17), anteire (c. 36 17). Intransitive verbs compounded with prepositions, e.g. praececurrere (c. 20 4), antecedere (c. 25 14), obrectare (c. 25 23).

b. **Genitive**: with 'incertus' (c. 13 22), — **objective gen.**: desidia, advocationum (c. 4 4), memoriae mei (c. 18 28), fori auditor, sectator judiciorum (c. 34 27), ambitu comitiorum (c. 37 17).

— of price: pensi habere (c. 29 6), tanti est (c. 37 28 40 25).

— One gen. depending upon another: populi diversissimarum aurium copiam (c. 34 16).

c. **Dative**: incumbere (c. 3 14), patrocinari (c. 10 27), inesse (c. 33 17). — So-called dat. subiectivus: mihi sudatum (c. 4 8), vobis aperiri sequum est (c. 32 20).

d. **Ablative**: Modal and **instrumental** abl. of gerund (c. 11 6 33 15—14 22 27 6 36 2); causal abl.: vi et potestate, iure et legibus (c. 19 23 25 28); abl. of **attendant circumstances** = abl. absol.: concursu (c. 6 5 *39 21); abl. of **rest**: tumulo (c. 13 23).

2. **Adjectives**.

(1) **Substantival use of adjectives**.

a. **Masc.**: antiqui, veteres (c. 5 16 18), plures, alieni, invidi (c. 5 12 21 22), orbi, locupletes, imperitl (c. 6 8), negotiosi, peregrini (c. 7 12 17), natales (c. 8 15), olim nati (c. 16 18), diserti (c. 17 3), studiosi (c. 21 9), posteri (c. 23 27), priores (c. 25 16), parvuli (c. 29 7), infestis, tristes, cupidis (c. 31 17 f.), prudentes (c. 32 16), propinquii (c. 34 3), nobiles (c. 39 16), sanis (c. 41 9).

b. **Neuter Singular**: secretum (c. 12 1), honestum, iustum, inusto (c. 31 5 f.). Especially common in adverbial phrases like: in quantum, in tantum (c. 2 13 41 20—24 13 32 23), in futurum (c. 4 6), in contrarium (c. 15 10 16 11), in publicum, in commune (c. 20 29), in medium (c. 28 3), in publico (c. 2 7), in proximo (c. 16 25), in medio (c. 18 2). For exx. from the other writings of Tacitus, cf. Ruperti, Index Latinit. p. 805 f. Dr. Stil p. 5. 27. 29. 36.

c. **Neuter Plural**. Very common and generally with a genitive e.g. arcana dictionis (c. 2 9), sacra studiorum (c. 11 9). Without a genitive e.g. summas (c. 10 20), sacra (c. 13 19), vetera (c. 37 6). In the ablative only twice viz. omnibus (c. 19 20 *36 7); in the dat. once (c. 37 14). No instance of the gen. plur. occurs in the Dialogue, and but rarely in the Agricola and Germania.
(2) *Predicate adjective for adverb*:
cotidianum hoc patrociniun exerce (§ 4 4), diem lastior em
egi (c. 7 1), surrexit universus (c. 13 8), trepidus expeiar (c. 13 21),
tempetivus interveni (c. 14 4), invit us retulli (c. 23 2), paratior
rem . . . venturum (c. 33 24), absentes dare, prae sentes dicere
(c. 36 26 f.), altior, excelsior . . . agit (c. 37 37).

(3) *Comparison of adj. (and adverbs)*:
Rar forms are: sordidius, abiectius (§ 8 11), notabilia r (§ 8 12),
honorificentius (§ 9 9), audientius (§ 18 7), distinctior, politior
(c. 18 10), fidelius (§ 34 26), absolutissimus (§ 5 9), impeditissimus
(c. 19 10).

(4) *Adjective = objective genitive*:
historialis favor (§ 29 11).

(5) *Adjective = subordinate clause*:
ipse securus = cum eis securus or securus ipse (§ 5 23), egregius
(c. 8 16), mitior (c. 27 4). This usage is highly characteristic of
Tactian style.

3. **Pronouns.**
b. hic 'the present, now in vogue': § 12 9 *17 16 24 ext. 37 37.
c. ipsa in the nomin. with oblique case of poss. pronoun: § 3
12 12 15 7 15 12 33 23 37 36.
d. Reflexive for indefinite pronoun: alibi ipse (§ 6 7).
e. quisque with plural predicate: sui quisque . . . redderent
(c. 1 17).
f. alius in negative clauses or with 'sine': c. 6 2 *7. non
sine alius tremptatone (c. 6 22). — In conditional clauses:
§ 41 7 21 9 20 10 9 17 20. — alius = quidam (§ 39 6).
g. quisquam used adjectively: nec cuiquam serio ministerio
(§ 29 3).
h. quid = cur, in indirect questions: § 17 5.
i. alius with relative pronoun, followed by indicative: § 10 15
*6 9.
j. utrique = uterque: § 2 6 16 22.
k. ulli as a substantive: § 12 14.
l. is = tallis: non eo . . . tecto, ea . . . supellectili (c. 22 17 19),
ea electio, is ordo, ea . . . ubertas, ea . . . brevetas (c. 23 22 ff.),
ea natura est (c. 37 38). This usage is more common in
Tactus than in previous writers. Cf. the many exx. (44) in
Lex. Tac. p. 709.
m. is for the reflexive pronoun: si ingenium elus . . . inniti vide-
retur (c. 2 17), ut pro eo versus facias (§ 9 13). Not else-
where in the minor writings, but frequent in the other works.
See Lex. Tac. p. 709 f.
n. vester = tuus: § 10 14.
o. Change of persons: apud nos arguam (*crit. note c. 5 12).
See also note c. 1 10.
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p. Omission of pronoun, see under 'Ellipsis.'

4. Adverbs.

a. Nunc 'now, however, instead': *c. 26 27.

b. Hinc 'out of such conditions': *c. 36 16.


d. Cum maxime 'just now': *c. 16 29.

e. Ideoque = itaque: *c. 31 32.

f. Longe = multo: *c. 32 3 33 10. 24.

g. Plane = nimirum: *c. 26 32; with comparative: *c. 27 4.

h. Adhuc = etiamutum: *c. 25 33. Cf. also Dr. Stil p. 8 f.

i. Fere (ferme, the form exclusively used in the later writings of T.) does not occur as a pred. adj. or as an attributive, although other adverbs are frequently so used by T. It is everywhere an adverb pure and simple, and as such joined to the verb, even though it occasionally signifies 'ut fieri solet, ut plerunque fit' (see Lex. Tac. s. v. fere, ferme): *c. 20 2 *31 7.

j. Ceterum resumptive: *c. 26 20; transitional: c. 26 1; adversative: *c. 12 11.


l. Olim: In Tacitus always of the past, as in c. 16 18 32 19. On the position of adverbs, see 'Collocatio verborum.'

5. Verbs.

(1) Simple for compound:

servere (*c. 1 18), dare (*c. 8 30), pellere (c. 17 19), flectere (c. 19 4), fateri (c. 25 9), cludere (c. 30 27), parare, sectari (*c. 34 24), finire (c. 38 6), agitare (c. 41 8).

(2) Compound for simple:

consurgere (*c. 6 15), demonstrare (*c. 7 17), prosequi, recurrere (c. 9 10. 12), denegare (*c. 10 11), pertrahere (c. 17 21), determinare (*c. 22 26), desumer (c. 37 36), deparcare (*c. 38 19).

(3) Some noteworthy uses:

vertere as a middle (*c. 4 3), nasci ad (*c. 5 13 6 4 10 23), dare = tribuere (*c. 6 7), audiri = auditu cognosci (*c. 7 18), mereri = consequ *c. 9 26), ferre and finire used absolutely (*c. 10 20 — *c. 14 1 42 1), referunt quod (*c. 25 23), delegare = committere (*c. 29 1), abnuere = negare (*c. 33 11), cumulare aliquid aliqua re (*c. 30 14).

(4) Moods:

a. Infinitive.

a. defendere datur (*c. 7 8). — educere sustinuit (*c. 26 24).

b. Nom. c. inf. with verba: liber dictus [esse] legatur (*c. 38 14), leges [fuisse] traduntur (*c. 40 14); with adj.: con-
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tentus (*c. 18 13 23 s 26 28), manifestus (*c. 16 11), obnoxius (c. 10 27).

γ. Acc. with infinit. after: concedere (*c. 12 19 33 23, but with 'ut,' c. 11 6 21 20), negatived 'dubito' (*c. 18 17).
δ. Infinitive as subj. with abstract noun as predicate: quod gaudium ... coire populum etc. (*c. 6 18), voluptas quam spectare (c. 6 11). Cf. also Ag. 26 malora fama ... oppugnare ultra 44 grande solutam tulit evasisse Ann. XI 20 labor effodere rivos XIV 14 cupiduo erat curriculo insistero ... studium cithara ... canere.

b. Indicative.

a. After sunt qui: sunt apud quos ... meretur (*c. 31 22).

β. In oratio obliqua: *c. 17 19 *25 4 *30 17 *32 32.

c. Subjunctive.

a. Potential: timuerim (c. 13 2), cesserit (c. 18 10), vocaverimus (c. 18 4), negaverim (c. 20 14), dixerim (c. 32 21), possis (c. 22 14).

β. melius fuisset for erat (*c. 41 6).

γ. After nec: See 'nec.'

δ. Deliberative: an invideret (c. 25 20).

e. Subj. of characteristic: qui ... fateretur (*c. 17 17).

ζ. Consecutive subj. in relative clauses are very numerous, but they do not call for special comment.

η. Repeated action: e. g. c. 18 3 19 15.

θ. Indefinite frequency: c. 19 11.

υ. Assimilation: adferrent ... dum ... redderent (*c. 1 17), ut arriperet ... inclinasset (*c. 28 27).

(5) Tenses.
a. Perfect.


β. Perfect infinitive = pres. inf.: velim impetrum (*c. 16 10). In *c. 24 6 inmutasse non debet, the action is regarded as already completed. On incipit (= sequitur) extitisse, see c. 16 32.

γ. Perf. subj. = present, in subordinate clauses: ut ita dixerim (*c. 34 7 40 19).

b. Future = present: fatebor (*c. 21 1), apparently confined to the first person of a small group of verba dicendi et declarandi.

c. Sequence of Tenses: edidit ... pervenerint (c. 8 s f.). But perhaps 'pervenirent' is the genuine reading.

6. Participles.

(1) Substantival use:

periclitantes (c. 5 22 et saep.), tacentes, dicentes, orantes (c. 6 16 18 19), intenti (c. 7 19), salutantes (c. 12 14), adactentes (c. 20 8), iudicantes (c. 20 23), sequentes (c. 25 10), praepicientes
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(c. 28 6), discentes (c. 30 1), invidentes, timentes (c. 31 18), faventes (c. 34 21), vitiae (c. 35 19); in the singular: medentes, regentes, cognoscentes (*c. 41 10, 13, 19), in confessio (c. 25 6 27 3).

(2) Future participle for an adj. or adj. clause:
manus (*c. 8 22), dicturus (c. 10 33), duraturus (c. 22 15 34 23) and perhaps habiturus (*c. 2 16).

(3) Nomin. of fut. part. with accusative:
adepturus (?), see crit. note c. 10 20.

(4) Perf. pass. part. = abstract noun:
occupatus et obsessus animus (*c. 29 11), Quintius defensus (c. 37 26).

7. GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

(1) As an adj.: pudendus (*c. 32 14).

(2) With a preposition = abstract noun:
circa educandos formandosque liberos (*c. 28 12).

(3) With 'habere':
spectanda haberemus (*c. 8 11), expectandum habent (c. 19 25), dicendum habuerit (c. 31 19), respondendum haberent (c. 36 29), dicendum habeas (c. 37 17). But in *c. 13 12, concupiscendum habent, the gerund takes the place of the missing adjective 'concupiscibilis.'

8. PREPOSITIONS.

(1) With accusative:
a. AD. With verbs: ad exempla vocare (c. 13 12, see also crit. note c. 10 20), accedere (c. 16 2 31 3 36 31), componere (c. 41 2), nasci (*c. 5 11); with adj.: fructuosius etc. (c. 5 16); = 'in accordance with': ad utilitatem (c. 5 19 30 29).

b. adversus (-um). On the form, cf. c. 45 16 30 Lex. Tac. s. v. = praec. differentiam nostrae desidiae. . . adversus acermina . . . studia eorum (*c. 33 5); = contra: *c. 36 12.

c. ANTE 'superior to': ante Ciceronem numeret (*c. 26 31).

d. APUD: apud quos = in qua civitate (c. 40 18). See Lex. Tac. p. 91. 'de scriptore': apud te Agamemnon . . . diserte loquitur (*c. 9 6).

e. CIRCA: tempus circa Medeam consumas (*c. 3 17), circa excessus (c. 22 12), circa . . . liberos (c. 28 12).

f. CITRA = sine: citra annum (*c. 27 19), citra obtrectationem (c. 41 20).

g. INTER: inter quos 'in whose company' (*c. 12 15 Lex. Tac. p. 667), inter manus = in manibus (*c. 3 2).

h. INTRA: intra me ipse formavi (*c. 3 12).

i. IIXTA in a temporal sense, a dr. l.p.: iuxta finem vitae (*c. 22 8).

j. PER. For the instrumental ablative, per quae (*c. 24 5 33 20). In c. 19 22 29 8 32 8 we have an acc. of extent. — per ipsum stare (*c. 21 37). Cf. also H. III 72 per mores nostros liceret Ann. III 29 per leges quaesturam perepet.
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k. post 'inferior to': post Gabinianum (c. 26 22). See 'ante' above.

l. propter as a causal particle: In Tacitus only twice, 'ob' being used instead. Propter magnitudinem cogitationum (c. 21 20), tantum propter ('for the sake of') Neronem... pugnaretur (H. I 85).

(2) With ablative:

a. A (ab) with 'audio': a Calvo male audire (c. 18 26).

b. ex: auditorium...ex invidia (c. 34 21); in a modal sense, ex comparatione (c. 23 9), ex interrogatione eius (c. 39 11).

c. pro: 'as,' pro pignore (c. 13 23); in proportion to, pro mediocritate (c. 7 4); pro dignitate rerum (c. 30 29); 'ex': pro memoria mei (c. 13 26).

(3) With accusative and ablative:

a. in: in Neronem improbam...potentiam (c. 11 9); ad: paratus in obsequium (c. 41 13); usque ad: in hunc diem (c. 17 16); up towards: in illa sacra illosque fontes (c. 13 19), in ipsam arcem (c. 10 19), in caelum laudibus ferebatur (c. 19 16); in locum (c. 12 11 17 10); in publicum, in contrarium and the like, see under 'Adjectives' 2 (1) b. — With a concessive force: in summa rerum omnium abundantia con- ficientes (c. 6 12); inter: oratores in quibus (c. 17 1), sit in apparatu eius (c. 22 20), nec in virtutibus nec in vitulis numerantur (c. 31 12). Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 610; in fastidio, in laude, in honore, in consuetudine (c. 18 17 19 15 32 31).

On the change, repetition and anastrophe of prepositions, see below under 'Collocatio verborum.'

9. PARTICLES.

(1) Copulative Conjunctions.

a. et:

a. At the beginning of a sentence: c. 4 1 16 5 28 1 32 27 33 1.


γ. etiam, c. 40 20 13 24 21 27 (twice) and 25 13 (by conjecture).

δ. With comparative force: pariter et (c. 5 28 39 13).

e. Epegegetic: c. 6 19 *7 16 20 13 28 19 33 9 36 9.

σ. Joins a specific term to the more general: c. 2 12 *9 1 13 3 16 29 19 7 24 20 8 *22 18 24 10.

υ. Joins synonymous verbs: c. 4 3 7 8 8 22 9 16 30 11 7 *17 20 22 22 26 24 30 25 32 6 33 9 39 22. See 'atque.'

θ. Joins an attributive adj. and genitive: See critical note c. 10 36.

ι. et ipse 'likewise': c. 30 1 37 13.

κ. Before a negative: et nullis (c. 12 8 28 6). Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 394; after a negative: (c. 2 10 4 4 21 3 5 26 17 27 20 25 22 18); et...et after a negative: c. 5 5 34 11; ne-quidem...et: c. 10 1.
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1. After an *asynedon*: See critical note c. 37 18.
2. *Polysynthetic*: 'et,' more than *twice* repeated; *c*. 10 17 25 15 16 37 11 Ag 37 G 40 and H. IV 53.

b. *ac* (*atque*).
   a. *ac non*: *c*. 1 11.
   c. *Polysyndeta* with *ac*: *c*. 17 12 39 16.
   e. *atque* combining two verbs, standing in *causal* relation to each other: *c*. 4 3 6 27 15 2 12 *17 29 23 4 32 6 and critical note to c. 20 7.
   f. *neque . . ac*: c. 1 19.

c. *que*.

4. *nec* (*neque*).
   γ. *nec (neque) = ne — quidem*: *c*. 8 26 *21 37.
   ε. With optative: experiar (*c*. 13 21); jussive subj.: determinet (c. 22 ext.), respondeat (c. 32 1).


7. *quoque = vel*: c. 6 18 *30 22.

(2) *Disjunctive* Conjunctions.
   a. *aut*.
      γ. *aut = et*: *c*. 18 3 40 3.

b. *vel*.
   a. *restrictive*: dicam . . . vel idem ut rideatur (c. 39 2).
   β. *subordinated* to 'aut': aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro (*c*. 28 3); or to 'ive': sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem (*c*. 5 28 critical note).

(3) *Adversative* Conjunctions.
   a. *sed*.
      a. *Subordinated* to 'sed': sed haec . . . proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, *sed* (*c*. 8 11).
      β. On the omission of 'sed,' see 'Ellipsis.'
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b. AUTEM.
   a. Marking contrast, usually after 'quidem,' e. g. ceteros quidem... Marcellum autem (c. 8 21 ff. et saepius).
   β. In transition: vitio autem malignitatis (c. 18 16 et saep.). Tacitus, in the later writings, like Horace (Ep. II 1, 199. 260 A. P. 53), very rarely employs this particle; never in the Agr.; twice in the Germ. (13. 16); in the Hist. only IV 3 and perhaps II 20; in the Annals six times; in the Dial., under the influence of Cicero's diction, we find it 22 times.

c. NON modo (non... modo), non solum, sed tantum — sed etiam (sed... etiam), sed quoque: *c. 2 6 *7 13 *14 16.

d. QUIDEM concessive: *crit. note 35 14.

(4) Causal Conjunctions.
   a. NAM.
      β. In interrogative clauses: c. 13 11.
      γ. Implying an ellipsis: *c. 2 13 *9 1 25 23.
      δ. Beginning a narrative, for the more usual 'igitur': *c. 2 1 19 1.
      ε. namque: See 'Collocatio verborum.'

   b. ENIM.
      a. In parenthesis: c. 8 2 9 2 13 24 12.
      β. In interrogative clauses: c. 5 4 6 3 28 4 41 3 13.
      γ. Implying an ellipsis: *c. 1 16 *5 4 *16 14.
      δ. Position: See 'Collocatio verborum.'

(5) Illative Conjunctions.
   a.igitur and ıtaque.
      a. igitur, resumptive: *c. 3 1. Lex. Tac. p. 550 f.
      β. igitur, marking the close of an entire argument: *c. 8 28.
      δ. On the position, see 'Collocatio verborum.'

   b. ITA = itaque: *c. 17 19 11 13 34 18 36 31.

   c. ERGO resumptive: *c. 34 1.

10. PARTICLES IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.
   a. quod.
      a. nec refert quod, ἢρ. ἢρ. (*c. 25 16).
      β. brachylogical use: quod invicem se obtructaverunt (*c. 25 23).

   b. quia.
      a. = 'inasmuch as': *c. 15 14.
      β. = non quia with subjunctive and indicative: 'non quia poeta es (*c. 9 13), non quia tanti fuerit (*c. 37 28).

   c. QUATENUS = quoniam: *c. 5 11.

   d. UT.
      a. opus esse ut (*c. 31 2), sufficere ut (*c. 32 1). Probably
used to avoid the subordination of one infinitive to another.

β. restrictive: ut nostris temporibus (§c. 1 11).
γ. concessive: ut beatissimus . . . eventus prosequatur (§c. 9 19).
δ. ut = ita ut: nisi ut scientiae meditatio . . . accedat (§c. 33 19).
ε. ut sic dixerim: §c. 34 7 40 19.
ζ. ut si 'as if, by way of example': ut si in Graecia natus esses (§c. 10 21); ut si (= quasi) . . . vidisset (c. 10 9). In Tac. always with imp. or plup. subj.

Θ. quominus = quin: nihil te . . . terrenq q. (§c. 3 8); as an epexegetic adverative particle 'but that': adeo . . . non satiant q. (§c. 3 15), ubi nemo contrarier dicit q. (c. 34 11), after 'deesse': §c. 21 13.

ζ. tamquam = ut introduct the opinion of others: §c. 2 2 15 18 38 35 14. With future participle: §c. 2 18. Cf. also Dr. H. S. II 680. 818.

η. quamquam: with ind. only twenty times in Tacitus, to sixty instances with subj.: §c. 8 6 24 8. With ellipsis of some form of 'esse': quamquam . . . grata (§crit. note c. 6 27). So also Ag. 18 H. I 14 Ann. I 13. At the beginning of a sentence 'of course': §c. 28 8 33 17 and G. 17 Ann. XII 65. sicut — ita = quamquam — tamen: §c. 11 7 37 19.

ι. quamvis, denoting a fact. In Tacitus only with subj.: §c. 2 10. With adjectives, some form of 'esse' being understood: quamvis in diversa ingenis (c. 25 21). So also Ag. 9 quamvis inter togatus and Ann. XV 41 quamvis in tanta . . . pulchritudine. Cf. in general, Dr. H. S. II 768. 815.

ι. etsi.
α. In Tac. always with indicative: c. 36 4 3 §c. 22 2 (crit. note).
β. etei non — at certe: §c. 19 21.

ι. etiam, introducing a fact: §c. 28 2.

κ. licet in a concessive clause: §c. 9 5 13 3.

λ. postquam: with plup. ind.: §c. 22 8 38 ext. More common in Tac. than in other writers.

μ. antequam.
α. antequam with imp. subj. in oratio obliqua: causas ex-
quiritim quis te solitum tractare dixisti, antequam te
Aper offerret (§c. 27 5).
β. antequam with pres. subj.: §c. 5 1.

ν. quando = cum: §c. 13 24 (crit. note).

ο. cum. Temporal, with indic.: §c. 9 14.

π. dum.
α. A 'dum' clause subordinated to a 'cum' clause: §c. 1 17.
β. 'until,' with subj.: c. 10 25.
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γ. Approaching a causal 'cum' in meaning, with ind. in oratio obliqua: *c. 32 33.
ζ. donec: 'as long as,' with perf. ind.: *c. 8 17 40 20 f.
η. ut = cum, with ind.: ut semel vidi (c. 10 8).
ς. si, nisi.

a. Present subj. in protasis and apodosis: c. 16 25 26 2 and Ag. 46 Ann. III 64.
β. Potential perf. subj. in apodosis of an unreal condition:
c. 3 19 quibus vix suffeceris . . . etiam si importasses.
γ. The apodosis is a future participle: habiturus, si . . . vide-
retur (*c. 2 16 f.).
δ. Perf. subj. in conditional relative clause, expressing re-
peated action: ad quorum aures pervenirit (*c. 14 20).
ε. 'Pervenerit' may, however, be construed as a fut. perf.
η. nisi after expressions like 'parum est,' in place of an
adversative coordinate clause: cum parum esset . . .
breviter censere, nisi quid . . . tueretur (*c. 38 29).
ξ. nisi forte . . . nisi qui: *c. 21 24.
η. si forte, with subj.: *c. 27 8 32 ext.
ζ. sic with indic.: *c. 6 22 28 27.
ι. The protasis is an adj.: ut frigidissimos quoque oratores
ipsa . . . studia incendere potuerint (*c. 39 29).
κ. Parataxis in place of a conditional clause: *c. 17 10.

11. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.
a. an, with 'utrum' omitted *c. 32 4. = aut: *c. 13 13.
b. utrumque: *c. 35 7 37 16.
c. quid = cur: See 'Pronouns.'

12. AGREEMENT.

(1) Predicate in the plural with two subjects in the sing.
in adversative clauses:
egos te poetis, Messalla antiquariis criminabimur (*c. 42 6). A
striking characteristic of Tacitean style.
(2) Predicate in the sing. with two subjects:
vis et utilitas . . . intellegitur (c. 5 25), fama et laus . . . com-
paranda est (c. 7 11), vulgus . . . et . . . populus . . . vocat (c. 7 17),
numen et caelestis vis . . . edidit (c. 8 9), ne opinio quidem et
fama . . . sequitur (c. 10 1), cura quoque et meditatio accessit
(c. 16 4), formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam
(c. 19 8), malignitas et invidia tardaverit (c. 23 26), disciplina et
severitas eo pertinebat (c. 28 24), vis et facultas . . . cluditur
(c. 30 26), accedebat splendor rerum et magnitudo causarum
(c. 37 14 f.), minor oratorium honor obscuriorque gloria est
(c. 41 12), modus et temperamentum defuisset (c. 41 23 f.).
In all similar cases the subjects are synonymous or nearly so,
and hence coalesce into one thought.
(3) **Predicate agrees in number with the nearest of two or more subjects:**
est quoddam ... pondus et constantia (*c. 6 20*), recta est indoles 
et bona spes sui (*c. 7 14*), reliquenda conversatio amicorum et 
incunditas urbis (*c. 9 30*), vulgus ... et adfluent et vagus auditor 
adsuevit (*c. 20 8 f*), sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae 
(*c. 22 20*), omissa modestia ac pudore (*c. 26 18*), incusato Asinio 
et Caelio et Calvo (*c. 26 24*), quies et ... otium et ... tranquillitas 
et maxime principia disciplina ... depacaverat (*c. 38 ext*), 
clientela quoque ac tribus ... legationes ac pars Italicae ... 
adsisteret (*c. 39 29*). The verb usually precedes in these 
instances. See also c. 37 14 cited under (2).

(4) **Relative pronoun referring back to the nearer antecedent:**
praesidium simul ac telum, quo (*c. 5 28*), nemora vero et luci et 
secretum ipsum quod (*c. 12 1*).

(5) **Neuter plurals, with two feminine abstract nouns:**
lasciviae et dicacitati per quae (*c. 29 8*).

B. **Style and Rhetoric.**

1. **Collocaatio verborum.**

a. **Substantives.**

b. In the combination of *two proper names*, the praenomen or 
cognomen is *added to both or omitted in both*, for the sake of 
symmetry: *c. 2 5.11 3 20 8 1 f. 23 13 10 f. 15 17 17 25 18 9*
(Catoni seni — C. Gracchus. Here ‘seni’ takes the place of 
a cognomen) 10. *17 (crit. note) 20 4. *11 23 8 f. 25 31 26 2 f. 32 
*34 32 f. 35 4 37 9 f. 25 f. 39 20 f. 40 3 f.

c. **Object placed between two predicates:** intulerit Ictus et 
exceptit (*c. 37 35*).

d. **Object follows predicate:** ut pateretur et leges (*c. 40 25*).

e. **Gen. with demonstr. pronoun precedes** the noun upon 
which they depend: eiusdem aetatis oratores (*c. 22 3 crit. 
note), eorumdem temporum disertos (*c. 25 14), eiusdem 
familiae suboles (*c. 28 17), eiusdem aetatis patronos (*c. 34 14*).

f. **Obj. gen. precedes:** vitae omnia consilia factaque (*c. 6 19*), 
H. V 16 fessis bello pacis amor praemiaque.

(2) **Adjectives.**

a. **Unus**, when joined to another adj. not a numeral, *follows* 
longum et unum (*c. 17 13*), solus statim et unus (*c. 34 31*), 
sapientissimus et unus (*c. 41 16*).

b. **Attributive adj. expressing a characteristic quality of the 
substantive, precede; postpositive attributives convey a 
special emphasis,** e. g. profluens sermo (*c. 2 14*), pravae inter-
pretationi (c. 37) 4 1 5 2 6 1 7 14 12 15 32 14 36 9 38 4 40 14 41 11 — ardore juvenil (c. 2 8), reum locupletiorem (c. 5 8), voluptatem brevem (c. 9 4), clamorem vagum, voces inanes, gaudium volucris (c. 9 23 f.), usus recens (c. 12 19), naturam humanam (c. 31 11), leges adsidueae (c. 39 9), causae centum-virales (c. 38 10). Cf. also Dr. Still p. 91, who cites but one of these instances. *Sacrosque reges* is no exception, as Dr. l. c. supposes, for *sacer* is a *standing* epithet of *rex*, and always *prepositive*. If the author had intended ‘sacer’ to be emphatic, he would doubtless have placed it after *reges.* Cf. note c. 12 15.

c. **Pred. Adj. in Attribute Position:** vel praecipua lucunditas est (c. 6 26), firmus sane paries (c. 22 15), quarum civitatem severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur = q. c. d. et l. severissima (ae) fuisse traduntur (c. 40 15). 

(3) **Verbs.**

a. Pred. **Precedes:** See above 12 (3).

b. Pred. **Follows,** in citations: ut Vergilius ait (c. 13 17).

c. Pred. **Placed between** two objects: sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem (c. 34 30). See note c. 37 35.

d. **Inquit,** unusually far removed from the beginning of the sentence (c. 3 15 42 ext.).

(4) **Pronouns.**

a. Position of **ipse:** intra me ipse formavi (c. 3 12), tibi ipse (c. 3 20) c. 7 1 15 7.12 36 23 37 36.

b. Position of **idem:** Out of 500 instances in Tacitus, an attributive idem and its inflected forms is *postpositive* only Ann. II 14 III 69 VI 32 XIII 17 (for euphonic reasons) XIV 9. See critical note c. 22 3.


d. **Indef. Relat. Pronoun Followed by Alius:** *c.* 5 9.

(5) **Adverbs.**

a. **Quoque misplaced:** testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis (c. 38 29).

b. **Anastrophe of adverbs:** nostra potissimum actas (c. 1 3), excogitata subtiliter, dicta graviter (c. 11 3), 6 2 12 7 13 7 *17 5* 22 8.15 28 6 29 4 31 23 34 13.

c. **Adverbs, Adj. or Pronouns modifying two Adj., Verbs or substantives are placed between them:** fabulosa nimis et composita (c. 12 19), 4 9 6 5.14.28 7 13 9 16 10 9.23 11 7.13.18
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12 13 20 15 1 17 8 17 26 1 26 21 32 2 34 11. 23. 31. An exception occurs c. 1 20 multum vexata et inrissa.

d. _plerumque_ in a _non-superlative_ sense, two passages out of twenty-two excepted, is _prepositive_ in Tacitus: *crit. note c. 6 a.*

(6) _Prepositions._
a. In Tacitus the preposition _is not repeated or varied, except in adversative and asyndetic clauses_. See the _crit. note c. 10 25._
b. _Anastrophe_ of the preposition, though common in the later writings of T., is in the Dialogus confined to formulaic expressions such as: _ea de re_ (c. 24), _quem ad modum_ (c. 33 7), _magna ex parte_ (c. 35 12). See c. 8 19 13 19 (crit. note).

(7) _Conjunctions._
a. _enim_ in third place: *c. 30 23.
b. _igitur:_ Out of 174 instances in Tac., _igitur_ is post-positive but seven times: c. 8 26 10 35 20 29 Ag. 16 G. 46 H. IV 15 Ann. I 47. See note c. 3 1.
c. _Anastrophe._
a. _namque:_ *c. 19 6 Ann. I 5 III 43 IV 43.
β. _quia immo:_ *c. 6 7 34 34 38 33 (by conjecture) 39 9 G. 14.

2. Rhetorical Structure.

(1) _Anaphora._
a. _Substantives:_ c. 13 6 22 14 35 ext.
b. _Adjectives:_ c. 3 17 22 5 *38 6 17 38 8 40 14 f. 18 30 21 41 9 25.
c. _Pronouns:_ c. 7 11 f. 9 28 12 6 23 ext. 28 ext. 30 13 22 34 4 f. 36 19 41 14 ff.
d. _Particles:_ c. 6 6 9 10 18 8 30 20 32 8 f. 37 2 f.
e. _Prepositions:_ c. 8 15 30 16 32 31.

(2) _Chiasmus._
c. 5 10 6 22 7 16 8 ext. 9 ext. 10 12 31 70 f. 12 14 *29 ff. 13 20 9. 15 9 14 ff. 18 11 19 18 f. 21 34 f. 22 ext. 20 3 22 29 17 30 2 32 15 f. 34 27 35 19 *36 ext. 37 18. 32 40 11. 17. For ext. in the other writings of Tacitus, see Weinkauf p. 98 f.

Under this head we may also include the following peculiar collocations: _nullis contacta vitia pectora_ (*c. 12 5), _communibus ducta sensibus oratio_ (c. 31 25) and _ceteris aliarum studii artium_ (*crit. note c. 10 18_).

(3) _'Antimetāboly:_
percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis (*c. 33 20), ridiculum videbitur quod dicturus sum, _dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur_ (c. 39 2) and _perhaps 28 18, where see crit. note._

(4) _Climax:_
scientiae meditatio, meditationi _facultas, facultati usus_ (*c. 33 19), _ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia_ (c. 30 24 f.), _ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae._
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numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fatesur (c. 32 s f.), sine adparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim, sine ingenuitate (c. 32 21), magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum judicli (c. 34 s f.).

(5) Ὑστερον πρότερον:
probatis spectatissque (c. 28 16), confermare et alere (c. 33 s crit. note).

(6) Hypallage: eo tragoediae argumento (c. 2 3) 25 id
(7) Epanalepsis (iteratio):
minime, minime (c. 14 7), ita est . . . ita est (c. 30 22).

(8) Libration of Clauses (ισόκυλα) e. g.:

(9) Antithesis: See p. xliii note 82.

(10) Pleonastic collocations.
a. ANTE (PRIUS) PRAEDIXERO (c. 18 7 28 12).
b. INGRIDI AUSPICATUS SUM (c. 11 8). 'maturare festino' is perhaps wrongly regarded as pleonastic. See note c. 3 12.
c. NEMPE ENIM: *c. 35 12.
e. SYNONYMS: See p. liv f. and notes to c. 4 2 5 1. 22 6 3. 11. 22 7 8 9 7. 11 9 31 10 1. 31. 36 11. 7 13 4. 18 15 1 16 14 17 28. 29 19 23 23 10. 26 24 2 25 27 26 10 28 10. 24 30 9 32 6 20. 29 33 16 35 22 36 5. 22. 30. 34 37 10. 22. 37 38 17 39 8. 14 40 20 41 2.
f. AMPLIFICATION OF CLAUSES: quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem ista significacione determinetis (c. 10 16), more veteret et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato (c. 24 10), nemo . . . sumebat (c. 38 4), donec erravit, donec . . . confect (c. 40 20).

(11) Alliteration:
*c. 2 13 4 9 5 22. 23 11 11 12 5 f. 13 1 16 14 17 29 18 15 22 11. 17. 22 29 9. 12 30 25 31 11 32 16 f. 40 10 and cursu . . . colore . . . cultu (crit. note c. 20 6 f.), lascivia . . . levitate . . . licentia (c. 26 8), apud principes . . . apud patres . . . apud plebem (c. 36 19).

(12) Ὄμοιοις ὑμῖν (ὁμιότατω): eloquentiam colam solam (c. 4 10), Saleium Bassum cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam (c. 5 6), litterarum incudissimum oblectamentum cum (c. 14 19), latus clavus oblatus (c. 7 2), minorem honorem (c. 12 20), militarem rem (c. 28 22), propioribus temporibus (c. 21 30), quemquam nostrum quamquam (c. 24 7 f.), serio ministerio (c. 29 3), qui scit quid sit (c. 31 15 f.).
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(13) Collisio syllabarum:
ille leges (c. 3 s), illi liberae (c. 19 x), ipsum securus (c. 5 x), servi videntur (c. 13 x), similior oratio (c. 14 x), minor oratum (c. 41 x), libertatem temperatis (c. 23 x), flamma materiae (c. 36 s), arbitrati tuo (c. 42 s). But these quotations are not open to the well-known censure of Quintilian, because of the difference in quantity. See note c. 14 x and also Mayor to Iuv. X 122 fortunatam natam. Gerber, Spr. als Kunst I 388.

(14) Figura etymologica:
texto teci (c. 22 x). In c. 33 x and 34 x it seems to have been intentionally avoided.

(15) Ellipsis.

d. Comparatio compendiosa: poeta cum qua oratorum similior oratio (c. 14 x).

b. Zetica: landis et gloriae et ingemii loco (c. 26 x), ingenio ac spiritu sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutatus est (c. 24 x), valetudine ... corporibus utatur (c. 41 x). See also note c. 35 x.

c. Coniunctio ad sensum:
a. Subject to be supplied from preceding noun: Caesarem inferenti arma Britanniae ... adpressi sunt (c. 17 x).

b. Affirmative verb to be supplied from an expressed negative: nec male dicta simularentur nee bene dicta dissipularentur (c. 34 x).

d. 'Omission of verb in dictum.

a. Inquit: c. 41 x.

c. Governing the etsi oratis: etsi quid respondere possit: [disce] hinc ingentes adessens (c. 10 x), suse eloquentiae ... educationem referat: [dicit enim] se ... dissimulasse (c. 30 x).

f. Three decl. ne dissimilis sseculum (c. 17 x).

f. Ex. 11 x ad soluta: [disce].

c. Different tense to be supplied from preceding verb: nec 74 ita dictum erat ... quam ess [dies ago].

d. Ellipsis of conjunct.

a. Inquit: esse: c. 2 x, 4 x, 5 x, 10 x, 12 x, 12 x, 18 x, 22 x, 23 x, 25 x, 32 x, 33 x, 35 x, 37 x, 38 x, 39 x, 40 x, 41 x, 44 x, 45 x.

d. Inquit: fere: c. 6 x, 9 x, 12 x, 18 x, 11 x, 22 x, 23 x, 31 x, 37 x, 39 x. After these minima: c. 19 x, 35 x. After quamquam: c. 9 x et alii notatio. Cf. Lese. Tac. p. 1248.

d. Substantive: Perfect = indirect questions: c. 18 x nec quemque ... dissimulasse [disce]. Imperfect: habiturus es in vico but see note on.

f. Particular form of esse c. 3 x, 29 x, intrinsecum aut alterum ilium [dic patiente]. 5 x x summum ... abundantia (dove
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quamquam sint), 8 18 principes fori [δωρε[ι, cum essent],
21 4 in eodem valetudinario [δωρε[ι, incas, versantes].
g. Of substantive: *c. 21 8 Calvi [libros, orationes] in Asitium.
h. Of demonstrative pronoun: c. 5 15 17 28 23 15 *32 6 37 24.
   — With quidem: non [illum] quidem meliorem (*3 8) 5 31
   9 13 *34 18.
i. Of particles. sed: *c. 6 19 10 32 21 5 37 28 *35 14 (crit.
j. Asyndeta: fastidium, oderunt, Calvi mirantur (*c. 23 19)
   35 8 ff. See 'Anaphora.'

(16) Inconcininity.
a. ἀντικείμενο: quod non a principi aceperint nec aci[i potest
   (*c. 8 24).
b. Anacolutha: *c. 9 13 *16 27 *32 27.
c. Tanta — quam: *c. 6 10. quo — tanto *37 34.
d. Positive following comparative: altior et excelsior et illis
   nobilitata (*c. 37 37).
e. Change of tenses: qui ... se fateretur interuisse ... qui
   se ... acceppisse narrabant (*c. 17 26).
f. Attribute adj. and genit.: privatius et nostri saeculi con-
   troversias (c. 10 36,’but see crit. note).
g. Prepositional phrase and simple case: See crit. note c.
   16 26.

(17) Figurae sententiarum.
a. Metaphors.
   c. Human body: c. 18 19 *21 33 26 17 31 19.
   d. Nature: c. 20 18 21 17 22 22 24 2 *28 8 30 25. — *c. 9 15
      *28 16.
   e. Dress: *c. 6 17 26 5 *31 22.
   f. Some noteworthy miscellaneous metaphors: c. 8 7 10 12
      20 10 26 3 28 28 31 22 33 3 38 7 40 6.
      Tacitus and post-Augustan writers generally rarely em-
      ploy apologetic particles like quasi, velut, tamquam, quid-
b. Personification: *c. 8 19 *12 7 32 18 37 34 38 7 27 — 24 15.
V. — THE MANUSCRIPTS. 204

The extant MSS. of the Dialogus, all of the 15th century, are derived from the copy 205 of a MS. of unknown date, discovered in some German monastery and brought to Italy about the year 1457/8. 206

That this apographon belonged to the Vatican library, as is generally assumed, is, in my judgment, more than doubtful, for the fact that Calixtus III and Pius II were no patrons of learning, cannot possibly account, as Michaelis strangely imagines, for its early disappearance from the library, not to mention that the great humanist Pope, Nicolaus V, was no longer living (†1455) when the unknown works of Tacitus, so long expected by him and Poggio, finally reached Italy. The precious MS., in all probability, passed into private hands or, like the cod. Mediceus discovered by Boccaccio at Monte Cassino, into some cloister's library, where it was


205 That it was not the original MS., has been shown by Reifferscheid pp. 410 f. The provenance of this MS. is involved in obscurity. Reifferscheid argued in favor of the monastery of Fulda, which is known to have possessed the works of Tacitus, for Rudolfofus of Fulda (†865) and his successor, Meginhard, incorporated into their joint work, the Translatio S. Alexandri, whole chapters of the Germania (c. 4. 9. 10. 11. See Massmann p. 180). In his Addenda p. xiv, Reifferscheid preferred Corbey, from which cloister he believed Rudolfofus borrowed his copy of Tacitus. Others, on more plausible grounds, favor the monastery of Hersfeld, for in Poggio’s correspondence (cf. Michaelis pp. xix–xxii) touching the discovery of hitherto unknown works of Tacitus, a ‘monachus Hersfeldensis’ plays a very prominent part.

206 I have no hesitation in rejecting, with Voigt, Wiederbelebung des class. Alterthums I 2 pp. 257 f. note 4, the universally accepted tradition which attributes the discovery of the Dialogus, the Germania and the Suetonius fragment to Henoch of Ascoli. It rests solely upon a statement of Iovianus Pontanus (quoted below) which, as Voigt has convincingly shown, is open to very grave objections. Poggio, moreover, never mentions Henoch in connection with the new Tacitean treatises, and the well-informed Vespasiano, in his biographical sketch of Henoch, expressly says that this monk found nothing of particular importance, excepting the cook-book of Pseudo Apicius and Porphyrius’s commentary to Horace (see Voigt II p. 203 note 1). On the probable origin of Pontanus’ error, see note 213.
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e few copies having, however, been taken pre-

two of these apographa, as Michaelis was the

our MSS. are based. The first family (X) is

Vaticanus 1862 (A) and the Leidensis 18 (B).

uses the Farnesianus or Neapolitanus (C), the

Ottobonianus 1455 (E), the Vaticanus

Romensis 711 (V). Four others still remaining,

(once the property of Sambucus, see note 4),

Harleianus, the Parisinus 7773 and the Harleianus,

ess, and may safely be dispensed with in any

text of the Dialogus.²⁰²

give an account of the principal MSS., then pass

tation of the intricate and difficult subject of their

ip, and finally discuss the controversial question of

validity of the X and Y families.²⁰³

a. Description of the MSS.

index Vaticanus 1862 (A) contains the Germania and Vaticanus

omium fragment, followed on pp. 23b–43b (fol.) by the

. The variants peculiar to this MS. are:²⁰⁴

Peterson in his recent edition has endeavored to rescue the Harleianus

what he regards as undeserved neglect. He devotes no fewer than six

pp. lxxv–lxxxvi) to its history and its description, and religiously records

readings. But even a hasty examination of his evidence ought to leave

out in mind of any unbiased critic, that the verdict of condemnation

ich Michaelis and Baehrens have passed upon this MS. is fully justified.

The Harleianus is an incredibly corrupted MS. It contains not a solitary

variant of independent value, nor does it furnish even so much as a clue to a

genuine reading where the other MSS. are also corrupt. But Peterson’s laborious

collation possesses a negative value, in that it gives us a tolerably clear idea of

the character of the MS. upon which the editio princeps (Spirensis) e.g. was

based. The Parisinus, of which I possess a more accurate collation than the

one published by Egger (1880), is a direct offspring of the Harleianus. Peterson,

therefore, very justly remarks (p. lxxvi) that it “need not be referred to again

in any discussion of the text of the Dialogue. It has not, and ought never to

have been allowed, any independent value whatever.” It is to be regretted that

the editor did not see his way clear to pronounce a similar verdict upon the

equally worthless parent MS.

²⁰² Since the appearance of Michaelis’ edition (1868), which marks a new era

the text critical treatment of the Dialogus, all previous discussions concerning

ing the MSS., from Lipsius down to Orelli, Tross and Ritter, possess only an

historical interest and value.

²⁰³ A number of readings, erroneously attributed to A, D or Δ by Michaelis
Corrections by the scribe:

104 [in] sequitur sequitur
125 secedit secedit
1619 Nestor (Mnestor — ΔV) Nestor (Mnestor C)
2015 cena E
383 perorare horas perorare horas (CA)
4026 bene bene

Out of these 32 variants, A has preserved the genuine reading (also found in BDE) in but a single instance (16 19), and this, curiously

and subsequent editors, I have been able to correct, through the great kindness of Prof. G. Andersen, who has permitted me to inspect his recollation of the Vaticanl. See e.g. esp. c. 5 2 0 25 11 9 12 17 (ac . . . ac — ABED) 16 28 (anipus D) 211 24 8 25 18 31 13 37 2 38 3 40 15 16 26 41 12.

²² The genuine readings are printed in *italics.*
enough, has been forthwith corrected. In three cases (c. 10 4 12 5 20 16) a wrong reading has been correctly emended, but whether by the first hand or not, I am unable to say. Finally, in two passages (c. 25 18 31 31) A has fortunately retained the compendium, falsely resolved in all other MSS., which enables us to restore the original. In general, it may be said that the corruptions, barring one or two exceptions, are not of a very serious nature, being often due to the scribe's inability to interpret correctly the abbreviations with which the archetypon, as we shall see, must have abounded. The curious mutilation of well-known proper names also shows him to have been a man of little learning. And in spite of his assurance 'meliusculum feci' he resorted to conjectures but rarely, and these are, strictly speaking, rather in the nature of unimportant changes than of intentional emendation.

2. The codex Leidensis 18 (B), once in the possession of Perizionius (+1715) contains the usual three treatises, the Dialogus occupying the first place on pp. 2*–30* (quarto). This MS. was discovered and collated by L. Tross (1841). On p. 1\textsuperscript{b} we read the following remark, written in red ink: \textit{Hos libellos Iovianus Pontanus} (b. in Cerreto, Umbria 1426, d. 1503) \textit{excrisit nuper adinvéotos et in luce relatós ab Enoc Asculano quâquâ satis mendosas | M. CCCCLX martio ãse.} and again in the margin at the beginning of the Suetonius: \textit{Iov. Pontanus Umber excrisit.} These adscriptions led Tross, Massmann (p. 10–13, 182–186), Ritter and others to regard the Leidensis as Pontanus' own copy, which he was supposed to have transcribed with scrupulous care from the original MS. of Henoch (?). But these inferences rest upon no foundation, for Geel long ago pointed out that the handwriting of the remarks just quoted can leave no doubt that the Leidensis is but a copy of the MS. of Pontanus; nor is it at all likely that this learned Italian, who recognised the mutilated condition of the text, would have abstained from emendations.\textsuperscript{211} At a later period this MS. was subjected to another revision by an unknown hand, who introduced many changes, of which by far the greater number are corruptions of the text.\textsuperscript{212} How far this reviser (b) relied upon his own

\textsuperscript{211} See Reifferscheid p. 413 f. and Lachmann, Lucret. p. 10: neque Johannem Iovianum Pontanum unum Taciti libellum tam superstítiosa sedulitatem transcripsisse usus homo suspicari potuit nisi insigniter perversus.

\textsuperscript{212} The correct reading is given in b vs. ω in 18 instances: Eprius (c. 5 30), nedum (10 5, also Ald. 1534), nominis (11 11, also Put.), vide[a]ntur (12 19). So
resources or based his corrections upon other MS. material, similar perhaps to that from which Spira and Puteolanus printed their texts (for b often agrees with their readings), cannot be accurately determined.\footnote{The identity of many readings of b and the Harleianus (Peterson p. lxxix) simply confirms the statement made above, that this codex was closely related to the MSS. used in the earliest printed editions. It should also be noticed, what Peterson fails to point out, that in all the passages in which H and b agree, they give a false reading, except twice (quia — c. 21 29 invenies — c. 29 13), where AB, alone of our MSS., go wrong! Again, in all cases of disagreement, H is invariably wrong, except in c. 32 30, where the genuine reading vobis, though universally rejected in favor of ‘a vobis’ (b), is found in all our MSS.1 See note ad loc. Cp. also Michaelis p. xi.}

The following readings are found only in the Leidensis:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
3 & 10 emissit (quaemissit) \\
21 & Graecorum \\
5 & 23 quadam velut \\
7 & 1 ipse \\
12 & vacuos \\
9 & 8 Coeleium (so regularly) \\
10 & 2 laboris \\
28 & effereescit — offendis \\
31 & ac \\
12 & 1 increpat \\
3 & coetus \\
13 & 26 mea \\
14 & 2 Libanius \\
14 & vero \\
18 & eruditionis \\
25 & consuetudine, but corrected into consumere by the 1. hand \\
15 & 7 ipse \\
10 & 11 ipsum . . . manifestum \\
21 & Hypericles \\
21 & proferatis \\
33 & fingitis videturque \\
17 & 5 potius temporibus \\
21 & idem Caesarem \\
18 & 25 ‘quidem a Calvo’ \\
19 & 2 [qui] \\
4 & dicendi directa \\
\end{tabular}
At first sight this long list of more or less significant variants might well create the impression, that B is not so intimately related to A, as their otherwise striking agreement, as against the readings of the Y class, has led critics to imagine. On nearer examination, however, it will be seen that but few of the peculiarities of B, not also found in A, can be attributed to their common archetypon. By far the larger number of divergencies are due to scribal carelessness,
PROLEGOMENA.

to the false solution of compendia, to scriptura continua and other
errors familiar to the palaeographist. In about 17 passages (c. 7 1
10 28 13 26 14 14. 18 15 7 16 11. 13 17 21 19 2. 17 21 36 23 10 26 30
31 13 34 8), we must recognise the conjectural labors of Pontanus or
the copyist of the Leidensis, which have in a number of instances
resulted in the restoration of the genuine reading. In still other
cases, B, as we shall see, has been corrected from one or more
other MSS. Eliminating all these readings, we shall find but a
few variants in which B may with some degree of confidence be
said to have rescued the original reading of the archetype (c. 7 12
and possibly 25 21 26 30 36 11).

3. The Vaticanus 1518 (D)\textsuperscript{214} is a codex miscellaneous, containing
a Life of Horace, Porphyrio's\textsuperscript{215} commentary, the Suetonius, Dialogus
(fol. p. 173\textsuperscript{b}–189\textsuperscript{a}), and Germania.\textsuperscript{216}

The MS. was written by an unlearned scribe, who contented
himself with a mechanical transcription, being quite unmindful of
the sense of his text. It is just this feature which constitutes its
value, for his apographon thus became a faithful copy of the
original; but the archetypon must have abounded in abbreviations,
which caused this copyist repeatedly to go astray. For among
about 130 variants peculiar to D, over one third can be directly
traced to compendia. In many instances the scribe made no
attempt at decipherment, e.g. 10 26 \textsuperscript{vō} (= voco) 19 4 1 (= ista,
illa) c. 20 2 fānte (perhaps, as Andresen thinks, for 'fabulament,'
the other MSS. reading 'praefantem'), 28 12 \textsuperscript{c} (= circa), 31 9 \textsuperscript{phī}
(= plerumque) 19 huit (= habuerit), 33 4 drānq (= differentiam-
que), 19 \textsuperscript{pt} (= potest), 23 \textsuperscript{i4} (= istud, illud), 36 20 \textsuperscript{mflus}
(= magistratus), 36 \textsuperscript{i} (= contra) etc.

In 46 instances (c. 3 18 5 11 19 25 25 30 26 2 30 23 31 2. 5 32 33
34 29 36 16 38 5 39 20 40 16 41 21.— 2 6. 8. 11 5 26. 32 8 12 10 16. 19
11 4. 12 12 9 14 16 15 14 16 20. 25 18 5. 24 21 2. 15. 18 21 36 22 16. 22

\textsuperscript{214} Cp. Binde p. 3 f.

\textsuperscript{215} As D, or rather its original, very frequently, as will be shown below,
agrees with the \textit{X} class of MSS., upon which archetypon Pontanus' copy was
based, and as Henoch of Ascoli is known to have discovered the \textit{Porphyro},
Pontanus' statement, reproduced in B, regarding this monk's connection with
the Tactian treatises, may simply be due to an inference on his part, readily
occasioned, if his copy also contained the Porphyrio together with the Dialogus
and the Germania.

\textsuperscript{216} Massmann p. 16 by an unaccountable error says that this MS. has the
marginal note to c. 35 'hic desunt sex pagelle.' Michaelis only notes a vacant
space of 'aliquot versus,' or 12\% lines according to Andresen.
23 8. 16 26 8 28 2 29 1. 18 32 14 33 20) D has erred in giving the
infectional endings which were habitually abbreviated or, by confusing
single letters, easily misread or illegible in the original. These errors,
because of their instantly recognisable origin, are not apt to perplex the critic; they possess, in fact, a distinct value, in
that they permit him, without incurring the risk of conjectural
audacity, to restore the genuine reading on internal grounds alone,
even unanimity in the MSS. furnishing no positive indication of
the reading of the archetypum. Michaelis’ statement that D was
written 'tamquam per somnium' seems justified, when we observe
that it contains no fewer than 29 omissions (c. 5 2 7 12 8 29 9 4. 12.
31 10 6 12 11 14 12 16 17 19 7. 14 21 24. 37 22 18 25 14. 16. 27 26 21
29 6 30 17 31 18. 25 33 17. 18 35 6 36 20. 32), ten instances of ditto-
graphic (c. 6 6 12 18 15 8 24 8. 9 25 3 26 7. 16 28 19 37 10), one of
haplography (28 10 lusus [que] puerorum), and seven transpositions
(c. 6 8 10 18 19 14 28 26 30 11 40 8 41 14), of which the two first,
however, very probably represent the original reading. See notes
ad loc. Of possible interpolations, I have noticed but five: c. 5 18
imperii [famam], but see note; 10 2 inquit omnes; 15 2 Maternum
nostrum; 16 32 princeps ille; 25 18 Caesar et.

The genuine reading has been preserved in D vs. ω, in c. 31 15
ira 32 18 detrudunt (detrudant — ω) 32 quosi (= quos si) forte
(quod si — ω). In c. 37 18 de expilatis, the preposition is probably
the false restitution of a lacuna, in place of 'aut,' which in Δ is
found after 'utrumque.' See note ad loc.

4. The codex Farnesianus or Neapolitanus (C) contains the Farnesianus
second part of the Annals (XI—XVI), the Histories, Dialogus (184
folio pages), Germania and the Suetonius fragment. It is a beauti-
fully written MS. Lacunae are indicated with care, either by
vacant spaces or by marginal notes of the scribe. It was known to
Lipsius, who valued it highly,217 as did all subsequent scholars till
Michaelis dethroned C in favor of AB. The MS. was lost from
view for a long time, until rediscovered by Niebuhr in Naples.218

217 "Quum deprivatissimus vulgo circumferretur libellus... admirabile est
quantum a Farnesiano codice in eo sanando simul adiuti. Multi hiatus expleti,
verba et lineae integrae insertae, centenii aliquot loci emendati." Cp. Massmann
p. 7. That the MS. was written by a monk is evident, not only from the
picture of a monk at the beginning, but also from certain readings, such as
'sanctitatis' for 'civitatis' (G. 10) and the omission of 'divus' in Dial. c. 17 8.
218 Eckstein, Proleg. p. 62 by a curious error regarded this MS. as quite dis-
tinct from the Farnesianus.
The variants peculiar to C are: habetur (c. 2 4), misit (3 10), Vibum (8 2), aetate adolescentia (8 30. See note), Saltim (10 7), per (12 23), Uthnius (14 2), caedit (16 20), videtur (16 26), sed modo (16 33), voluit (20 15), -mscribuntur (21 10 i.e. inscribuntur, conscribuntur—ω), quae (21 22), sisi (21 24), alio quo (25 6), C. Caelium (25 31), decessisse (25 29), in omne (26 28). See note c. 13 15, sdo (28 2 i.e. Secundo), etenim iam (28 2), insumere (30 4), copiam (30 17), ornante quid orator et (30 28), apertos (31 26), isse (32 9), aperte (33 24), semper novum semper plenum (34 21. See note ad loc.), nec breviter (34 22), Cicero tempore (35 2), quidem qui (36 22. See note), antiquorum (37 6 antiquorum—ω, antiquiorum—V), per (37 35). Omissions: c. 11 3 9 17 11 17 12 7 16 28 21 39 25 33 29 6 37 35.

5. The Ottobonianus 1455 (E) is also a codex miscellaneus, and contains [Messallae Corvini] de progenie sua, Suetonius, Dialogus (fol. 9b-19b), varia (fol. 19b-346*). This MS. was first collated and used by Michaelis. I again enumerate the readings peculiar to it: appellantus (c. 1 4), singulis (1 16), assurgendi consistendique (6 15), de supr. vers. (20 3), esset (22 11), Auffidi (23 8), permittiti (23 24), studio (26 19), dicere (28 18), aut (28 19), sufficere (32 1), quanto facilius (36 16), ullius (40 16, for A also has 'illius,' according to Andresen). — Omissions, not common to other MSS., are extremely rare in E: et (c. 1 6) and expressis (10 38, but this word reappears as 'expressit' after 'sit'). The transposition variants, with four exceptions, due to accident or design (c. 10 18, 36 25 19 26 15), are very instructive and valuable, in that they furnish a clue to the origin of a corruption or confirm the existence of an interpolation, suspected on internal grounds. E. g. c. 5 30 Marcellus

prius — prius M. (ω) i.e. Marcellus. 31 7 ad dicendum subiecta—
subi. ad dicendum (ω) i.e. subiecta. 38 19 omnia alia — alia omnia
alia i.e. omnia. 220 See notes ad loc.

6. Neither the Vaticanus 4498 (Δ), containing the Suetonius,
[Plinius] de viris illustribus, Agricola, Dialogus (p. 78a–97b),

219 Steuding's list (p. 6 f.) is misleading, owing to his ignorance of the readings of V. See Scheuer pp. 12–14.
221 The genuine readings: stimulabuntur (c. 37 1 Rhenanus) and famam (40 26 Muratus), according to Andresen's collation, were erroneously attributed
PROLEGOMENA.

Germania, nor the *Vindobonensis* 711 (designated Vₕ by Scheuer), *Vindobonensis* containing Miscellanea, Germania, *Dialogus* (fol. p. 212ᵃ⁻²³⁰ᵇ), Suetonius, calls for any detailed description. They possess no text-critical importance, and are of interest only because they bear valuable testimony to the interrelationship of our MSS., to which problem we may now turn our attention.

b. The Interdependence of the MSS.

The discussion of this difficult subject cannot be said to antedate Michaelis. The appearance of Michaelis' edition (1868), which for the first time presented an accurate picture of the character of our extant MSS. Michaelis having, upon very slender grounds, as we shall see, pronounced in favor of the superior validity of the X class (AB), argued that D, which often forsakes its family for the readings of AB or B alone, must be regarded, in spite of the carelessness with which it was written, as the most trustworthy apographon of the archetypon of Y. C he placed next in value, but inasmuch as it often agrees with E, where D coincides with AB, he concluded that the variants in CE must be due to interpolation and conjecture, and not to the common parent of DCE. E, Michaelis asserted, was a direct offspring of C, but as it in turn frequently coincided with A as against C, these divergences could only be explained on the hypothesis that it had been subsequently corrected out of A or some member of this family. Finally, Δ is brought into close relationship to C, both having been copied from a brother of D. Michaelis' stemma is therefore this:

```
   X
  / \   \   \    \   \   \   \   \   \  
 /   \ /   \ /   \ /   \ /   \ /   \ /   \  
B --- A --- E --- C  Δ
     \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \  
      \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \  
       \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \   \  
        \   Y
```

Steeding, p. 4 (1878), while accepting these conclusions in the Steeding. main, clearly showed that E cannot possibly have been an apographon of C, Michaelis himself furnishing the proof, for, on p. xvi to Δ by Michaelis. D also reads 'stipulabatur,' not 'stimulabatur.' Cf. Michaelis' adnotatio and preface p. xvii note 19.
notes 16 and 17, he enumerates more than 70 readings of CA, or C alone, which flatly contradict his own assertion. Steuding therefore contended that CEAE go back to a common source, their coincidences with D being, according to him, due to the lost codex x, postulated by Michaelis. But Steuding's view was in turn discarded by Binde (1884), who, so far as one can make out from his confused presentation, endeavors to establish a closer relationship between CΔDE, more particularly CΔD, the various discrepancies being the result of a series of peculiar cross-contaminations. His investigation virtually resulted in proving what had never been denied, namely, that the MSS. of the Y class represented a tradition distinct from X, while the various members of the former group were in turn bound to another by ties more or less close.

Three years before Binde, E. Baehrens, in his edition of the Dialogus, had advanced still another theory as to the interrelationship of the Y class of MSS. (p. 45 f.), asserting, rather than actually proving, that Δ and E were directly derived from Y (designated by him, for no apparent reason, as M), the former occupying the same rank among the Y class, that A does in the X (N) family. CD, on the other hand, Baehrens regarded as descendants of a lost MS. x, a brother of ΔE, C having been copied before x had been subjected to a revision, by which fact he would account for the coincidences of D with AB. His family tree is represented by the following diagram:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{X}] \\
\downarrow \\
\text{C} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{D} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{E}
\end{array}
\]

It was reserved for F. Scheuer to demonstrate that the conflicting theories which Michaelis, Steuding, Baehrens and Binde had propounded, are all alike untenable. But apart from the negative value of his dissertation, he has, by the introduction of a new witness, the cod. Vindobonensis, succeeded in discovering the

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222 See esp. p. 8 f.
223 p. 46: universum autem libri Δ indolem aestimantii appetat eundem eum locum in M familia optinere atque A in N.
224 De Tucitei de orat. Dial. codicum necum ac fide (1891) pp. 7–32.
true solution of the intricate problem under discussion. Scheuer, herein following Steuding, in the first place shows by some forty readings peculiar to C (see above), that E cannot have been copied from it, a fact further substantiated by the variants of C vs. ω (or E) in the fragment of Suétoneius.

Neither can E, as Michaelis thought, have been corrected out of AB, because, barring a few orthographical minutiae, the Ottobonianus, in all cases of agreement with the X class, finds a companion in the hitherto neglected codex Vindobonensis, it being quite impossible that the scribes of E and V invariably borrowed the identical readings from X, often deserting at the same time the genuine readings of their own family.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABEV</th>
<th>CDA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in his</td>
<td>in iis alium (studium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alius</td>
<td>hominibus iiis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnibus</td>
<td>haec (om. C.) p. haec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>amissa angustior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haec penetralia hoc</td>
<td>plurimum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>admissa</td>
<td>aut ab Asinio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>augustior</td>
<td>ipse cognatio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plurium</td>
<td>vocetis videretur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Cicerone aut Asinio</td>
<td>redident (redent — D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipso</td>
<td>suppellectile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>congrario</td>
<td>consequentur (consequentor — D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocetis</td>
<td>propie (propie — Δ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>insectatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>collegerit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>contempto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>plurisque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>relinquit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>c. 5 2 moderati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ac — ac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>contentuscolasticorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>est — ac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>contentuscolasticorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>statae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>statae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>alte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>diminuta, diminuta (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>modesti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>et — ac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>contentuscolasticorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>statuae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>alte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>deminuta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cxxxii PROLEGOMENA.

339 ingressuri ingressus
10 inscientia scientia
352 Ciceronis tempora Ciceron tempore — C
Ciceronis tempore — Δ
Cice. extitisse tempore — D
3711 Metello set et (—esse et)
18 expilatis de expilatis (aut esp.)

Moreover, EV agree 63 times, as against ABCDA. Of these variants, 20 are of an orthographical nature, and 10 give the genuine readings, as against 26 in which the other MSS. are corrupt; in the remaining all the MSS. are corrupt. EV is thus seen to be an independent group of the Y class, a conclusion which Scheuer places beyond all possible doubt by the following passages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AB</th>
<th>EV</th>
<th>CDA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s edict</td>
<td>sedit</td>
<td>sedit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 5 sedit (s edict — B)</td>
<td>19 ista</td>
<td>17 13 istum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 4 quique alios</td>
<td>11 quam</td>
<td>11 quam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quum</td>
<td>quam quando</td>
<td>quum quand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coincidences of EV (y1) with AB can therefore only be due to the original agreement of Y and X. A number of readings are also cited by Scheuer (p. 31), in which E has a solitary companion in B, which might seem to point to direct indebtedness of E to B, but this inference is refuted by an examination of the following table (Scheuer p. 32):

The same conclusion is reached by an examination of the readings of the Germania, in which H (Hummeianius) occupies the same relation to V, as E does in the Dialogus. Cp. Scheuer pp. 15—17.

228 The same conclusion is reached by an examination of the readings of the Germania, in which H (Hummeianius) occupies the same relation to V, as E does in the Dialogus. Cp. Scheuer pp. 15—17.
From this it appears, then, that the archetype of the Ottonianus was corrected by an unknown hand after the Vindobonensis had been copied from it, and in this emended state Pontanus or the scribe of the Leidensis used it, the readings adopted being all genuine.

There remains the question as to the interrelationship of CDΔ and the very frequent agreement of D with the X class. This problem has, in my judgment, also been solved by Scheuer. For a glance at the readings given on p. cxxxii f. will show that CDΔ form still another independent group (designated by Scheuer as y9) of Y. As for D, which Michaelis regarded as the best representative of the Y class, for the reasons given, its frequent agreement with AB280 is now seen to be due to the fact that its immediate archetype (y9) had been corrected out of some member of the X family, after CD had already been copied. The clear proof of this is furnished by the following significant variants:

c. 30 5  vocant
  vocatis AB vocantis D vocant EVΔ

37 20 habendus est AB est habendus D habendus EVΔ (i.e. habendus)

41 3 quidem quod nemo A
  quis enim quod nemo B
  quis enim quidem EVΔ
  quis enim quidem quod nemo D

The interdependence of our MSS., as finally determined, may be represented by the subjoined family-tree, the arrows indicating in what way the many coincidences between some of our MSS., though derived from different families, may be accounted for:

280 See below.
The false conception concerning the relationship of our MSS. is primarily responsible for the opinion of Michaelis, followed by all subsequent critics, with the solitary exception of Baehrens and Scheuer,\footnote{To whom Peterson may now be added (pp. lxxxi ff.).} that AB, by reason of their more faithful reproduction of the archetypus, possess the greater validity. But this view is erroneous. We may readily admit that the common archetypus of AB was written by a less learned scribe than the parent MS. of Y; he certainly was far inferior to the copyist of the latter in resolving the many compendia, which unquestionably were a characteristic feature of their common prototype. It also goes without saying that a merely numerical preponderance of genuine readings in one or the other family does not in itself constitute a valid claim to superiority, unless the nature of the variants themselves warrants such an inference. On the other hand, it is no less true that a MS. which fails repeatedly to give what the author must have written, and in which the scribe, for the sake of slavish adherence to his copy, discards the genuine reading close at hand, ought not to be made the sole basis of the recension of the text. It is one thing, to interpolate or to introduce bold changes; it is quite another, to correct palpable slips of the copy. The problem, in
other words, is not, whether AB on the whole are more faithful representatives of X, than CDÆEV are of Y, which may be admitted, but whether the readings of X, more frequently than Y, furnish what Tacitus wrote. Now it is very remarkable to observe in how few instances AB or AB(D) have alone preserved the genuine reading as against evident corruptions in CDÆEV, for even in those instances where the context alone does not help us to decide confidently in favor of one or the other variant, we discover, on closer examination, that the stylistic usage of the author shows AB to be in the wrong. Many variants, again, in which X is pitted against Y, owe their origin solely to the false solution of compendia, or to orthographical vagaries, the scribes very naturally following the mode of spelling to which they were accustomed or which they believed to be correct, without regard to the MS. before them. Now all such divergences, be they never so minute and apparently insignificant, are of no little value, as will be seen from the above tables, in ascertaining the interrelationship between the MSS. themselves, but as far as the question of the respective authenticity of their archetypa is concerned, they are quite worthless.232

I first give the list of variants of AB (X) vs. CDÆEV (Y), then ABD vs. CDÆEV, to which are added the few variants in which the genuine reading may be considered as doubtful:

232 This applies especially to such variants as: his, his, iis; ille, iste, ipse. Thus AB show a decided preference for iste vs. ille in Y, and accordingly Michaelis, true to his exalted opinion of X, has everywhere, except c. 30 22, written 'iste,' even where this pronoun is utterly out of place. Bindes devotes an entire chapter (pp. 23–26) to the discussion of these variants, his aim being to show that Y followed certain principles, whereas X simply reproduced the reading of its copy. But as these pronouns were abbreviated (I cf. c. 19 4 33 22), no inference as to the greater trustworthiness of the X class can be legitimately drawn. Cp. Scheuer p. 33 f. note 1. In like manner, we must eliminate all variants such as: non, nec, neque (f), per, pro (pL.); que, quae, q; a, ae; artis, artes; diminuta, deminuta, etc. Others, however, like: constat, constaret, videtur, videtur; fatebatur, fateretur, etc., although originally also due to compendia, may nevertheless have been already written out in X and Y, and they have, therefore, been included in the above table. Scheuer (pp. 34–37) admitted all these variants on a footing of equality! Many readings of X or Y, moreover, regarded by him as genuine are not so, while still others are unjustly relegated to the doubtful column.
AB

5 15 necessitates
6 2 locunditatis
17 quandocunque
indueret
9 10 est
10 3 [in] sequitur A insequitur B
16 elegiorum
11 9 Neronē (= Neronem)
12 8 et
14 ullus
13 3 et cent' A coetus B
14 21 30 19 hercle
18 25 quidem autem
28 venias A veniā B
19 24 aut
25 expectantem
20 5 dicentes
21 29 quī
22 4 oratores actatis eiusdem
8 iam senior
17 tantum eo
21 et
23 1 Vetrinum
24 10 inārs (= nostris)
13 tantum
26 7 suctores A a[u]tores B
16 post se A pos*se B
23 vult
28 1 qui A [qui] B
15 educabitur
26 militarem
29 13 invenires
30 21 ullius artis ingenuae
31 6 haec enim est
9 haec
13 vitis
16 haec
32 22 ego
34 35 hodie quoque

CDAEV

necessitudines
icunditas
quemcunque
induerit
eius
sequitur
elegorum (elegarum V)
Nerone
in (also b)
ullis
consulatus (conventus D)
hercule
autem (also b)
veniam
et
expectandum (expectando—D)
dicentem (also b)
quia (also b)
eiusdem actatis oratores
senior tam
eo tantum
ut
Verrinum
vestris (i. e. inārs = veterūs)
in tantum
actores
posse
velut (also b)
et
educabatur

rem militarem (i. e. militarem
militarem rem)
invenies
ullius ingenuae artis (i. e. artis)
haec est enim
haec ipsa
in vitiis
haec quoque
ergo
hodieque

254 Genuine readings in italics. Orthographical minutiae are not noted.
255 Or 'ullius artis' (see crit. note ad loc.). Tacitus, so far as my observation

goes, never separates (certainly not in the Dialogue) two attributives by an intervening substantive, unless joined by a conjunction.
PROLEGOMENA.

ABD

35 16 perfidie
22 vel
37 15 curarum
38 6 hic
12 alicuorum
39 8 ridear
41 9 inde (if)

CAEV

parant quid enim me

ex mals
videtur (corr. B vel b)
laudabat
regule (i.e. reliquae)
constat
in Curato A in curato BD
haec
cum
erit
vocatis AB vocatis
haec
et
habendus est AB
ipsam
obsecuriorque

In the following, finally, the reading is doubtful:

c. 9 s deinceps — AB deinde — ω; 16 19 sc — AB et — ω; 27 s perstringat — AB perstringit — ω; 31 20 postulabit — ABD postulaverit — ω; 35 23 cogitant — AB cogitare — ω.

Now an examination of the foregoing table reveals the fact that AB has preserved the words of the author in but three (32 22 21 31 0) solitary passages, and curiously enough one of these

236 i.e. parantem inquit ne. The archetypus, as may be seen from this instance and others noticed in the Adnotatio and the Notes, was written 'scriptura continua.'

237 iliae has unintentionally been retained in the text. See crit. note ad loc.

238 With the exception of the last, I have followed AB, but am unable to give any convincing reason for my choice. The origin of the variants is very transparent. I am now more inclined to favor 'perstringit' and 'postulaverit.'
has been universally, though unjustly, rejected by previous editors, still another pertains to two words habitually confused in our MSS., so that the correct reading in AB may well be accidental, while the third is perhaps due to scribal emendation. Out of seventeen examples in which AB find a companion in D of the Y class, the three MSS. furnish six correct readings, but only one of them is in any way noteworthy (c. 21 17). The Y class gives the genuine reading in fifty-one instances out of a possible sixty-two!! The superstitious respect so generally entertained for the X family must, therefore, in the face of the evidence just presented, be abandoned. The Y family, albeit it has suffered at the hands of learned and unlearned scribes, represents as a body the purer tradition, although some of its individual members may be in a number of instances less trustworthy guides than A, for B itself, or its prototype, as we have seen, was not only subjected to the conjectural revision of the learned Pontanus, but was subsequently corrected out of the Y class. A does indeed faithfully reproduce its archetypon. But that archetypon must yield the palm to Y, which has proved itself to be more accurate in preserving what Tacitus must have written.

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330 c. 28 29 30 21 are included because these readings, though probably not genuine, are closer to the original, AB being unquestionably corrupt.
ABBREVIATIONS.

1. Text.
   
   Ma. = Michaelis
   Np. = Nipperdey — Schoell
   Pt. = Peter
   Ba. = Baehrens
   Hm. = Halm
   Ml. = Joh. Müller
   Wf. = E. Wolff
   And. = Andresen
   Nk. = Novák

2. Notes.
   
   Dr. Stil = A. Draeger, Syntax und Stil des Tacitus, 1882.
   Archiv = Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie I–VIII.
   Neue = Lateinische Formenlehre, I. II (by C. Wagener) III.
   Kühner = Lateinische Grammatik, 2 vols., 1877–78.
   Friedländer = Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, 3 vols., 1888–1890.

Others are self-explanatory, or cited in full in the Bibliography.
P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS

DE ORATORIBUS.

1. Saepe ex me requiris, Iusti Fabi, cur, cum priora sae- 15 cula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum actas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos: horum autem temporum diserti, consci- dici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere, ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum sit, si idem adequui non possimus aut de iudiciis, si nolumus, vix Hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia preferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos caudem hanc quaestionem pertractantes invenis admodum audivi. ita non ingeni, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excipi, cum

CORNELI TACITI INCIPIT DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS—A.
CORNELI TACITI DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS INCIPIT—B.
C. CORNELII TACITI DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS FOELICITER INCIPIT—C. C. Cornelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus—D. CORNELII TACITI. DIALOGVS INCIPIT DE ORATORIBVS ET POETIS—E.

1. 1 cum—om. C. 3 nostra—D. deserta eloquentia et laude orbata—Cornelissen. 4 appellamus—E appellemus—ω. 6 primum et om. E. 9 sit—ins. Lipsius. 10* mea mihi—Schurz fleisch. 11 ut—om. Pul. 15 dictam—D.
singuli diversas [vel easdem] sed probabiles causas adferrent,
dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem
nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine
disputationis. neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem
susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum
temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniiis anteferret.

2. Nam posterio die quam Curiatus Maternus Catonem reci-
taverat, cum offendisset potentium animos dicetur, tamquam
in eo tragicodiae argumento sui obitus tantum Catonem cogi-
tasset, eaque de re per urbem frequentis sermo habetur, vene-
runt ad eum Marcus Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum
ingenia fori nostri quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis
studiose audiabam sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabam
mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas
quoque eorum et disputaciones et arcana semotae dictionis
penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec
Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et
vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae con-
secutum. nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum
satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione

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* See Notes ad locum.
imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam 15
maiorum quam industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus, si inge-
nium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem
ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus haben-
tem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae mali-
gnorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo
librum istum adprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares, et sublatis
si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Ca-
tonem non quidem meliorem sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille 'leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit et ad-
gnosces quae audisti. quod si qua omisit Cato sequenti recita-
tione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et
intra me ipse formavi. atque ideo maturare libri huius edition-
em festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto
pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant,' inquit Aper 'quo mi-
nus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo
circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas, cum te tot
amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in
forum vocent quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi
ipse negotium importasses, ut Domitium et Catonem, id est 20

26,31) communi—Rhenanus. del. Norisk muta.—coni. Haim. 16* quam—
vel ad ad
ins. Vahlen industria et labore—Bachrens. 17 inniti—CDΔ inniti—A inniti
—B adniti—EV.

ac quem—E et quem—Lippsius, Nk. quemque—Schopen inter—Cuiacius
intra—ω. 7 quae—V h. illeges tu (om. C.) quid (quod D.) M. s. d.—ω
l. tu quidem (add. Secundus) q. M. s. d.—Vahlen l. inquit q. M. s. d.—Haim
And. l. quae audisti et agnosces q. M. s. d.—transp. Bachrens. 10 emisit—B
misit—C (ex quae multum). 11 et enim—D cf. 27,62. 12 ipsum—Bach-
rens. 13 meditationi—D. 18 causa—D. 19* sufficeres—Put. 20 imperasses
nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graeculorum fabulis adgregares.'

4. Et Maternus: 'perturbarer hac tua severitate nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cotidianum hoc patrociniun defendendae adversus te poeticae exercer. quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat, ut omissis foresium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam solam.'

5. 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et modesti iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus se excusent in quibus manifestum est alterum apud eos partem gratia praevalar. quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huins non inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum


DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

apud nos arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complcti provincias possit, omittit studium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem dulcius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrior vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam industrius excogitari potest. nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amici, opem alienis, salutem pericitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ulter feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? cuius vis et utilitates rebus prosperae fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegit: sin proprium periculum increpit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et pericitanti eloquentia, quae est praesidium simul ad telum quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem possis. quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam

opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexas-
citatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam
elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico cui parti minime contra di-
curum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoria eloquentiae transeo, cuius incun-
ditas non uno aliquo momento sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope
omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulciss liberet ingenuo
animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam
5 semper et frequentem domum suam conscius splendidissimorum
hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii
alciuius administrationi sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos quin immo
orbos et locupletes et potentes plerumque venire ad iuvenem et
pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent.
10 ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magna potentiae voluptas
quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia
subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia conftentes, id
quod optimum sit se non habere? iam vero qui tagorum
comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in iudiciis
15 veneratio! quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistentiique inter-
tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi
coram et accipere adfectum quemcumque orator induerit! vul-
gata dicensent gaudia et imperatorum quoque oculus exposita
percenso: illa secretiora et tantum ipsi orantibus nota maiora

F prius

E prius M. — ω M. prius — E (ortum est ex Marcellus). 31 qua — Ursinus qui — ω
Peter. 32 in eius modo — D. 33 parti — BC partim — ADEV (partimine).
6. 1 iocunditas — AB. prius prope — del. Andersen. 3 locis — Baehrens foris
— Oberhuyer. 6 idque scire non — bis scripsit D. neque — CDEV. 7 admini-
istrationi — B administrationis — ω. ipsos — E istos — ABD filos CV (i. e. [49]).
urbis — Pithoens, Hm. 15 quod illud — EV Bs. Hm. Wf. id (ω) — om. Put. Ms.
Pt. Mt. quod ibi — Ritter quid? quod — Andersen. assurgendi consistendique
quemcumque — CDEV quandoque — AB quaque — b in margin. induerit
— CDEV induceret — AB induxerit — b voluerit — Andersen imbuerit — coni.
sunt. sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quod-
dam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive
novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi
attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur
voluptati. sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis
vel praecipua incunditas est; nam in ingens quoque, sicut in 25
agro, quamquam quae [alia] diu seruntur atque elaborantur
grata, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7. Equidem, ut de me ipse fatear, non eum diem laetiorem
egi quo mihi latus clavus obatus est vel quo homo novus et in
civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut
praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius
quantulae cumbque in dicendo facultatis aut apud patres reum 5
prospere defendere aut apud centum viros causam aliquam felici-
citer orare aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores
principum tueri et defendere datur. tum mihi supra tribunatus
et prae tutas et consuls ascendere videor, tum habere quod, si
non in alvo oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. 10

Halm. vulgaria — Orelli, Hm. 10 procenseo — D parva censeo — Beroaldus. ipsi
oranti — b. maiora sunt — del. Acadialis. 20 perfert (pfert) — CEV proferre —
D proferunt — Baehrens. 22 animi — Pithoeus animus — w. 23 attulit — Nipp.
ad Ann. P, 38, 8. 25 in — b. 26* quamquam quae diu seruntur a. elaborantur
grata, gratiora — emendavi et illa quae . . . grata sint — Nissen quamq. grata
sunt quae seruntur — Novak alia — om. CD utilia (utiliora) — Ernesti utiliora
quae — Andersen u. q. studiose s. — Ribbeck solidiora ser. diuque — Pcerikamp
dulcia quae industria — Weinkuff valida diu curantur — Cornelissen vitalia diu
s. — I. Hilberg diuporta seruntur — Baehrens quamquam quaedam seruntur —
Bennett — Retiunt traditam tionem Pt. Ml. Wf., corruptam indicat Hm.

7. 1 ipse — B ipso — w edd. 4 cos (ago) — ins. Vahlen, Bs. Nk. And. 5 apud
patres — add. Michaelis, Bs. Hm. Wf. Ml. And. apud iudices — Nipperdey (julid-
cem — Spen gel) aut . . . orare aut a. p. r. p. defendere aut . . . tueri datur
— Ribbeck. 7 ipsum — Spen gel. 8 principis — idem. Ms. 9 praetura — CD.
habere — Pithoeus abire — w. 10* albo (i. e. alvo) — V Pithoeus alio — w aliquo
— Ritter, Pt. Hm. Wf. in animo — Freinsheim. Haase, Ml. quod in se non in
alio — Ruttgersius si non in ipso non in alio — Nipperdey in ipso — Ernesti in
nobis — Schopen in ingens — Seebode in notali obitoritur — Doederlein natalibus
paritur — Andersen naturale — Baehrens sola indole — Ribbeck numine alie —
Sillig intus — Usener in caelo — Heller. si — del. Michaelis scilicet — Lipsius
quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? quid? non inlustres sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adolescentes, quibus modo recta est indoles et bona spes sui? quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minores esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. nec hoc illis alterius bis, alterius ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, sed ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint,


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sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda sed oculis spectanda haberemus. nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustia rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoria eloquentiae utilitatem industriosa exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuer moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit [et] ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti, quae ab ipso acciperint quaeque et ipsi accumulare et in ullos congregere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acciperint nec accipi possit. minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtineat imaginem ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. his igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus referertas domos eorum videmus, qui se ab inunte acetate causis foresibus et oratorio studio dederunt.
P. CORNELII TACITI

9. Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inaneam et infructuosam consequuntur. licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificiuntius est, praeclassimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et incundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excedit et elucubravit, rogare ultero et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium extruit et subsellia conduceit et libellos dispergit et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequantur, omnis ista laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel florae praecepta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansuram in animo cuiusquam beneficium sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucere. laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia


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Basso donasset. pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamem pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem! adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velit, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.


et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quacumque aliam speciem eloquentia habet, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo. sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et max summa adeptus in levioribus subsistas. ut si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicas quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterat inmanes illos et ad pugnam natos laceratos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditorii et theatris in forum et [ad causas et ad] vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculum losius est, pro Catone offensis. nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris [aut] elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. sentio quid respondei possit: hinc ingentes adsensus, haec in ipsis auditorii praecipue laudari et max omnium sermonibus ferri. tolle igitur quietis
et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. nobis satis sit privatas causas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri in quibus, [expressis] si quando necessis sit per illicitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.’

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus ‘paranem’ inquit ‘me’ non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. ego autem, sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortesse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspiciatus sum, cum quidem in Neronem improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatini potientiam fregi, et Hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. ac iam me deiungere a forensi fabore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam


salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines quae
etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt. nam statum
cuisque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuitur quam elo-
quentia, nec vero ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro
alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper incre-
pabat, tantam mihi adherunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos
carminum fructus numerem, quod non in strepitum nec sedente
ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum com-
ponuntur sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia
fruiturque sedibus sacris. haec eloquentiae primordia, haec
penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque, commoda mortalibus
in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit: sic oracula
loquebantur. nam lucrosae huius et sanguinitatis eloquentiae
usus recens et ex malis moribus natus atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper,
in locum teli repertus. ceterum felix illud, et ut more nostro
loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis
et vatibus abundat qui bene facta canerent non qui male ad-
missa defenderent. nec ullis aut gloria maior erat aut augustior
honor, primum apud deos quorum proferre responsa et interesse

—Wilflin, Bs. 14 salutantium — Schele salutationum — o Ms. 15 irrupunt
—Br. 16* cuiusque ac (at — o) — Pickena, Ms. lucusque — Lipsius, edd. hunc
iusque — Hausa quoque cuius Aper monuit — Weinkauff capitis — Baehrens,
*tuitur — Pichenca tueor — o edd. 17 nisi — om. C.
secedit
4 ostium — B hostium — o. 5 secedit — BCDΔ sedet — A sedet — AEV [quod]
secedit — add. Nordl. 7 penetralia hoc — om. C hoc — ABEV haec — ΔΔ.
*commentata — Muratus, Np. Ilm. Mt. commodata — Lipsius, 8 in — b CDEV
et — AB. illa — CDEV ista — AB Ms. his — Baehrens. 9 lucresce — D. san-
guinitatis — D sanguinitatis — V sanguinitatis — ed. Iunt. 1527 sanguine manantis —
Schulting sanguine inhiatus — Bezzenerberger. *et ex — CEVΔ ex — ABD edd.
1 illud — om. D. 13 amissa — CDΔ. 14 ullus — AB. *more... A mor — B
in ore
more— C in ore — D more... E post more — V m. 2 in margine exhibet maior.
epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea ac Linum et, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem acceperimus. vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. plures homin reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent: nec ullus Asini aut Messalae liber tam indulvis est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. licet illos certamina et pericula sua vel ad consulatus exerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praeuentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna con-


cupiscendum? quod timent an quod timentur? quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus non praestant indignantur?

16 quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. me vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possum cu velim reliquere, quandoque [enim] fatalis et meus dies veniet, statuar[que] tumulo non maestus et atrox sed hilaris et coronatus et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos


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esse sermonem, 'num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium aut causae alicuius meditationem tractan-
tibus?'

'Miname, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem
maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri
accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium
ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus
est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas
defendi decebat, ardentior et poetarum quam oratorum simi-
lior oratio.'

'Me vero' inquit '[et] sermo ille infinita volupitate adfecisset,
atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum
nostrorum oratores, non fores nibus tantum negotiis et declama-
torio studio ingena vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam dispu-
tationes adsumitis quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac
litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista
disputatis adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint.
itaque hercule non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod
Iuli Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium
eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasti-
cis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rheto-
rum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

[ius] del. Ernesti. ent — del. Acidalius, Bs. 5 aut — Halm et — w. 7 minime
— semel ACEV. 10 exhortatus — b Put. et hortatus — w. 11 utque — BCEV
utriq; A utque — D. 12 defendi — om. D. decebat — C docebat — EV poetas
defendi [poetas] — A. *ardentior — Knaut, Bs. audientior — w. silior — A.
et . . . oratores optimi — Acidalius [optimi] temporum — add. Muretus, Bs.
16 oratores [summi] — add. Halm olim, Ms. Pt. et sumitis — D. 18 eruditi-
onis — B eruditionem — w. eruditionem — Rhenanus. 19 cum — om. C 9 — D
(an c ?). illa — b o ista — AB Ms. Hpm. Ian — D (ortae sunt lectiones ez i).
21 hercule — w hercle — AB. 22 Africani — Nipperdey Asiaticel — w. pluri-
num — CD 23* [improbari] quod — ins. Andresen, Bs. [damnari] quod —
add. Halm.
15. Tum Aper: 'non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia invidere atque contenternre. nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepti, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes [antiquis] eoque, credo, audaciis, quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi ali concedunt ipse tibi denegare.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. et quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graecis accidisse ut longius abset ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetis et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenam concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessitis.'

16. 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantium ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

Et Messalla 'aperiam' inquit 'cognitiones meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari: sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, et mihi versatur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit: vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut hic utrique superstites essent. ex quo apparat non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem. quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, 25 fortasse longum videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respe-


Aper's Second Speech, (a) Meaning of 'antiqua.'
ctum immensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus quo eadem posito caeli siderumque, quae cum maxime est, 
8 rursus existet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor completitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos sed etiam eodem mense extitisse.

17. Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponeore voletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Bratum et Asinum et Mes- 
5 sallam: quos quid antiquis potius temporibus adscribatis quam nostris, non video. nam ut de Cicerone ipse loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulis, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, se- 
pdto idus December occisus est, quo anno Divus Augustus in 
locum Pansa et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. 
10 statue sex et quinquaginta annos quibus mox Divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope qua- 
driennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos,

Usener numerum saeculorum — Baehrens* respectum — ω Hm. Bs. Wf. And. 
respectu — Spengel, Ms. Np. Pt. Ml. 27 totius aevi — coni. Michaelis. 28 ani- 
nus — D. 30 rursus — Wölflin rursum — ω. existit — malum. 31 XIIDCCCC- 
LIHI — Nic. Loensis. XIMVCcosLIHI — A. XIIIVIIIILIII — B. XIIIC- 
CCcosLIHI — C. XIIICCCCLIII — D duodecim milia octingentos quinquaginta 
quattuor — EV. 32* princeps ille D. exitit — Cornelissen convincitur 
fama — AB (corr. fere) CD et fama sed — EV sed fere — Put. ferme — Bekker sed iam 
— Baehrens. modo — C. die — Pithoeus.

17. 1 sed — del. Beck ap. Baehrens. Menenium — b E in marg. me nimium 
— ω. 3* voletis — Kleiber. Wf. soletis — ω. 4 Coelium — B Calium — E alium 
adscribitis — CD. ipse — CΔ. 7 scribit — Andresen. Hm. 8 December — 
add. Lipsius. lacunam indicant b CDΔ. divus — om. C. 10 sex — corr. Lipsius 
novem — ω septem — Steiner. 12 Gay — V Cai — ACD Cali — BE. 13 illum
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atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet. [centum et viginti anni ab 15 interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas.] nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restituit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum ali- 20 quod in urbem pertractionem, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. proximo quidem congiano ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a Divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepsisse congruum narrabant. ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asi- 25 nium audiri potuisse; [nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit.] ne dividatis saeculum et antiquos ac veteres vocetis oratores quos eorum dem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

18. Haec ideo praedixi, ut si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propriorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte miratus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornator Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque, quos vocatis antiquos, plures species reprehendi nec statim deterrimus esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. num dubitamus inventos qui Porcio Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse quibus inflatus et tum mens nec satis pressus, sed super modum exultantis et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur. legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulam, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et
aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et 25 enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam fra-
ctum atque elum b e m. si me interro g as, omnes [mihi] vi-
dentur verum dixisse: sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negoti um est.

19. Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut ter-
minum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium
Severum ....† quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfimant
flexisse ab ista vetere [atque directa] dicendi via, non infir-
mite ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud di-
cendi genus contendo, sed judicio et intellectu. vidit namque,
ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate
aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam.
facile perfer eb at prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, im-
peditissimarum orationum spatia atque id ipsum laudabat, si 10

24* aridum — Schulting attritum — ω Np. ocisum — D concisum — Schele.
di iunctum — B divinctum — D disiunctum — Δ disiunctum — Rutgersius. 25 ‘‘qui-
dem a Calvo’’ — B. quidem autem — AB sed b quidem delevit. 27 et el.
— E. interro g as — CD (cf. Sen. Ep. 100,4) interro g as — ω e dd. mihi — malim
mihi abesse omnes mihi — ω mihi omnes — V (i. e. omnes). 28 venias — A.

Put. Severum — Put. quem reum — ω. Cassium [Severum eloquentiam aequali
et uno tenore processisse statuunt Cassium] quem — coni. Vahlen probante
Haimio [ut] usque ad [Cassium S. permansisse statuunt eundem admirabilis
eloquentiae tenorem equidem] Cassium quem — Iohn ad [extremum Tiberii
usque ad C. S. pertinere faciunt — Haase. qui usque ad et faciunt — dell.
Michaelis, Pt. Wf. And. ω u. ad. et quem — del. Baehrens eam usque ad C. S.
faciunt quem — Ioh. Müller. 4 ista — AB illa — CEV l — D. *[atque directa] —
inclusi. directa dicendi — ω dicendi directa — B dicendi via directa — P e dd.
rett. directa
Wopkens (orta est v. l. ex dicendi via) dicendi recta via — Roth directa — Baeh-
— ω. 7 cum et temporum — om. D. 8 ac — ω et — B. 9 iste — ω illa — CD.
impeditus marum — P (Mureus) imperiss. — ω. 10 laudi dabatur — CEVA.
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dicendo quis diem eximeret. iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationum alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus et quidquid alius aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecepit in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur et ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur, nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita et ipsorum quoque-oratorum paucissimi praecipua rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. at hercule per vulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quasquam adisset, quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est per quae orator fastidiumaurium effugiat, utique apud eos indices qui vi et pote-state, non iure et legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora sed constituunt, nec expectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere sed saepae ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem? qualia sunt omnia fere principia Corvini. quis quinque in Verrem libros expectabit? quis de exceptione et formula perpetuiter ista inmensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio


aut Aulo Caecina legimus? praecurrat hoc tempore iudex dicentem et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum [in] vitatatem et corruptus est, aversatur [dicentem]. vulgus quoque adistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsumet iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudicis tristem et in pexam antiquitatem, quam si quis in scaena Q. Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi qui professus sui causa oratores sectantur non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquid arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enuitit. exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii vetero inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. horum igitur auribus et iudicis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornamentum extitit. neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. quid enim, si insigniora horum temporum templo credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis extruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21. Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenerere. nec unum de populo...† Canuti aut Atti de Furnio et Toranio quoque alios in eodem valeutudinario ob haec ossa et 5 hanc maciem probant: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una aut altera oratiuncula satis facit. nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo judicio video: quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? at hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes 10 quae in Vatinium inscribuntur ac praecepue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, aures ibidem ac commodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei, quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. quid? ex Caelianis

mendat. nolo Corvinum inequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit, quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, *videmus enim* quam iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

(.: Of Cicero in particular.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis eiusdem atatis oratores praecurrir quam iudicio. primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias inventit, utique in iis orationibus, quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. nam priores eius orationes non carent vitii antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte... cum quodam lumine terminantur. nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries est et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem

additi. 38 exuritis — D. rubor — B rubore — ω. tingit — Schulting. decor (um) — D decore — Lipsius. 37 nec — AB non — ω. (i. e. ἀν.). stetit — om. D.


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ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectili quae necessariis usibus sufficit, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et obsoleta: nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. Nolo invidere rotam Fortunae et ius verrinum et istud terti quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum esse videatur. nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocitant. neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus: sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Auffildii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt, odorunt, Calvi 10 mirantur. quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non au-


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ditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maest i et inculti istam ipsum quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieiunio consequuntur. porro ne in 15 corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur. vos vero, viri disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. nam 20 et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitatem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitatis, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas

25 est, sic exprimitis aedactus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut, etiam si nostra judicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vos dicturi sint posteri nostri.’

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, ’adgnoscitisne’ inquit Maternus ’vim et ardorem Apri nostri? quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu sed etiam 5 erudizione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos inessaret! tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum inmutasse non debet. neque enim defensus re antiquorum exigimus, nec quem-


24. 5 illis — Halm. 6 inessere tuum — DA. 8 nostrum — Acidalius
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quam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insecatus est Aper comparatus. ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit 10 sibi contra dicendi partes. igitur exprobo nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegiter.'

25. Tum Messalla: 'sequam prae scriptam a te, Materne, for- 5 mam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro qui primum, ut opinor,ominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisses. mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confessis sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisset; ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno, si cominus


fatetur plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, sedum diversis extitisse. sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium tamen concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic et apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorumdem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. adstrictior Calvus, nerviosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae prae se ferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingenis, esse quandam iudicior ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognitionem. nam quod invicem se obrectaverunt et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas de- tegitur, non est oratorum vitium sed hominum. nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronom credo solitos et invidere et livore et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitis adscit: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia sed simpliciter et ingenuo iudicium animi sui detexisse. an ille Ciceroni
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invideret qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquorum Aper agitare non destitit, id non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Graeci impetum aut L. Crassi maturatem quam calamistas Maccenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur, ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. quodque vix auditu fas esse debat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos. unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens sicut


P. CORNELII TACITI

cla... et ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis. primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plurumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. ego autem expectabam, ut incusato Asino et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen producere, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi et in publicum et in commune, veritatis credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excersisset. quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronom numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum? at ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27. 'Parce' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare dixisti, paulo ante plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiiores tuos lacessendo.'

'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri mei disputatione nec vos offendi debeat, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnun adfectus proferre.'

'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquiris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.

28. Et Messalla 'non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam

chororum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Aiiam Augusti [matrem] praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberis accepimus. quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura 25 toto statim pectore arripersen artes honestas, et sive ad militarem rem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancilae cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis plerumque vilissimus nec cuquam serio ministerio accommodatus. horum fabulis et erroribus [et] virides statim et teneri [rudes] animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet, quid coram infante domino aut dicit aut faciat. quin etiam ipsi parentes non probati neque modestiae purvulos adsuefactiunt sed lasciviae et dicaciati per quae paulatim impudentia inrept [et] sui alienique contemptus]. iam vero propria et peculiaria hisuis urbis vita paene in utero matris concipi mili videntur, 10 histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam


rem

coni. Halm. rem militarem — ω rem — om. AB (i. e. militarem).


e nec

improbati — A improbati — D improbati — EV Δ. 8 dicaciati — b. bibaci-
tati — ω libertati — Put. vivacitati — Rutgerius. *[et . . . contemptus] — seclu-
dendum censeo. 9 alienorumque — Heumann, Bs. 10 ista vero — coni. Michaelis.
peculiaria — V. 11 histrionalis — DA. quibus [si] — add. Baehrens. 13 relin-
aliud loquatur? quos alios adulcescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? nec praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingeni experimtis, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30. Transeo prima discetium elementa in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvens antequitatem nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis opera insimtutur. sed expetuntur quos rhetor as vocant; quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbe introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, [de curiis]... referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus haussisse; neque iis quitur — CDΔ. invenires — AB [juvenum] invenies — add. Andresen. 15 nec — ω Wf. ne — E. 16 uallas quidem — B. ille crebris — D.

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doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrassae, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complectere tur. itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet, non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius artis ingenuae scientiam ei defuisse. ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. ita est enim, optimi viri, ita est: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque orationis vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis languam modo et, vocem exercerent, sed ut [in] iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis et malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et inusto disputatur; haec enim est oratoris subiecta [ad dicendum] materia. nam in iudiciis fere de

10 hercule — CDEV hercle — AB. et in — EV. 20 licet ex dicet corri. D. geometrice — DV. 21 ingenuae — abesse malim ingenuae artis — CDEV artis ingenuae


aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate disserimus, sed ita ut plerumque haec ipsa in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitis numerantur. ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. in his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum et, pront cuiusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta conclusendis decendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficet. alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem discretionem paratos iam locos. dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon inciduntatem; nec

ad dicendum

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Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere, ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutueretur. deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliund agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas, eminet et excellit. idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor sed etiam populos intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitimae studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros esse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non


10 posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exerit. quod adeo neglectitur ab horum temporum disertis, ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vita deprehenduntur;

15 ut igno rent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius suae civitatis uesto derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. in paucissimo sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine adparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificis discatur. ego hanc primam et praeipuam causam arbitror, cur in tantum ab eloquentia antquorum oratorum recesserimus. si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem quem studiosissimum Platonis audito re fuisset memoriae proditum est? et Cicero his, ut nonor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia efficere, id se non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae spatiis consecutum. sunt aliae causae, magnae et gravae, quas vobis aperiiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam

meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptius meis plausisse.'

33. Et Maternus 'mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris, ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. nam quibus artibus instrui veteres oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et 5 fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera expecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici, quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia suae soliti sint. neque enim solum arte et scientia sed longe magis 10 facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequer nunc exercitationes eorum. quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam varias ac reconditas res

potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati
20 unus eloquentiae accedat. per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34. Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbatus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus aduscebat, ita ut alterationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuet at adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique appetiti aspernentur. igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequeruntur, tamen omnis eiusdem actatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant;


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habeantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam ex qua facile deprehenderent, quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. ita nec praeeptor deerrat, optimus quidem et electissimus qui faciemb eloquentiae non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, sic audierrorium semper plenum, [semper novum] ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur. scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliiis parari quam in suis; inde quin immo constansius surgere, iber fidelius corroborari. atque hercule sub eius modi praeeptoribus iuvenis ille, de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis cui cotidie audientes notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudine contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicecensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicesimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admiracione legitimus.

35. At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a [M.] Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudentiae iussi sunt. sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas in quibus non facile dixerim, utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferat. nam in loco nihil reverentiae est in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum puere inter pueros et adulescentulos inter adulescentululos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetorlras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. ex his suasoriae quidem, etsi tamquam plane leviorets et minus prudentiae exigentes, puereis delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! sequitur autem, ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeat. sic fit ut tyrannicidarum prae mia aut vitiatarum electione aut pestilentiae remedia aut in cesta matrum aut quidquid aliud in schola cotidie agitur, in

foro vel vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum...

[End of Messalla's and beginning of Secundus' speech lost.]

...rem† cogitans. nihil humile, nihil abiectum eloqui poterat.

36. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo c[l]aescit. eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet, quantum erranti populo persuaderi poterat. hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiarum, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. quae singula etsi distrahabant rem publicam, exercerant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulard praemii videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius


honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultra videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. qui quin immo sibi ipsi persuase-rant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum. nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogentur. ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37. Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabatur, ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne
tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetra-
rent aut impetratos male tuarentur. nescio an venerint in 
manus vestras haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis 
adhue manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam 
undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum com-
posita et edita sunt. ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et 
M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et 
oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullus et Curiones 
et ceteram procedur manum multum in his studiis operae 
curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam 
potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consequutum. his accedebat 
 splendor rerum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa pluri-
num eloquentiae praestant. nam multum interest, utrumne de 
furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu 
comitiorum aut expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. quae 
malas sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status 
habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingen-
tem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. crescit enim cum 
amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam clarum et inlustre 
orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam paret invenit. 
nec, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant, quas adversus 
tutores suas composit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. 
Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et 
Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt 
non qua tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives, ut uberem

Lipsius. 4 honores — Schopen, Np. Bs. 5 in — om. BD. 6 antiquariorum — 
V (Schurzkleisch) antiquariorum — C antiquorum — ABD E haec monumenta 
antiquorum quae in — Boehrens. 7 et nunc — b Put. 9 is — C. 10 sed et — 
D. 11 Metellos et — bCD sed et — ABEV. 13 quamquam — D. 14 accedat 
— CDA. 15 rerum — V. causarum — bCD EV curarum — AR. 16 praestabant 
— A (puncta i. manus). utrum aut de — Δ. 18 aut — inserui de expilatis — 
CDA. civibus — Put. comitibus — ω. 20 habendus — CEV h. est — AB est h. 
— D. 24 nec — scripsi non — ω. 26 Archia. Catull — D. 28 fuerit — Nissen
ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed ut subinde ad-
30 moneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui,
quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit. quis
ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari?
plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. similis
eloquentiae condicio. nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in
35 acie quoque plures et intuleritictus et excepiter quoque maio-
res adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto
altior et excelsior et illis nobilitate discriminibus in ore homi-
um agit, quorum ea natura est, ut secura velint, periculosos
extollant.

38. Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudicio-
rum. quae etsi nunc aptior †extiterit, eloquentiam tamen illud
forum magis exercebat in quo nemo intra paucissimas perorare
horas cogebatur et liberae comperenditiones erant et modum

— CDE re p. — V. 30 nos — om. B. 31 existit — Lipsius exstitit — ω Ms.
34 eloquentis — Schele. 35 quo quis — Michaelis, Np. Pt. Post steterit Schopen
ins. orator, post acie Ritter. plures [et] — om. C. *maiores adversarios acriores
que pugnas sibi — emend. Boetticher, bs. Hn. Ml. Wf. And. maior adversarius
et (B ei — A co — CDEV est et — Ritter) acriores qui (per — C quicum — Latinius,
Ms.) pugnas sibi — ω et acriores pugnas — Orelli, Np. Bs. ipsa — Orelli ipsas
— ω ipse — B Pt. pugna quam — Pether ipsa sola — Bauhren. 37 nobilitatus —
38* velint [periculosam extollant] supplevit Iohn nolint — Rhenanus, Pt. elevant
Walther ut dubia laudent, s. v. — R. Agricola secura sibi, alius lubrica velint —
P. Voss ut alius dubia, sibi ut s. v. — Ritter ut secura sibi, alius dubia (dura
— Heller) velint — Boissier ut anciptia non s. v. — Schopen securi (et secara)
spectare alia pericula velint — l*aehlen sec. ipsi aliorum cernere periculam velint
— Bauhren securi ipsi spect. al. per. velint — Hn. Wf. ut sec. oderint, incerta
velint — Goetzler ut dubius interesse, s. v. — Mühlh ut s. v. fortia laudent — M.
Ml. And.

38. 1 veteranum — del. olim And. ante eloquentiam ins. Bauhrens, post tamen
Cornelissen. 2* extiterit — Walther e. tuerit — V est ita erit — ABC est ita
existimatur — Accidius aptiores statueris — M. Schmidt, And. eloquentia — ω
corr. Agricola. 3* p. horas — CA horas — om. ω (supra vers. A) p. perorare
DIALOOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. primus haec tertiio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinens locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obvius, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumvirosc dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae pro heredibus Urbaniae inscri- buntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis Divi Augusti temporebus habita, postquam longa tempora quies et continuum populi otium et asidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverant.

39. Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen, vel ideo ut rideatur. quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae adtulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? quantum virium de- traxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae explicantur? nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangitur


eloquentia. ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxi-
tatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex,
quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendo est.
frequenter probationibus et testibus silentium praetor indicit.
unus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit et res velut in soli-
tudine agitur. oratori autem clameo plausque opus est et
velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus con-
tingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent,
cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam lega-
tiones ac pars Italiea periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in pleris-
que judici et crideter populus Romanus sua interesse quid
iudicaretur. satis constat C. Corneliem et M. Scaurum et T.
Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatiniunm concursu totius civitatis
et accusatos et defenso, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa
certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. itaque
hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non
alis magis orationibus censeantur.

40. Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissi-
num quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitarum gloria, cum se
plurimi desertorum ne a Publio quidem Scipione aut L. Sulla

*D. 9 ipsa—CEAV. 11 quando—Put. quando—AB quamquando—C
s. causam
quamquando—D quam—E quǎ—V causam quando—Baehrens incipias—A.
12* praetor—Orelli (corruptela ex compendio PR male explicato orla est) pronus
—B patronus—ω protinus—Nolte (Halm), Ms. patronis—Hess patronatus—
Roth indicet patronus—Dronke patrono indicetur—Schulting impatiens—
Haupt, Rs. Hm. importunus—Weissenborn patrono invito—Peter patronus
16 nobiles [homines]—add. Orelli advocati—add. Urlichas, And. 17 tribus ac
—B Hm. 18 adstistere—V adsisterent—Rhenanus, viciss—D. 20 indica-
rentur—D. 23 potuerunt—V. 24 hercle—CD. *gerunt ex egerint corr. B
legerunt . . . accendantur—Andresen, Wf. libri quoque extant ut ipsi qui—
Baehrens [in feliciter] egerunt—add. Inge. libri [orum] . . . legerunt, delec-
tati censeantur—coni. Novæ. 25 magis [rebus quam]—coni. Mühly. non
actis magis orat. —II. Buchholz et ipsi . . . censeantur—Heller.

40. 3 [L.] Sulla—add. Ritter. 4 incensendos—D. 5 Locis nondum proba-
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque, † ut histriones, auribus 6 uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant!...

[End of Secundus' speech and beginning of Maternus' closing address lost.]

... Non de õtiosā et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumnæ licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocitant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quorum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. nec Macedonum 15 quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores extiterunt apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus 20

et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratum modus, tullit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas 25 lætiores. sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad volum compositae civitatis argumentum est. quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? quod municipium in clienteleam nostram venit, nisi quod aut 5 vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. quo modo enim minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habit in iis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. quid enim opus est

fortasse recte. 24 sicut — Ed. Ald. 1534 sicii domitus — ω (i. e. sicutidomitus) 25 indomitus — Put. 26 lætiores — Rhenanus latiores — ω. tuta — ω tanta — cod. bene bone — b supra v. 26 famam — Muretus forman — ω.

Ven. corr. idem tam tuta — Ritter. Grecorum — EV. bene — ω bone — A


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Cum adrisissent, discissimus.

honor — Orelli horum — ω nostrorum — coni. Michaelis. obscuro — CEVA

42. 1 cum — ω tum — Put. cui — Rütter. 6* cum — om. Put. antem — Weissenborn, edd.

Ego tantum repperi et meliuscum feci. CORNELI TACITI DE ORA- TORIBVS EXPLICIT FELICITER — A. FINIT FINIT FINIT — B τελωρ
C. — CORNELI TACITI. DE ORATOR. DIALOG* EXPL> — E. Cornelli taciti de oratoribus explicit — V.
NOTES.

INTRODUCTION (c. 1–2).—Tacitus having been repeatedly requested by a friend to enumerate the causes of the evident decline of eloquence, at length complies by furnishing what purports to represent the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate on this very question, which he had heard on the occasion of a visit of his teachers to the house of the poet Maternus.

1. 1 IUSTE FABI: This Fabius Iustus is very probably identical with the friend of the younger Pliny (Ep. I 5, 11 and VII 2) and with the L. Fabius Iustus who was cons. suffectus in 102 (cp. Mommsen, Hermes III 137).—The transposition of the ‘cognomen’ or ‘praenomen’ is rare in classical prose; the seemingly earliest instances are in Cicero (pro Mil. 3 Ahala Servilius, De orat. II 62, 253 Vespa Terentius, and some dozen examples in the laxer and colloquial style of the Epistles). Schmalz (Über den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio, p. 52) is, therefore, not altogether accurate in attributing the introduction of this usage to Varro (e. g. de R. R. praeaf. 6, 2 extr., de L. L. 5, 83). Sporadic examples are met with in Caesar (e. g. B. C. III 83) and Nepos (Att. 18); in Livy instances multiply and in post-Augustan authors, beginning with Velleius, this usage has become exceedingly common. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. I p. 41 ff. and especially Lahmeyer, Philol. XXII 476 ff. For Tacitus: R. Macke, Die röm. Eigennamen bei T., who also notes the fact (I p. 12) that these transpositions occur in steadily decreasing ratio from the D. (25 %) to the 2. part of the Annals (only about 6 %). Similar inversions are found in Greek as early as Dionysius (e. g. Arch. I 6 'Αγαθιόνος Μενένως 24 Βάπτων Τερίνιος), which seems to indicate very clearly that this usage must have been rather more common in his time than the rarity of its occurrence in the extant literature of the period would lead us to suppose.—

2 saecula: 'times, periods.' In this sense the word is post-Augustan. Cf. Walch, Tac. Ag. 3 p. 121. On the etymology, see
Woelflin's *Archiv* IV 598 ff. VII 596. — *eminentium*: The figu-

rative use of this participal adjective, though common in Silver

Latin, esp. in Velleius (cf. Kleber p. 51), seems not to occur in

Cicero, the nearest approach to it being, perhaps, de orat. III 57,

216 de nat. deor. I 27, 75. — *ingenii gloriaque = ingeniorum gloria*.

On the hendiadys, cf. Draeger *H. S.* II 14–21 C. F. W. Müller,


3 *potissimum*: On the position of the adverb between attributive

and substantive, see note c. 17 5. — *deserta*: This word, partially

suggested perhaps by 'floruerint,' is often used of a fallow field

e. g. Cic. Cael. 18. Roman writers are characteristically fond of

metaphors derived from the pursuits of agriculture and war. Cpa.

e. g. e. c. 6 ext. 9 2 40 25 and in general, A. Stitz, *Die Metapher bei T.*

4 *ipsum*: The great frequency of this pronoun in the Dial. (66

times in all) has been unjustly censured, but Tacitus seems to have

been fond of it, for it occurs in proportionately still larger ratio

in the Histories.

5 *diserti*: Cic. de orat. I 21, 94 disertos cognosse me (namely

Antonius) nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem, quod eum statute-

bam *disertum* qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocres

hominem ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, *eloquentem*

vero qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare

quae vellet omnesque omnium rerum quae ad dicendum pertinerent

fontes animo atque memoria contineret (cf. also Orat. 5, 18 Quint.

VIII proem. 13). Quint. I 10, 8 'fuit aliquis sine iis (sc. artibus)

disertus.' Sed ego oratorem volo. This distinction is, however,

not always consistently observed, e. g. c. 27 2 disertiores esse

antiquos. In the later writings, 'disertus' occurs only in Ann.

IV 52, 'orator' taking its place, for 'eloquens' is found but once,

in Ag. 10.— On the etymology of disertus, cf. Wilkins, Cic.

de orat. 1. c.

6 *causidici* 'pettifoggers.' The term is generally used in malam

partem e. g. Cic. de orat. I 46, 202 non enim causidicum nescio quem

neque clamatorem aut rabulum. Quint. XII 1, 25 non enim forensem

quandam instituimus operam nec mercenariam vocem nec . . . non

inutilem sane litium advocatum quem denique causidicum vulgo


this accessory notion of contempt, the word is found in Lucret. IV

966 (quoted by Wilkins) and in Cic. Orat. 9, 30 nam qui Lysiam
secuntur, causidicum quendam secuntur non illum quidem amplum atque grandem, subtilem et elegantem tamen et qui in forensibus causis possit praecclare consistere. — *advocati et patroni:* Cf. Ps. Ascon. in Divinat. p. 104 Or. Qui defendit alterum in iudicio aut *patronus* dicitur si orator est, aut *advocatus* si aut ins suggerit aut praesentiam suam commodat amico. See Smith, *Dict. Antig.* I p. 30, II p. 356. — *quidvis potius* e. g. actor, cognitor, iuris peritus, iuris consultus, defensor, litigatus, leguleius (Cic. de orat. I 56, 236). Cf. Ps. Cic. Synonyma (Fragm. IV p. 1063 Bt. Hm.) and in general Smith op. c. I 20 ff. 1037 II 513. — *oratores:* used a fortiori for the ‘perfect orator’ as distinguished from disertus. So e. g. c. 15 5 neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes, 25 13 26 16 30 27 32 9 ut denique oratorem esse fateatur 40 13 and Quint. cited above. In c. 17 1 the author, somewhat carelessly, it would seem, makes Aper say transeo ad Latinos oratores . . . nostrorum temporum disertis anteponeri soletis, for these words imply Aper’s acquiescence in an antithesis which he consistently repudiates. If we read voletis with Kleiber, Aper would then be merely imputing an easily refuted, because absurd, assertion of his opponents, and this interpretation appears preferable.

7 *tam magnae* = tantae is rare. Cf. G. 37 Ag. 18 Ann. XI 36 Sen. ap. Gell. XII 2, 11 Ep. 59, 10 Quint. II 17, 43 Plin. Ep. III 19, 4 tam magnam Suet. de gram. 3 pretia . . . tanta, mercedesque tam magnae. Twice in Cicero’s speeches: Verr. II 3, 46, 111 tanto . . . tanta . . . tam m. and Phil. II 3, 7, where the MSS., however, read iam magnae.

8 *ingenii* ‘mental capacity, aptitude.’ 1. 21 ‘talent, genius.’ 1. 13 ‘power of invention, cleverness, sagacity.’ Peter is disposed to censure the author for repeating the word ‘ingenium’ five times in one short chapter. This dread of repetition is, however, merely a modern stylistic sentimentality, quite foreign to the ancients. See the sensible remarks of Quintilian X 1, 17. Thus diversus and excipere occur twice within this same chapter. Cf. also c. 27 7 6 8 18. 22. 33 2 34 5. Tacitus in particular furnishes numerous instances. Cq. Joh. Müller, *Beiträge* IV p. 11–18 (condensed into a note by Nipperdey, Ann. I 81). On similar repetitions in other authors, see Seyffert-Müller, Laelius p. 284, G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst* I p. 389 f. and in general, R. V. II 29–32.

10 *iudicis:* ‘taste.’ To refuse to imitate the superior models furnished by the eloquence of the ancients would prove us to be
poor judges of oratorical excellence. — hercule occurs in 11 other places in the D. (c. 5 26 8 26 14 21 19 19 21 8. 22 26 2. 6 30 19 34 25 39 23). Such exclamations are naturally employed more frequently in speeches and in animated discourse than in historical narrative. Gutmann’s severe criticism and the inference which he draws concerning the Tacitean authorship of the D. are, therefore, wide of the mark, particularly in view of the following passages which escaped his notice. H. I 84 Ann. I 26 III 54 IV 40 XIV 43 (in speeches) I 3, 17 XII 43. For the non-syncopated form hercule (hercule only c. 14) cp. Woelflin, Philol. XXV p. 104. — audorem: According to Woelflin (l. c. p. 97), all subjunctives relating to the author Tacitus are in the singular (e. g. Ag. 1, Germ. 46 H. I 4, Ann. II 35 III 25 IV 11 XIII 49 XIV 14 XVI 16), while indicatives are generally found in the plural, except in the Annals, where the singular largely predominates. This last observation calls for a slight modification, for in the Histories, at all events, sing. and plur. indic. occur in equal proportion (19 : 21). Cp. E. Wolff, Die Sprache d. T. p. 3–6. Tacitus grew more reflective and subjective in his later works, hence the greater frequency of the sing. indic.

‘mea mihi’ like ‘tuus tibi’ ‘suus sibi’ is the invariable position (cp. R. V. III p. 144 note 387). The collocation of the poss. pronoun before or after its noun does not carry any additional emphasis in T., at least. SchurzLI EAN’s inversion of the MS. reading ‘mihi mea’ is, therefore, highly probable, for only thus will ‘mea’ receive the proper stress.


13 admodum: T. always says ‘iuvenis admodum’ (Ag. 7 H. II 78 IV 5) but ‘admodum adulescens’ (Ann. I 3 IV 44). The position of this intensifying adverb is, however, not determined by any fixed usage. E. g. G. 17 exceptis a. paucis, but Ann. V 2 paucis a. receptis. II 8 castellum munitum a., but III 29 plebi a. laetae. The same arbitrariness, unless we postulate euphonic reasons, prevails in Cicero. Cp. Seyffert-Müller, Laelius p. 97. — On the inter-
pretation of the phrase ‘iuvenis admodum’ by Andresen and others, see Proleg. pp. xxvii–xxx.

14 memoria et recordatione ‘vivid recollection.’ This collocation is common (e. g. Cic. de orat. I 53, 228 Brut. 2, 9 Tusc. V 31, 88) and the tautology only apparent, for memoria is the generic term denoting merely the power by which we are enabled to reproduce impressions. Quint. XI 2, 43 recordatio firmissima memoriae pars, hence Cic. de orat. I 2, 4 can say memoriae recordatio. Cp. Seyff. Müll. Laelius p. 555 and the interesting passage in Plut. Cat. Min. 1. So in Greek μνήμη and ἀνάμνησις.

Tacitean usage calls for ‘e-excepti’ in place of the MS. reading ‘a-accepti,’ as has been shown at length in Am. Jour. Phil. XII 327. The same scribal error is found e. g. in ch. 2 10 and in Quint. X 1, 80.

16 singuli etc.: A much disputed and generally misinterpreted passage. It will be admitted that ‘formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent’ is intended by the author to apply to all the interlocutors, but this necessitates the further inference that Aper is included among the singuli. If so, we cannot properly supply corruptae eloquentiae after causas, for Aper vehemently denies the very proposition. Andresen’s explanation that, as far as Aper is concerned, ‘der Begriff des Verfalls der Beredsamkeit zu dem der Veränderung erweitert wird’ involves a kind of zeugma which cannot be accepted without parallel instances. This difficulty is avoided by supplying some such expression as ‘inmutatae eloquentiae.’ On this point all the speakers are agreed. ‘Diversas’ has the meaning of ‘various,’ not ‘opposite’ (nicht Rücksicht auf Aper’s Standpunkt, Andresen), for Aper’s attitude is not made known till the end of the chapter. The reader so far naturally supposes that the various speakers endeavored, each in his own way, to give the reasons why the present age produced no real orator. This perfectly legitimate inference the author forthwith corrects by adding that such unanimity did not exist among those who took part in the debate ‘for there was also one present, who, as I would have you know, took quite the opposite side’ etc. In all the interpretations hitherto proposed this peculiar force of enim (cf. c. 5 4; 16 14) and so similarly nam (c. 2 13, where see note) is lost sight of. Cp. also Dr. H. S. II 169.

Roth’s emendation sed eaedem probabiles has met with great favor and unquestionably satisfies the sense. But if so intelligible a reading had
been the original, one is at a loss to understand the corruption in all our MSS. It seems, therefore, more methodical to explain vel easdem as an interlinear gloss which subsequently found its way into the text. The remark was due to some ancient reader who not unjustly regarded the arguments of the opponents of Aper as virtually identical, they being, indeed, quite of the same mind as to the actuality of the decline of eloquence. Cf. 16 if nec aequo animo (sc. Aprum) perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam et l. 14: non enim... saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione dannari.

17 dum... redderent: Another similar instance of a dum-clause subordinated to a clause with cum is found in Ann. XII 68 cum obtegeretur dum reliqua... componentur. The parallel examples quoted by Hand, *Tursell.* II 310 ff. from poets and late writers are very doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of ‘cum’ and ‘dum’ in our MSS. (cf. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. I 697).—The irregular use of the imperf. subj. must be explained by assimilation.—On the syntactical use of ‘dum’ in general, see Dr. *H. S.* II 609, and the exhaustive discussion of E. Hoffmann, *Latein. Zeitpart.* p. 169 ff. For ‘dum’ with indicat. in indirect discourse esp. common in Tac., see note to c. 32 33.—quisque, with a plural predicate is mostly poetic and very rare in classical prose, the harshness of the construction being often lessened by a plural antecedent. So singuli here. Cf. Tac. H. II 44 III 33 IV 25 V 20 Ann. I 44 XII 43 XV 57. For examples in other writers, see R. V. III 30 note 337 Dr. *H. S.* I 170 ff. *Stil* p. 14 f.—On suus quisque, cp. the exhaustive treatment of Wex, *Agricola* p. 321—328.—animi et ingenii: A common collocation in Cic. (e.g. De orat. I 25, 113 III 2, 5 Orat. 38, 132 Brut. 24, 93 ad fam. IV 8, 1). In Tac. only here and again c. 21 30. Cf., however, G. 29 mente animoque, H. I 84 quem nobis animum, quas mentes. The distinction is well brought out by Quint. II 4, 20 ingenium exercetur multiplex variaque materia et animus contemplatione recti pravique formatur.

18 numeris... rationibus: ‘Divisions, parts’... ‘arguments.’ The other meanings of numeri are less suitable to the context. The passage is probably modelled upon Cic. de orat. III 4, 16 nos enim ipsi sermoni non interfuissimus et quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos (=numeros) ac sententias (=rationes) huius disputationis tradidisset. See Peter ad loc. Andreason interprets numeri in the metaphorical sense of ‘rounds’ which it sometimes has in Quint., but in that case the clause servato... disputationis were
quite superfluous. Translate: 'I shall follow exactly the same lines of argument, retaining the order of the discussion.' — servato, for the Ciceronian conservare (only once in Tac.: Ann. XII 52) cf. pro Rosc. Am. 2, 6 ordinem conservare. This use of the simple for the compound verb is chiefly poetic and comparatively rare in pre-Tacitean prose. Cf. c. 17 19 pellere (= depellere) 19 4 flexisse (= deflexisse) 25 9 fatetur (= profitetur) 30 27 cluditur (= includitur), 34 2 4 parabatur (= praeparabatur) sectari (= adsectari) 38 6 finire (= definire) See the long list given by Ruperti Tac. Vol. IV p. 840 Roth, Agric. p. 164 ff. and cp. Woelflin, Philol. XXV 111 f. Dr. H. S. I 138 Stil pp. 9 f. On the compound verb for the simple, cp. note c. 7 17.

19 neque (nec) =: In Tac. only here and Ag. 10 neque quaere huius operis est ac multa rettulere. Cp. also Mart. XI 32, 4 Suet. Vesp. 12. — On nec . . . et, see note c. 2 10.

21 eloquentiam ingenis: This does not signify that the eloquence of the moderns, on the one hand, was contrasted with the genius of the ancients, on the other, but the achievements of the ancients and the moderns from both points of view are reciprocally compared. The slightly illogical and hence misleading antithesis was occasioned by that desire for formal symmetry and stylistic equipoise which frequently betrayed our author into inserting superfluous or dissimilar substantives e. g. c. 31 12 vim virtutemque vitiorum. Agr. 21 ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre. The other illustrations given by John are less apposite. This prooemium, as indeed the entire D., clearly betrays the strong influence which Cicero’s writings exercised over the youthful author. Cf. de orat. I 2, 4 ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sane satis explicata recordatio sed, ut arbitror, apta ad id quod requiris ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimique senserint. De rep. I 8, 13 nec vero nostra quaedam est instituenda nova et a nobis inventa ratio sed unius aetatis clarissimorum ac sapientissimorum nostrae civitatis virorum disputatio. de orat. III 4, 16 cited above. II, 1, 4 nostrorum hominum prudentiam Graecis, (i. e., Graecorum prudentiae), anteferre. Tacitus, like Cicero in the Laelius and the de nat. deor., takes no part in the debate but remains a passive listener throughout.

2. 1 nam: Beginning a narrative, where igitur is more frequent. Cf. H. I 1 nam post conditam urbem and perhaps Ann. XVI 18. —
postero die: Far less common in Tac. than 'postera die,' although the masc. gender of 'dies' greatly predominares in other collocations, but without any distinctions of meaning. Postera die seems not to occur before the time of Livy. Cp. the exhaustive discussion in Neue, Formenlehre, I, p. 681–88 and also R. V., I, p. 212–214.—This opening paragraph is also modelled upon Cic. de orat. II 3, 12 postero igitur die quam illa erant acta . . . repente eo Q. Catulus senex cum C. Iulio fratre venit. —Catonom: a fabula praetexta dealing with the 'nobile letum' of Cato Uticensis. This sturdy opponent of Caesar was extravagantly praised in the early empire by poets and rhetoricians, being frequently made the mouthpiece of republican sentiments. Cf. Manilius I 793 ff. Lucan Bk. II and IX, and Seneca, to whom Cato represented the true Stoic ideal of civic virtue. Cf. e. g. Ep. 24, 6 ff. 71, 15 ff. 95, 69 ff. 104, 29 ff. Dial. I 2, 9 ff. —Catonom i. e. the tragedy Cato and so below ('Cato omisit, Thyestes dicet'). On this very common metonymy cf. Plut. de Isid. 379 A. ἐστιν ἡμᾶς τὸν ἀνίμουν βεβλά Πλάτωνος, ὁμοιῶθι φαμίν Πλάτωνα καὶ Μένανθρον ὑποκρίνεσθαι τῶν τὰ Μενάνθρου πονήματα ὑποτίθεμαι.

2 offendisse potentium animos: i. e. probably the Emperor and his all-powerful friends such as Crispus and Marcellus. Vespasian was a humane ruler and not easily provoked to harsh and unjust measures (cf. c. 8 20 patientissimus veri). Still, the banishment of Helvidius Priscus and the expulsion of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers (Cass. Dio 66, 13) were well calculated to arouse apprehensions for the safety of the bold poet who so frankly gave public expression to his liberal convictions. The sentiments put into Cato's mouth cannot, however, as is generally supposed, have been directed against monarchical institutions as such, but were doubtless levelled against the political evils which had grown up under them, for Maternus in c. 41 in perfect accord with similar utterances in the historical writings of Tacitus, (see Proleg. p. xxxvi), does not advocate a return to a republican form of government but, for reasons of expediency, sincerely acquiesces in the existing order of things, only deprecating the despotic abuse of monarchical power. Cf. Nipperdey, Ann. p. 21. 35 Jansen p. 50 f. —On the great risks incurred by freedom of speech under the Empire, see W. A. Schmidt, Gesch. d. Denk- u. Glaubensfreiheit etc. Berlin 1847 p. 23–108 and Friedländer, Sittengesch. III* 406. —On substantivated adjectives and
participles, cp. Dr. H. S. I 44 ff. — tamquam = sic introducing not the subjective reasons of the author but the opinions of others. On this Greecism, not rare in post-Aug. Latin but highly character-istic of Tacitus and Suetonius, cf. c. 2 extr. 18 26 Ag. 25. 38 G. 12 H. I 7 V 22 Ann. III 72, where Nipperdey quotes many other examples. See Woelflin, Philol. XXIV 115–123, Schmalz Lat. Synt. (Iwan Müller’s Handb. Vol. II p. 505), and Pfizner, Die Annalen des T. kritisch beleuchtet 1869 p. 160–65, whose subtle distinctions between tamquam, quasi, velut cannot, however, be maintained without some modifications.

3 eo tragoediae argumento = eius trag., an instance of hypal-lage. Cf. Ag. 4 omnem honestarum artium cultum H. III 20 ignotae situm urbis II 5 vicinis provinciarum administrationibus, IV 81. Ann. III 3 diurna actorum scriptura IV 32 veteres pop. Romani res. IV 33 clari ducem exitus. Cf. R. V. III p. 549 ff. note 522, but this figure is by no means confined to Greek and Latin. See G. Gerber, Die Sprache als Kunst I p. 535 ff. — tragoedia as a synonym for fabula praetexta is Δρ φίλη. For a somewhat similarly loose use of the term, cf. Plaut. Amphit. Prol. 41. 93, Capt. 62. — argumentum: used not in its technical sense of ἐπισήμως but here equivalent to ‘contents, subject matter, plot.’ Cf. Ann. VI 29 detulerat argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae. For the various other meanings attaching to this word, cp. Quint. V 10, 9: argumentum plura signi-ficat, nam et fabulae ad actum scaenicae compositae argumenta dicuntur et orationum Ciceronis velut thema ipse exponens Pedia-nus, argumentum, inquit, tale est: quo apparat omnem ad scriben-dum destinatam materiam ita appellari.— suoi oblitas ... cogitasset: He had, as it were, merged his individuality so completely into that of his hero as to lose his own identity; he had, in other words, given a purely objective treatment of his theme. In this, Maternus proved himself to be a true artist, for, according to Arist. Poet. 17 παπανότομος γάρ ἀπό τῆς αἰτίης φύσεως οἱ εἰν τῶν πάθεσιν θεο καὶ χειμάνιν ὁ χειμάξων καὶ χειλεπαίναν ὁ ὀργηξόμενος ἀληθώτατα, but his intense convictions made him forget that he was no longer living in an age ‘ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.’ — cogitare, with the acc., in place of the usual construction with de (not in Tac.), is more emphatic, signifying that the object of your thought takes complete possession of you. Cf. c. 36 1 rem cogitant. Ag. 32 maiores vestros et posteros cogitate. Pliny, Ep. IV 2, 2 Regulum
cogita Sen. de benef. IV 34, 5 sapiens utramque partem eius cogit.
   and Stuerenburg, pro Arch. VI 14.

4 sermo 'talk of the town.' Cic. pro Mil. 12, 33 in ... civitatis
sermone versatur. On the subjects of Roman gossip, cp. Fried-
lander S. G. I p. 431 f.

5 celeberrima tum ingenia fori: celebris (celeber not in Tac.), as
a synonym of 'clarus' is perhaps first found in Tibull. II 1, 33.
(Neue II* 17). In classical prose it is not used of persons, excepting
once in Livy XXVI 27, 16 (but see Weissenborn's note ad loc.
and Kühner, Cic. Tusc. Disp. V 9). — tum, as well as defuit, con-
temnebat, nesciebat below, show that both Aper and Secundus
were dead at the time the Dial. was written. Cp. Prol. p. xxvi.—
ingenia fori, ought not to have been objected to, even if the expre-
sion were not exactly paralleled by Quint. X 1, 122 summa hodie
quibus inlustratur forum ingenia, where Peterson might have cited
this passage.

6 quos ... utrosque: for the classical quorum utrumque. The
plural may here be due to a kind of attraction, but 'utrique' is also
not infrequently used, where two individuals, although quite dis-
tinct, are regarded as belonging closely together. Exx. in Tac. are
c. 16 22 G. 34 and in the second part of the Annals (XI 1 XV 55.
s. v. 'utrique,' Lat. Synt. II p. 548. No instances of the plural of
'utrique' seem to occur in the younger Pliny and only one in
Quint: V 10, 43 quorum utrorumque ratio.—non modo: non (nec,
neque) modo is not separated by an intervening word unless this
is in turn joined by 'et' or 'que' to another word, e. g., c. 28 29 non
studia modo curasque 32 9 non doctus modo et prudens 37 10 non
viribus modo et armis. H I 50. Ag. 2 is the only exception.
Unseparated non modo occurs G. 15. 45 H. I 15, Ann. I 77 II 45; III
19 XIII 20 XIV 1 XV 21. 44. Sed quoque is always separated:
c. 37 10 Ag. 2 H. I 50. 57. Followed by sed etiam: c. 32 6 Ag. 3
G. 45 Ann. IV 35; by sed ... etiam: c. 28 29 Ann. II 45 XIV 1
XV 21. 44; by sed et: G. 15; by sed: Ag. 3 H. I 4; by etiam:
Ann. I 77 XIII 19 IV 35. On non solum — sed etiam, cf. c. 7 13;
on non tantum, cf. c. 14 16 and, in general, Nipp. Ann. I 60 Woell-
lin, Philol. XXV 110 Pohlmann p. 31 ff.

The antithesis lies between 'in iudicibus ... audiebam' and 'domi asse-
ctabar.' It is, therefore, evident that the MS. reading 'non utrosque modo'
cannot be right. We require either 'non in iudicis modo' or 'non modo in iudicis.' The position of 'utroque' cannot be accurately determined, but the strong tendency of Latin writers to bring pronouns into juxtaposition, favors the reading given in the text or 'quos utroque ego.' The word was probably accidentally omitted by the scribe and then replaced above the line, whence it was subsequently transferred to the text in the wrong place. Ritter, followed by Halm and Novák, solve the difficulty by deleting the utroque, but this is wholly unjustifiable, no motive for interpolating this word being conceivable.

7 in publico: 'in public places.' Usually opposed to 'domi,' also to 'in privato,' e. g. S. C. de Bacch. neve in poplicod nec neve in privato. Heraeus' (H. I 19) distinction between 'in public places' and 'in the open street' is strained and unnecessary. For similar adverbal expressions of 'in' with abl., of which Tacitus seems especially fond, cp. A. Gerber, De usu praep. p. 11 f. — adsectabar: 'attended, waited upon.' So sectari c. 20 14 and 34 4 hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, and not rare in classic writers. Peter taking the word too strictly in the sense of 'to follow,' is in consequence compelled to assume a zeugma with domi, which, though slight in itself, is obviated by the interpretation just given. For similar expressions, such as se conferre, applicare, dicere, cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 9. It will be observed that T. here professes to have still followed the time-honored custom, the total extinction of which he, in a later chapter (34), deprefixes. Cf. also Quint. XII 11, 5: frequentabant vero eius (sc. Domiti Afri) domum optimi invenes more veterum.

8 cupiditas: A good example, first pointed out by Woelfflin, to illustrate the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. 'Cupiditas' occurs in but three other places in the smaller works (Ag. 15 G. 19. 35), the shorter 'cupido' only once (Ag. 5). In the Histories we find 'cupiditas' 5 times (H. I 93 is doubtful) 'cupido' 31 times. In the Annals finally cupido has completely routed its competitor, occurring 47 times. We find the same partiality for the shorter form in Sallust (23:3). In Cicero, however, cupido is used only in personification, and Quint. has it only twice: VI pr. 13, X 7, 17. — ardore iuvenili: The same phrase again occurs in Ag. 37. Quint. VII 2, 24 says iuvenili cupiditate, Cic. de fin. I 13, 43 cupidatum ardore, but Tacitus regards both words as synonyms. — fabulas: (1) 'ordinary conversation, small talk,' so here. (2) 'gossip' — cp. 3 ext. (3) 'tales, Märchen' — cp. 29 4. (4) 'legends, Sage' — cp. 3 21 Ann. XII 58. (5) 'drama' — Ann. XIII 21.
9 disputations: 'discussions, debates,' such as the Dialogus itself cf. c. 14 17. — arcana: probably identical with the rhetorical exercises designated by the elder Seneca as domesticae (Contr. I præf. 12, III præf. 1) or secretae (ibid. VII præf. 1.). From Contr. IV præf. 2: Pollio Asinius numquam admissa multitudine declamavit, it also appears that arcana semotae dictionis are opposed to public recitations. It seems, therefore, more than doubtful whether 'arcana' can properly be identified with the exercises alluded to in c. 14 17 as declamatorium studium, as is contended by some. See note ad loc.—On the use of neuter adjectives as nouns and as such joined with genitives, a construction more common in Tacitus than in any other writer, cp. c. 11 10 sacra studiorum and Dr. H. S. I 453, Stil p. 5. 30. Riemann, Études p. 102, R. V. III p. 553, note 524, where other literature is cited.

10 quamvis, denoting a fact is post-classic, comparatively rare in Tacitus and always used with a subjunctive. Cf. H. II 59 IV 11, Ann. I 68 XI 20 XIII 34 XV 11. 18. 51. 54 Gerber, De coniunct. usu Tac. p. 38 f. On the usage of 'quamvis' in other writers, see Dr. H. S. II 768 ff. and R. V. III p. 268 note 427 b.—plerique: Nipperdey's assertion (Ann. III 1), retained in the last edition (1892), that plerique and plerunque in Tacitus always signify 'very many, very often' is not confirmed by the Lex. Tac., for out of a total of 162 instances (omitting 10 doubtful cases), the superlative meaning occurs 48 times. In the Dial. c. 26 10 29 2 39 17.

10 neo . . et: Cp. c. 4 4 21 3 G. 7 and very frequent in the later works of Tacitus. See Dr. H. S. II 86.

11 promptum, 'ready.' So H. II 86 sermone promptus Ann. XIII 3 Augusto prompta ac profluens . . . eloquentia. Used in malam partem 'glib' in Ag. 27 prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Opp. to lentum.

12 institutione et litteris: The general followed by a more specific term. See note c. 9 1.

13 consequutum sc. esse. On this very common ellipsis cp. e. g. c. 4 6 5 34 12 20 16 26 18 17 25 26 32 29 33 25 37 14 39 21 and C. Wetzell, De usu verbi subst. Tac. nam: Like the Greek γαρ, implying an ellipsis. 'But these statements are false, for as a matter of fact, Secundus.' Cf. c. 9 1 25 23 Ag. 46 quidquid ex Agricola amavimus . . . manet mansurumque est, nam multos veterum velut
NOTES.


15 *tamquam* etc.: Aper, although equipped with all the learning of his day affected to despise it, believing that his orations would be more admired if attributed to great natural gifts than if they smelled of the lamp or suggested the study, a conviction virtually repeated or implied in c. 6 ext. The characterisation itself can hardly be historically accurate, for it is too unmistakably modelled upon a very similar passage in Cic. de orat. II 1, 4 sed fuit hoc in utroque eorum ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet didicisse quam illa despicere et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Graecis anteferre; Antonius autem probabilior em hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviorem fore si alter contentunere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur. Natural aptitude and painstaking diligence are also frequently contrasted e. g. Cic. Brut. 67, 237. P. Murena mediocri ingenio . . . multae industriae et magni laboris fuit . . . L. Turius parvo ingenio sed multo labore.

There were some critics who asserted that Aper owed his oratorical success to happy natural endowments rather than to a wide erudition and
careful training. This criticism the author believes to be unjust (maligne) and he proceeds to refute it by telling us that Aper only affected to conceal these accomplishments, which he possessed in a very high degree, because of his conviction that natural gifts elicit a higher admiration than achievements won by dint of laborious study. Most commentators take industriae et laboris as an objective genitive, thus destroying what seems, in my judgment, the only psychologically admissible interpretation of Aper’s attitude. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in adopting Vahlen’s easy emendation. It were still simpler to take ind. et lab. as genit. of comparison, but this Grecism is very rare in Tacitus, e. g. Ann. IV 63 cui minor quadringentorum milium res (cp. Woelflin, Der genet. comparat. in Archiv VII 119) and it may be doubted whether the construction is permissible in the earliest period of the historian’s style. See Vahlen, Hermes 28, 358.

16 habiturus: A future participle in place of an entire clause, first found in Livy (Kühnast Liv. Synt. 267), is quite Tacitean and particularly frequent with tamquam, quasi e. g. H. I 48 Ann. XII 49 XIII 43. Cp. Dr. Stil § 215. Here it is perhaps preferable to assume the omission of the subj. esset, an ellipsis also very common in Tac., especially if a corresponding subj. follows which prevents any possible ambiguity, e. g., Ag. 24 idque ... profuturum, si ... tolleretur. Cf. Dr. Stil p. 17 f. Wetzel l. c. p. 50 ff., R. V. III p. 830 note 609, Heræus, ad Hist. I 21 and Nipperdey ad Ann. I 7.

Ch. 3–4. Maternus, so far from yielding to the proposal of Secundus to omit in the publication of his tragedy those passages which had recently given offence, states his determination to remain true to his convictions, and informs his friends that he is already preparing another tragedy in which similar utterances will be found. Aper deplores the precious time which the poet in his opinion is thus wasting upon undignified subjects and unprofitable pursuits, while his oratorical talents are in such demand. Maternus, however, more than ever resolved to abandon the irksome duties of the forum for the companionship of the Muses, suggests a renewed discussion of a question often debated between him and his friend, regarding the alleged superiority of eloquence over poetry.

3. 1 igitur: Quint. I 5, 39 an sit ‘igitur’ initio sermonis positum dubitari potest, quia maximos auctores in diversa fuisse opinione video, cum apud alios sit etiam frequens (e. g. Cicero, Sallust, Quint. himself) apud alios numquam reperiatur (e. g. Caesar, the two Senecas). Cf. Woelflin, Archiv III 560 f., Neue,
Formenl. II* p. 975. Out of 174 instances in T., igitur is postpositive only in c. 8 28 10 35 20 20 Ag. 16 G. 45 H. IV 15 Ann. I 47.—intravimus: Peter finds it somewhat surprising that the author should, by using the plural, include himself, although he had previously only spoken of the arrival of Aper and Secundus, but this apparent obtrusiveness is somewhat mitigated, we are assured, by adsectabar which had prepared the reader for finding T. in this company. An amusing instance of 'nodum in scirpo quaerere,' for the author had expressly told us in the opening lines that he intended to reproduce from memory a debate at which he was present as a young man. Cp. also note c. 42 ext.


3 deprehendimus implies surprise. The entire passage is modelled upon Cic. de nat. deor. I 6, 15: nam cum feris Latinis ad eum . . (sc. Cottam) venisset, offendi eum sedentem in exhedra et cum C. Velleio senatore disputatam.

5 quominus, in place of quin. Common in Tacitus, e. g. H. I 40 II 41 (after verbs of fearing) c. 3 15 Ag. 20 Ann. I 21. See Nipperdey l. c. Dr. H. S. II 689. 692 Stil p. 75 and in general, the exhaustive treatment of R. V. III 457–476.—offensas . . . ames: Closely approaches the figure known as oxymoron. Cf. Gerber op. c. II 307 ff. Offensia is found only in the D. and Histories; in the Annals T. uses 'offensio' exclusively.—Poets are frequently said by the ancients to love their own works. Cp. Plato, Rep. I 330 c. ὃσπερ γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ αἰτῶν ποιήματα καὶ οἱ πατέρες τὰς παιδας ἄγασι Arist. Nic. Eth. IV 2, 1120 a 13 καὶ πάντες ἄγανες μᾶλλον τὰ αἰτῶν ἔργα ὃσπερ οἱ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ ποιηταί. IX 7, 1168 a 2 ὑπεραγατῶσι γὰρ οὔτοι (sc. οἱ ποιηταί) τὰ οἰκία ποιήματα, στέργοντες ὃσπερ τέκνα. Cic. Tuse. V 22, 63 adhuc neminem cognovi poetam qui sibi non optimus videretur; sic se res habet: te tua, me delectant mea. Ovid, Trist. IV 1, 30 et carmen demens carmine laeus amo, l. 35 nos
C. 3.

quoque delectant quamvis nocuere libelli, IV 4 ut non debuerim, tamen hoc ego crimen amabo. Sen. Contr. II 2, 10 (de Ovidio) non ignoravit vitia sua sed amavit. Quint. X 1, 130 si non omnia sua amasset (sc. Seneca). 88 Ovidius . . . nium amator ingenii sui 3, 12 nec promptum est dicere, utros peccare validius putem, quibus omnia placent an quibus nihil.

7 pravae interpretationi: 'Misinterpretation.' In this sense 'pravus' (= perverse, Germ. schief) occurs in but one other passage in Tacitus: H. II 23 omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus and apparently rarely elsewhere, e.g. Plin. N. H. XVII 9, 8, 57 id plerique prave intellegunt. The over-cautious Secundus assumes that the utterances of Maternus lent themselves readily to misconstruction on the part of those who were unacquainted with the truly loyal character of the poet (see c. 41). He is also half-inclined to regard what was only rumored (diceretur) as having a foundation in fact. Hence the indicative 'offenderunt,' the conditional in place of the relative clause being used to express this conviction less harshly. On the use of 'si qua' for 'si quae,' cf. Sirker, Tacit. Formenlehre p. 43 Neue, Lat. Formenl. II 438 f. — materia is the invariable form in the minor writings and in the Histories (except I 51); in the Annals, on the other hand, materies is used throughout, with but two exceptions (in the second part: XI 5 XVI 2). Cf. Woelflin, Philol. XXV p. 101 Neue I 371. R. V. I 146 note 94.

8 non quidem for the classical 'non meliorem quidem' or 'non illum quidem meliorem.' Cf. c. 5 31 disertam (sc. illam) quidem 9 13 pulchri (sc. illi) quidem. 34 18 H. I 63. Ann. III 69 IV 7. 8 V 5 VI 50 XV 71 Sen. de ira III 38 Ep. 110, 1. Only once in Quint. IX 2, 57 non q. reticientia, but not rare in Pliny the Younger.—This prudent advice of Secundus admirably accords with his character as sketched by Quint. X 1, 120 and at the same time voices the historian's own sentiments, as is evident from many passages, e.g. Ann. XIV 12 sibi causam periculi fecit, (sc. Thrasea Paetus) ceteris libertatis initium non praebeat. Ag. 42 non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris et inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam . . . eo laudis descendere quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. H. I 1 uberiorem securioremque materiam senectuti seposui etc.
9 Maternus: The speaker uses his own name in place of a personal pronoun by way of strong emphasis. It is a kind of enallage and occurs as early as Homer, Iliad 16, 496 ἐπειτὶ Ἀμφιατὶ ἄνδρας Σαρπήδονος ἀμφιμάχεσθα. Plut. Cat. Min. 993 c. Cf. also H. II 47 Othonem posteritas aestimet 77 ne Mucianum socium spreveris. Hor. Epod. XV 12 si quid in Flacco viri est. Verg. Aen. V 353 Niso digna dabis. Shakespeare, Jul. Caes. ‘When Brutus grows so covetous,’ ‘Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius.’ Sometimes the demonstrative pronoun is so used, e.g. Cic. pro Arch. 1 haec vox (= mea) Prop. II 7, 7 hoc caput. — The meaning of this much disputed passage is this: You will understand, when you read (leges = legendo intelleges, cf. Plin. Ep. VII 19, 7 illas [sc. feminas] quae leguntur, aptly cited by Peter) the published tragedy, what duty a man, such as I, owes to his convictions and you will recognise the sentiments which you heard me recite. In fact, my new tragedy Thyestes will supplement such utterances as my Cato may have omitted.

Nipperdey’s emendation ‘leges’ inquit ‘si libuerit,’ accepted by most editors, lacks all palaeographical probability, as Halm, Rh. Mus. XXVIII p. 400 f. has shown, nor can any motive ever have induced a scribe to insert ‘Maternus’ which Nipperdey and his followers are forced to regard as an interpolation. The objection, moreover, that leges cannot be followed by an indirect question, for it was this that prompted the emendation, rests upon a wrong interpretation of this verb. Finally it may be added, that libuerit in any case decidedly weakens the force of the passage, at the same time implying the absurd idea that Maternus’ friends might possibly not care to read the Cato when published (Halm l. c.). Greef’s conjecture ‘intelleges’ is ingenious and palaeographically highly probable, but in view of the above explanation of leges not absolutely necessary.

10 audisti: On these shortened forms in T., see Sirker, Tac. Formenlehre p. 51.

11 Thyestes: Not the hero Thyestes but Agamemnon in the tragedy of that name, as appears clearly from c. 9 6 cui bono si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur. The Medea and Thyestes are the only Greek tragedies attributed to Maternus, who in c. 12 ext. significantly singles out the Thyestes of Varius and Ovid’s Medea as the most admired dramas in Roman literature. This suggests the possibility that these two famous plays may have constituted the models of Maternus’ own dramas. It should also be noticed, that inasmuch as Agamemnon played an impor-
tant part in the Thyestes of Maternus, the tragedy cannot have
dealt exclusively with the celebrated cena Thyestea, but must
have also included the later phase of the story in which Aga-
memnon and Menelaus, now grown to man’s estate, capture Thy-
estes at Delphi, whence he is brought back to Argos and thrown
into prison; Aegisthus sent in to murder the prisoner is recog-
nised by him as his own son. There follows the suicide of Aerope
and the subsequent assassination of Atreus while sacrificing at the
altar. Cf. Hygin. Fab. 88. This story certainly offered ample
opportunities for the eloquent harangues of Agamemnon unmistak-
ably alluded to by Aper. It was dramatised by Euripides in the
Θυέστης, by Sophocles probably in the Θ. Δείπνος and perhaps also
by Accius in the Pelopidae.—In like manner, the Atreus of Scaur-
rus contained covert attacks upon the emperor Tiberius. Cf. Tac.
Ann. VI 29: nihil hunc (sc. Scaurum) amicitia Seiani sed labefecit
hau du minus validum ad exitia Macrons odium qui easdem arces
occultius exercebat detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Seauro
scriptae additis versibus qui in Tiberium flerentur. Dio Cass.
58, 24 ’Ατρεύς μὲν τὸ ποίημα ἵνα παρηγαί δὲ τῶν δραχμῶν τινὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ
κατὰ τὸν Ἐυριπίδην ἵνα τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἄβουλαν φέρη (Phoen. 396)
tὰς τῶν κρατοῦντων ἄμαθις φέρειν χρεών. By way of contrast with
the behaviour of Maternus, we may compare the story related by
Sen. Contr. 10 praef. 8 of T. Labienus: memini aliquando, cum
recitaret historiam, magnam partem illum libri convolvisse et dixisse
‘haec quae transeam post mortem meam legentur.’

12 intra me: Cf. Ann. XIV 53 ut plerumque intra me ipse vol-
vam IV 40 ipse quid intra animum volutaverim Quint. XI 3, 2
quae intra nosmet ipsos composimus.—ipse: Tacitus invariably
places ipse in the nominative when joined to an oblique case of
the personal or possessive pronoun. Cf. c. 3 20 tibi ipse . . import-
tasses 7 1 de me ipse fatear 15 7 ipse tibi denegares 12 mecum
ipse conquiro 36 23 sibi ipsi persuaserant 37 30 sibi ipsa desump-
serit. Ag. 1. 46 H. I 46. 85 II 44. 50. 76 III 16 IV 11. 20.
18 XIII 26 XIV 9. 37. Observe also that this pronoun is always
postpositive with but one apparent exception in c. 15 7, where
see note. On this much discussed idiom, cp. Nagelsbach, Stilist.
§ 91, 3 Seyff.-Mall. Lael. p. 448 Roby. § 2264 R. V. III 103 note
370 Schmalz, Antib. s. v. Lat. Synt. p. 545 Kühner II 462.—
maturare festino: This phrase is generally regarded as tautological, but, although similar examples are very numerous (see note to c. 11 8 ingredi auspiciatus sum), it is by no means certain that this is one of them. Maturare may be equally well understood in its original meaning of ‘bringing to completion, perfecting.’ Cp. e. g. c. 26 3 maturitas Crassi ‘perfection of C.’ H. I 12 maturavit ea res consilium Galbae. Quint. VI proem. 10 celerius occidere festinatam maturitatem, II 4, 9 ne maturitas quidem ipsa festinet. So maturesco, ibid. Ep. ad Tryph. 1 ipse eos (sc. libros) nondum opinabar satis maturuisse . . . ne praecipitetur editio. Translate: ‘I hasten to put the finishing touches to my edition of the tragedy ’ i. e. bring it to completion for publication.—editio: Like our ‘edition,’ ἠκδοτικ. In this concrete sense, the word is common in late Latin, but extremely rare in earlier writers. Cf. Quint. VII 41, 40 qui (sc. versus Homeri) tamen ipse in omni editione reperitur XII 10, 55 editio habebit omnia.


14 incumbam with dat. seems to occur first in Rhet. ad. Her. I 11, 18 gladio incumbere. Cicero uses in or ad e. g. de invent. II 51, 154 in gladium incubuerat Ep. ad fam. X 10, 2 incumbe toto pectore ad laudem. It is common in Silver Latin and the invariable rule in Tacitus. Cf. also Quint. IX 3, 1 si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est ut ‘hac re invidere,’ non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, ‘hane rem,’ et ‘incumbere illi,’ non ‘in illum’ et ‘plenum vino’ non ‘vini.’
15 inquit: Unusually far removed from the beginning of the sentence, in which it generally occupies the second or third place. We have a similar instance in c. 42 extr. 'at ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit, and in Cic. Acad. Post. I 4, 14. Iam vero . . . adsidamus, inquam. — quominus: = quin, see note to c. 3 5. It is here used as an epexegetic adversative conjunction. So c. 34 11 ubi nemo . . . contrarie dicit quominus iudex respuat ('but that'). Ann. V 5 nec ultra deliberatum quominus . . . decerenerent. Cp. Dr. Stil § 187 and John's note ad loc. who also adduces an example from Cicero de Orat. I 16, 70 nullis ut terminis circumscriptum aut definit quominus ei liceat eadem illa facultate et copia vagari qua velit.

16 modo-nunc for modo-modo is quite Tacitean. Cf. H. II 51, III 85, but nunc-nunc (introduced into prose by Livy) occurs only once, Ann. IV 51. In Cic. pro Mur. 40, 86 nunc is widely separated from modo. On these collocations in general, see the exhaustive discussion of Woelfflin, Archiv II, p. 233–254.

17 circa: 'concerning, in regard to, in the case of.' This use of circa, which is chiefly post-Augustan, is first found in Hor. C. II 5, 5 circa virentes est animus. Cf. c. 22 12 28 12 G. 28 H. I 13 and in the second part of the Annals, XI 15. 29 XVI 8. Especially frequent in Quintilian (over 60 instances). For circa-circum (first in Cic. Verr. I 126) cp. Woelfflin, Archiv V p. 294–296. — Medea: Omitting the extant plays of Euripides and Seneca, the story of Medea was dramatised by Neophron, and in Latin by Ennius (Medea exul and Medea Atheniensis), by Ovid, and in the third century by one Hosidius Geta, who, according to Tertullian, 'Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit.' — ecce: In Tac. only here. It rarely emphasises a single word, as e.g. Plin. N. H. XXXVI 69, 203 Sen. Ep. 58, 7; 59, 7; 90, 2 Dial. XII 9, 8, nunc ecce. Ps. Quint. Decl. 3, 4 Florus 4, 2, 10 Pervig. Ven. 81. See Köhler, Archiv V 16–32 and Woelfflin, ibid. VI 2. On the etymology, which is very controversial, cp. Köhler, Archiv VIII 221–234. — Ecce shows that the announcement of still another tragedy from the pen of Maternus is news to Aper.

18 coloniarum et municipiorum: The want of precision with which these terms are used by Roman writers, makes it very difficult to arrive at a clear distinction between them. In the time of Gellius (XVI 13) these designations are apparently regarded as
synonyms, and so once even as early as Cic. Ep. ad fam. XIII 13. See on this whole question, Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. III p. 232 note 3. Hermes, XXVII p. 108 and Smith, Dict. Ant. II p. 483 ff. where a long list of other authorities is cited.—clientelae: Colonies and municipalities were wont to place themselves under the protection of some illustrious Roman citizen who thus became their patron and who acted as their legal representative in all matters that came under imperial jurisdiction. The precise relations of the patronus and his client are enveloped in much obscurity because ancient authorities usually leave us to guess the chronological periods to which their remarks on this subject are applicable. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. I p. 319 ff. Röm. Staatsrecht III p. 54–88 Friedländer, S. G. I. p. 379–391 Smith, Dict. I p. 456 ff. See also note to c. 36 19.

19 suffeceris: The perf. subj. is here used for the regular construction with the imperf. to express Aper’s conviction more politely. There seems, therefore, no valid reason for regarding ‘suffeceris’ as independent of the conditional clause, the apodosis having to be supplied by some thought as ‘to which you would not even prove equal if’ (‘und auch dann nicht gewachsen sein würdest, wenn’ Andresen and similarly Peter), an interpretation which also completely loses sight of the force of etiam si.

20 novum negotium etc. refers to the poetic activity of Maternus in general. Aper contends that an advocate so much sought after as Maternus, can ill afford to devote his precious time to such unprofitable employment as writing dramas, if he at all desires conscientiously to do his full duty by his numerous clients. Vahlen Prowen. 1878–9 p. 4 ff. pointed out a slight inconsistency in the closing clause of this chapter. For the words, as they stand, clearly imply the absurd assumption that Maternus would find more time for the discharge of his forensic obligations, if his poetic Muse contended itself with the occasional production of tragedies based upon the hackneyed themes of Greek story, instead of writing praetextatae! Nevertheless, R. Scholl (Comment. Vespasian p. 393–99) partially upholds this view, alleging that Aper, though he regards the composition of a Greek tragedy as sheer waste of time, would yet allow Maternus to dramatise Roman subjects because these, at least, call for higher intellectual effort and originality, and are as such not unworthy of the attention of a true Roman!
In support of this, Schöll seems to lay great stress upon the word 'importasses,' taking it in its usual sense of 'importing from a foreign locality,' but in that case 'novum' were quite out of place, for the 'importation of Greek fabulae' is as old as the Roman drama itself. Schöll's interpretation of novum, 'subjects treated for the first time as opposed to the hackneyed Greek fable' is also at variance with the facts and involves a petitio principii. Aper is uncompromisingly opposed to all poetic productions of Maternus, as is unmistakably indicated by c. 59 f. Securus sit . . . Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet cum causas agere non possit. Vahlen also observes that we should rather expect 'ecce Catonom' in place of 'Medeam' which play had not yet been mentioned, but this objection applies with equal force to the Domitian. The author simply desired to acquaint the reader with the titles of all of the dramas of Maternus and the antithesis in the last clause naturally suggested the symmetrical grouping of the Greek and the Roman titles. For other, more or less genuine instances of inconsistency, see Vahlen l.c. and notes to c. 126 15 14 16 27 18 3 19 11 25 31 26 28 32 27.

**negotium** = 'occupation, employment, business,' often with the accessory notion of something troublesome or disagreeable (so here and c. 9 11 where see note) and thus passing easily into the meaning of 'law case or judicial trial' in which technical sense the word is post-Aug., if we except a doubtful passage in Plaut. Aulul. III 4, 1 (v. 453) qui cum opulento pauper homine coepit rem habere aut negotium. Cf. 19 26 38 9 Ann. II 27 IV 15 XI 6 XIII 4 XVI 22. Negotium as an equivalent of res is colloquial. Cp. c. 18 29 mihi cum universis negotiis est and c. 10 19 tecum mihi, Materne res est. See Woelflin, *Phil. XXXIV* p. 147 and esp. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 129, where many more references are given. — **importasses** = imponere, inungere. This verb in its figurative sense is invariably used of disagreeable things, and it is in this light that Aper regards the occupation to which Maternus proposes to devote himself. Cp. Hor. Ep. I 13, 5 odium libellis importes and the examples from Cicero cited by Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 107. — **Domitius**: Nearly all commentators agree in identifying the hero of this praetextata with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cons. 54 B.C.) the same whom Luc. VII 599 ff. glorified and of whom Cic. Brut. 77, 267 says nulla quidem arte sed Latine tamen et *multa*
cum libertate dicebat. R. Schöll l. c. has, however, satisfactorily shown that his son Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cons. 32 B.C.), the partisan of Antony is here meant, the same who appears in Shakespeare as Enobarbus.

21 id est: So again c. 9 ext. 22 8 and perhaps c. 17 16. In G. 40 = 'that is to say.' In other passages, Tacitus uses 'idque': Ann. IV 11. 39 XIII 45. — historias . . . fabulis: The two terms are here clearly contrasted, but to the ancients the line of demarcation was generally very slight. Cp. besides the famous passage in Arist. Poet. c. 9 on the difference between poetry and history, Dionys. de Thucyd. 51 ἐγώ δὲ οὖν αὐχμαρίας καὶ δέκαμερων καὶ διαφθοράς τῆς ἱστορίας εἶναι πραγματείας δεῖσθαι ἄν. ἐκ προσωπικῆς τι καὶ παρακλήσεως. Cic. Brut. 11. 42 concessum est rhetoribus ementi in historiis, repudiata in de orat. II 15, 62. Quint. X 1. 31 historia proxima poetis, but II 4. 2 fabulam quae versatur in tragœdiis atque carminibus non a veritate modo sed etiam a forma veritatis remota . . . historiam in qua est gesta rei expositio Plin. Ep. VII 33, 10 nec historia debet egredi veritatem. In the Latin poets, historia is used as a synonym of fabula. E. g. Plaut. Bacch. 156 satis historiae (On Heracles and Linus) Prop. IV (V) 1. 119 hactenus historiae (Trojan legends) Hor. C. III 7. 20. Ov. Am. II 4. 44. Cf. Domart. Archit III 230 f. and Woelflin. ibid. 235. — Graeculorum: This diminutive generally, as here, expresses contempt. Cp. Cic. Pis. 29 de orat. I 11. 47. 22. 102 Iuv. III 78 Graeculus essentia VI 183 Plin. Paneg. 13 Macrob. II 4 Florus II 7. 9 and applied even to Cicero himself by Calenus ap. Cass. Dio 46. 9 ὁ Κριστιν ο Ἡράκλεια ἡ Κασπίκη ἡ Γαλατία shows that Maternus began his career as a dramatist with Greek tragedies. The play alluded to in c. 11 9 cannot, therefore, have been a praetextata. See note ad loc.

'sagrave' is the reading of our MSS., dependent upon 'ut,' which was accidentally omitted, for the insertion of this particle is far more methodical than to take the subjunctive as an appositional clause with an awkward change of tense or to write adgraves: the infinitive being equivalent to a gerund as in Tac. c. 2. c. 2nd Ann. I 34 VI 12. John's defence of the imperfect subjunctive without ut is too forced to carry conviction.

A: Et: At the beginning of a sentence et marks the transition to a new topic. Cf . . . et Magnus . et Maternus . . . mihi quidem . inquit
H. I 35 Ann. I 22. For similar ellipses of the verbum dicendi, cf. Nep. Eum. 11, 5 huic Eumenes: utinam quidem istud evenisset Cic. Acad. Post. 4, 14 de Rep. III 44 and Madvig, de fin. I 3, 9 II 3, 9. — hac tua: This collocation is very common in the D. e. g. c. 10 9 hunc meum 21 7 42 4 15 3 hunc tuum 1 7 cui . . tuae = sed huic . . tuae 13 12 hae sua 16 12 hanc nostram 16 16 hac vestra and H. II 47 hanc virtutem vestram. It is apparently colloquial usage and therefore not unsuited to a conversational or epistolary style. Cicero has but one instance in the speeches (pro Lig. 35 hi tui). In Quint. it is very rare (e. g. I 3, 3 hie meus) but in Pliny's letters, as we are not surprised to observe, it is correspondingly frequent.

2 frequens et adsidua: John well remarks that the interposition of 'nobis' strongly favors the predicative meaning of these words rather than the usual interpretation which regards them as one of the very numerous instances of fullness or redundancy of expression in the D. This view is also in a measure confirmed by Cicero who (pro Planc. 8 ext.) has the phrase 'adsidua frequentia.' ‘To dispute repeatedly and earnestly has almost become a habit with us.’

3 vertisset with the force of a middle is particularly frequent in Tac. e. g. Ag. 31 nisi felicitas in soecordiam vertisset G. 31 in consensum vertit H. IV 27 Ann. XIII 37 and other exx. cited by Boetticher Lex. Tac. s. v. Not uncommon in Livy e. g. I 53, 6 II 3, 3, where see Weissenborn.—On the dozen different significations which this verb has in T., cp. Gerber, De usu praepos. p. 17.—The imperf. in an unreal condition followed by a pluperfect (so again in c. 10 23 si . . dedissent . . non paterer) ‘I should (now) be disturbed, had not our disputes (long ago) become’ presents no departure from classical usage. Weinkauff’s note p. 114 is, therefore, both superfluous and misleading. Cp. Roby II p. 224.—On nec-et, see c. 2 10.—agitare et insequi: Synonymic collocations are particularly abundant in Aper’s speeches and may have been designed to give an individualistic color to his style. Nearly all of them can be paralleled from Cicero, where they are, however, very often found in the inverse order, a fact which in many instances betrays direct indebtedness on the part of Tacitus. Cf. c. 1 14 2 16 5 2. 22. 25. 32 6 3. 22 7 17 8 7 10 1. 33 11 7 12 4 26 18 28 16 29 12 32 6 35 22. Cf. Cic. de div. II 70, 144 insectans . . et agitans pro Mur. 9, 21 agitat . . insectatur. Observe also that while Cicero
uses *et, ac* or *atque* indifferently, Tacitus, in the D. combines two synonymous verbs by *et*, but if the second stands in some causal relation to the first, we find *atque* e.g. c. 7 8 8 22 9 16. 30 11 7 17 29 22 22 26 34 30 32 6 33 9 39 22 and also crit. note c. 20 7. — c. 6 27 15 2. 12 17 29 23 4 32 6. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII p. 342 f. — *desidiam advocatīōnum*: *desidia*, as Wolff observes, is not found elsewhere with an obj. gen., but may have been used on the analogy of neglegentia alicuius. Cf. also Ann. XV 48 voluptatum parsimonia and Dr. *H. S.* I 468. — *cotidianum* = cotidie. A predicate adjective for the adverb is next to Livy, most frequent in Tacitus. Cf. e.g. c. 7 1 non eum diem laetiorem egi 13 21 trepidus experiar 23 2 invitus rettuli 33 24 paratiorem . . . venturum. Ag. 22 avidus intercepit 37 ni frequens Agr. . . . iussisset (also 12. 19. 20) G. 2 Oceanus raris . . . navibus aditur 6. 9. 43, H. II 40 rapidi equis forum inrumpunt, II 10. 40 III 7. 47 IV 14. 83 Ann. III 29 occulti preces illudenter XV 43 largior fuerit aqua I 27 II 6. 21. 52. 57 III 11. 26. 40. 65 IV 12. 33. 35. 40. 68. 83 VI 10 XI 1. 21 XII 12. 28. 31. 63 XIV 10 XVI 11 et saep. For this usage in other Latin writers, cp. R. V. III p. 157 f. note 395 Dr. *H. S.* I 352 ff. Stil § 8 (who, however, omits the passages from the D.), Roby § 1069. 7. — So also in Greek. cp. Holden, note to Plutarch, Demosth. I 1. 6. On the orthography, see Quint. I 7, 6 frigidiora his alia ut . . . 'quotidie' non 'cotidie' ut sit quot diebus: verum haec iam inter ipsas ineptias evanuerunt. Cp. also Jordan, *Hermes* XVI 49 f.

5 *adversus*: This is, according to Woelflin, *Philol.* XXV 103 and Greek. *De praep. usu T.* p. 39 f., the invariable form in the minor writings. 'adversum' first occurring in H. I 51 and then especially common in the first six books of the Annals; in the second part, Tacitus seems to revert as often to his earlier usage. See note c. 16 30. — *oblatum*: On the ellipsis of esse. cf. c. 2 13.

6 *in futurum*: Also H. I 72 Ann. IV 37. — *vel-vel* like *aut-aut* is often, contrary to the teaching of many grammarians, used, where two statements mutually exclude each other and even where the choice is far from being a matter of indifference. In all these instances, the alternative is an imaginary, subjective proposition. So also 'vel,' where 'aut' is more usual. — H. I 21 Ann. XIII 41 XIV 33. 61. A second 'vel' in such cases has frequently the force of 'vel potius.' Examples are common in all periods. Cp. Hand,
8 mihi—a me. The so-called dativus subjectivus is far more common in Tac. than one would suppose from Nipperdey’s note to Ann. II 50, for it occurs more than thirty times. D. 32 30 Ag. 2 G. 16. 34 H. I 11. 53. 60. 70 II 80 III 12. 70 IV 6 V 15 Ann. I 10. 17. 42 II 50. 57 III 3. 20 IV 6. 10 VI 31. 41 XI 27. 29 XII 1. 9. 18. 54 XIII 20 XIV 14. 18. 58 XV 3. 41. Occasionally in Cic. de off. III 9 de inv. I 86 de fin. I 4, 11, where see Madvig. Not found in Caesar, Velleius and Curtius, but quite frequent in Seneca, Pliny and Quint. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 428–31, Stil § 51.


solam inserted by Vahlen gives additional weight to the solemn asseveration of Maternus. The word was omitted as a dittography of colam.

(Ch. 5–10.) After Secundus had begged to be excused from acting as umpire in the contemplated debate, because of settled convictions and prejudices which incapacitated him from giving an impartial decision, Aper (c. 5–10 ext.) begins his Defence of Oratory speaking 1. of the usefulness of eloquence (—c. 6) 2. of the pleasures derived from it (—c. 7) 3. of the dignity, the honors and glory to be won by it, in all of which poetry must be held incomparably inferior as affording but a transitory delight and an at best ephemeral reputation, often acquired at the expense of personal safety, comfort and tranquillity of mind (—c. 10 ext.).
5. 1 vero occurs in constantly decreasing proportion in Tac., 'verum' is first used in the Annals. Cp. Spitta p. 150 Dr. H. S. II 131. On the original distinction between 'vero' as an asseverative particle, and 'verum' as an adversative conjunction, as we find it in Plautus, cp. Langen, Beitr. zu Plaut. 113 ff. and in general Nagelsbach Stil. § 197, 2. antequam: With the present subj. also H. I 4, 4. Drayer's rule (Stil p. 69) that quam, if preceded by a negated privus or ante, takes the indicative in T., except G. 13, is misleading and not confirmed by the Lex. Tac. s. v. The indicative occurs but twice in all.

Moderati is the reading of the X class, but this has justly been discarded by several editors for modesti of the other MSS. Modestus is the vox propria for a conscientious judge (cf. Tac. Ann. III 10 id solum Germanico super leges praetertextus quod . . . cetera pari modestia tractentur) and hence modesti is repeatedly combined with probitas e. g. c. 297 40 9 th. 30, 4 modestia ac probitas, and also Ann. XIV 15 modestia aut quies quam probitas.


The insertion of 'se' before excusant is palaeographically so easy that there is no reason, in deference to MSS. authority, to assume a dr. eip. The passage which Peter cites, in support of an absolute use of this verb, from Aes. 43 and procer procerus, is not analogous, for here excusare means 'to decline,' se, provinciam. If T. had omitted se, he would probably have written cognitionibus as a dative, retains the periphrasis before its, omits se and quotes Cic. Brut. 26, 101 et. omission faciunt se excusant as a parallel construction.


Post annalista, etc. On similar pleonastic collaborations, especially in annalistic Ann. see Proleg. praevalevit se not. deor. II 38. 89 says se, but not form et se, et se. — contubernium et se, et se, etc. as in annalistic form anterum implies 'tent was one.' With Latin and German the use of 'persons connected with the same name' under the same tenure, etc. of et se anterum elsewhere in Tac. Peter is playing on the et se to give a negative.

5. 106. 6 Quod atque etiam praevaleverat praevaleverat praevaleverat praevaleverat generally.
6 Saleius Bassus: Highly extolled by Secundus and again by Aper c. 98, but not without a tinge of irony. Quintilian damnus him with faint praise: X 1, 90 (among the epic poets) vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit nec ipsum senectute maturuit. The 'fuit' shows that the old poet was dead, when these words were written. He cannot, therefore, as is generally done, be identified with the Saleius designated by Iuv. VII 80 as tenuis, for this satire was written nearly fifty years after Saleius Bassus had been presented with a gift of 500,000 sestertia ($20,000) by Vespasian, as we learn from c. 925, and about thirty years after Quintilian's remark. Nor is there any reason for supposing that he is the same whose tragedies (Colchis, Thyestes, Niobe, Andromache) Martial, V 53, 3 (published 89 A.D.) ridicules: Materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis Deucalion (i.e. water) vel, si non placet hic, Phaethon (fire). Cp. Teuffel § 318, 2.—**absolutissimum**: absolutus strictly speaking admits of no superlative, but similar exx. are numerous. E.g. ad Herenn. II 18, 28 Plin. N. H. XXXV 10, 36, 74, Plin. Ep. I 20, 10. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* II² 220. So *perfectissimus*, on which see Neue I. c. 235 and Sandys' note to Orat. 1, 3.

7 porro = atqui cf. c. 23 14 Ag. 15, 22 Ann. III 34. 58. 'Si accusatur' must be regarded, as John ad loc. has ingeniously shown, as a major premise of a hypothetical syllogism which furnishes the
logical connecting link between the two propositions: 'Bassus is a perfect poet' and 'no one is a more suitable culprit.' Again Secundus' friendship for Bassus and the latter's poetical renown, are two premises contained in the rhetorical question 'quis...poetam,' of which the refusal of Secundus to act as judge forms the conclusion.

**reum locupletiorem**: _locuples_ seems to be a legal term signifying 'weighty or trustworthy' (Quint. X 1, 67 XII 10, 78) and is usually joined with testis, auctor. With reus: Liv. IX 9, 18 nos sumus rei satis locupletes. Digest. XII 1, 41 reum locupletem offerre. Cf. Ann. IV 43 quod si vatum...ad testimonia vocentur...locupletiores esse. Secundus means to say, if poetry is to be accused, then I know of no more suitable culprit, no more weighty representative of that art than my friend Bassus. So much the more reason for my declining to sit in judgment upon a question in which poetry is involved.—In Aper's 'Defence of Oratory' which now follows the author has admirably succeeded in individualising the speaker both in style and sentiment. In his fondness for metaphors, fulness of expression, epigrammatic point, conspicuous throughout this speech, Aper stands out in bold relief as a true representative of the rhetorical eloquence of his time. That this effect is brought about notwithstanding the fact that the author has repeatedly appropriated Ciceronian 'motives' and phrases proves, on the one hand, that Aper's defence is not strictly historical, and on the other that Tacitus even in his youth was no servile imitator but an artist who breathed a new originality even into borrowed material.

9 _quissquis alius_: _alius_ following a relative pronoun is a favorite expression of T. Cf. c. 19 14 et quidquid aliiud 35 20 aut quidquid [aliiud] c. 10 17 13 15 18 4 21 4 25 6 29 14 II. I 11. 23. 53. (bis) 63 II 4 III 34 IV 73 Ann.I 32. 33. 47 II 41. 56. 74 III 43 IV 9. 65 XI 3 XII 38 XIII 21. 49. 51. 57 XIV 3. 17. 31 XV 38 XVI 2. 19 and once in inverse order Ann. XIV 33 aliiudve quod. In Quintilian this collocation occurs a dozen times, but aliiud _precedes_ the relative, except XII 9. 20 and I 10. 36 quandam aliam XI 2, 6 quibusdam aliis V proem. 5 VIII 2, 7 IX 3. 21 nescio cui ali, none of which groupings is met with in T.

10 _gloriam_: Generally 'renown' won in the service of one's country, esp. on the field of battle. In the Dial., it is throughout used of 'literary fame' and so also Ann. XII 28 in _quis carminum_
gloria excellit. 58 studiis honestis et eloquentiae gloria enite-
sceret (Nero). Comparatively rare elsewhere. Cf. Quint. X 1, 104
pro Arch. 3, 4; 5, 10. —fovet: A favorite word of T. and often
used with abstract nouns, an occurrence apparently not earlier than
Livy e. g. III 65, 1. Cf. c. 17 15 H. II 30, utilitatem f. V 8 super-
stitionem f. Ann. II 71. Fortunam VI 45 gratiam XI 6 inuarias
XIV 55 iuventam XV 71 studia. Quint. II 8, 3. Suet. Octav. 89,
Vesp. 18 ingenia.

11 enim: 'and I say this, for I shall not tolerate ... since.' On
this brachylogical use of enim cp. c. 1 ext. (crit. note). —quatenus:
Causal = quoniam. Earliest instance in Ep. Corneliae (cited by
Nipp. Ann. III 16, but in the other example there quoted from Scipio
ap. Fest. 258 M. quatenus is used in a rare local sense), then
chiefly in the poets, first in Lucret. II 927, frequent in Horace,
C. III 24 30 Sat. I 1, 64, 3, 76 II 4, 57 and in Ovid, Met. VIII
786. XIV 40 Trist. V 5, 21. Not in Cie., Caes., Sallust, Varro, the
two Senecas nor in Vergil, Lucan or Statius, but again common in
post-Aug. prose e. g. Val. Max. IX 11 Vell. II 68, 3 Plin. Ep. III
7, 14, five times in Quint. and in two other places in Tac. c. 19 1
Ann. III 16. Cp. the exhaustive discussion of Woelflin, Archiv V

12 societate: Tacitus often gives expression to a similar senti-
ment. Cf. H. II 52 nemo privatum expedito consilio inter multos
societate culpae tutor Iv 41 societate culpae invidiam declinavit
Ann. XIV 49 plures numero tuti and so also Sall. Cat. 48, 7 quo
facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculo reliquis illius
potentia tegeret. —plurium: clearly implies a negative form of
the preceding sentence. See the critical note below. —ipsum
solum: Perhaps also G. 38 in ipso solo vertici (v. l. solo ipso, i. e.
solo ipso — del. Hahn). So in Greek aéritos mivos e. g. Plat. Lys. 211 c
Polit. 307 e Tim. 89 d. On this alleged pleonasm, cp. J. Gerike,
De abundanti dicendi genere Tuc. p. 69 f. —solum in contrast to
'societate plurium.'

13 arguam: Usually 'to accuse in a court of law.' It also
occurs in the sense of accusare extra iudicium e. g. H. I 80 Ann.
IV 10 XV 56. But Maternus is here supposed to be the judge
trying a real case. For arguere with acc. of the person cf. Ann.
III 16 IV 10.
NOTES.

Secundus had declined to act as umpire in terms which leave no doubt of his sincerity. Aper cannot, therefore, be made to ignore this refusal as Ribbeck *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII 502, Gilbert *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1886 p. 204 and Wolff ad loc. contend, a view which they themselves are unable to maintain without arbitrary changes in the text. The words 'securus ... possit' are simply designed as John, *Corresp.* I p. 1-3, has convincingly shown, to jeopardise the position of Maternus in the following debate, by depriving him of influential outside support. By the aforesaid refusal of Secundus, Aper feels at liberty to impose conditions which he under other circumstances had no right to suggest, he being as prejudiced a party on the one side as Secundus on the other. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the clause 'quatenus ... inveniri' must contain a negative idea. The emendations of John and Andresen are prompted by a desire to retain 'Inveniri' which, as it stands, is unintelligible. But their conjectures lack the palaeographical simplicity of the reading non inveni (flinv.) given in the text. The infinitive inveniri was caused by the non patiar following. — Of the numerous emendations proposed in place of 'apud eos,' the reading of all our MSS., with the exception of D (ipsos), te is out of the question, for Secundus does not assume the rôle of arbiter; eos would include the author himself who throughout the entire treatise keeps studiously in the background, nor is it at all likely that Aper would have asked his young pupil to sit in judgment upon Maternus. The same objection applies to eos, ipsos or hos (Peterson). *Eum* is syntactically, *se cavargum* palaeographically inadmissible. *Nos* (John), however, is an easy correction and in perfect keeping with the context of the passage. Andresen objects to it because of the preceding 'ego.' Nos, however, is not the plur. maiestatis but includes Secundus. And even if it were, similar examples of inconcininitas might easily be adduced from Tac. and other writers: e.g. H. IV 5 incidimus ... repetam. Ag. 43 nobis nihil comperit, adfirmare ausim. Ann. XIV 43 in nobis ... existimabam. Cp. also Shakespeare, Jul. Caesar: If thou be'st not immortal, look about you. — Et finally has been defended by John l. c., but as it is quite superfluous, it is perhaps better to delete it as a dittography of the preceding syllable, a notoriously common error.

*natus ad*: So. c. 6 4 10 23 H. IV 64 viris ad arma natis. With dative only Ag. 31 nata servituti. On c. 12 10 see crit. note. Cp. Mané, *De praep. ad’ opr. T. usu* p. 51. — *virilem et oratoriam*: Cf. Cíc. de orat. I 54, 231 illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortém et virilem non videri. Andresen interprets 'virilem' as explanatory of 'oratoriam,' while Peter takes exactly the opposite view, assuming 'et' as an epxexegetic conjunction, a very common use in Tac. (cf. *Lex. Tac.* p. 396b 397a). The Ciceronian model seems, however, sufficient to show that both terms have each an independent force. They were simply grouped together to distinguish the sanctior et augstior eloquentia (= poetry) of Maternus from what
C. 5.

Aper regards as the only true eloquence. This view is confirmed by the generic meaning of the word eloquentia in c. 10 13, where it is made to include poetry as well as oratory. In order, therefore, to restrict it to the latter only, distinguishing epithets such as virilis (cf. Cic. ad fam. I 9, 23 nam me iam ab orationibus diungo fere referoque ad mansuetiores Musas) and oratoria were necessary. Cf. also c. 8 14 oratoriae eloquentiae.

14 parere simul et tueri: Tueri carries on the thought of 'parere' and we should, therefore, expect 'ac' or 'atque,' according to Tacitean usage pointed out c. 4 3. But here and again below, 'propugnare pariter et incessere,' the rule is only apparently violated, for the insertion of simul and pariter has the effect of making the action expressed by the two verbs appear simultaneous, coalescing, as it were, into one idea. T. uses 'simul et' more frequently than the classical 'simul ac' which is chiefly found in the minor writings. E. g. Ag. 10. 24. 35 G. 30. 34 H. I 75. II 100 Ann. IV 2 VI 51. Cf. Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 11, 33 Lex. Tac. p. 372b 382a 387a Spitta p. 95. — On the position of the adv. see note c. 12 19.

15 complecti provincias: sc. patrocinio. The insertion of this word would have destroyed the stylistic equilibrium. For a similar ellipsis, cf. Ag. 25 amplecti civitates (sc. bello). — omissit studium quo: John supplies 'eloquentiae,' to avoid the objection of Vahlen and Andresen that the same idea is here repeated in very similar language, whereas we expect Aper to speak of teco occupations of Maternus, one of which he neglects, while devoting himself assiduously to the other. I see no reason for departing from the usual interpretation which supplies in thought an 'id' before studium. The alleged repetition is occasioned by the design of the author to depict Aper as a trained rhetorician who carefully enumerates the various subdivisions of his argument which he subsequently discusses in regular order. It is strange that John, who makes the same observation, did not see that it renders his own suggestion superfluous. — The passage from quá . . . potest contains two climaxes, one asyndetic, the other polysyndetic. The last member of the second is moreover amplified to give a sonorous finish. For exx. of this peculiarly Tacitean device, see the long list in Weinkauß, p. 92–97.

17 urbis is best taken as a subjective genitive, for the analogous expressions which immediately follow are clearly not ob-
jective genitives, for these are theoretically always resolvable into a verb with an obj. or an adv. clause.

The inserted clause 'vel ad voluptatem incundius' is rendered necessary by the context. The eye of the scribe glancing from one 'vel ad' to another occasioned the omission. While incundius or honestius are not intrinsically objectionable, quid enim dulcis at the beginning of c. 6 strongly favors the reading adopted in the text. — The cod. D, which is singularly free from interpolations, has famam after imperfi, but in parenthesis. This possibly points to a lacuna which was falsely supplied and afterwards bracketed, as it is not found in other MSS. The original reading may have been gloriæm, cf. c. 11 12.

19 ad utilitatem vitae, etc.: For similar utilitarian sentiments cp. the debate in the senate which Tac., in a famous passage (Ann. XI 5–7), reports, touching the reënforcement of the lex Cincia 'qua cavetur antiquitus ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiatur.' 7 quem illum tanta superstia esse ut aeternitatem famae spe praesumat? Usui et rebus subsidium parari... nihil a quoquam expetit nisi cuius fructus ante providerit. Cf. also Sen. de clem. I 3, 2 qui hominem voluptati donant, quorum omnia dicta factaque ad utilitates suas spectant. Ep. 48, 2 nec potest quisquam beate degere qui se tantum intuetur, qui omnia ad utilitates suas convertit. Vitæ belongs to consilia. — The joining of an adjective with 'ad' to a kindred substantive is Ciceronian usage. Cp. Hand, Turs. I 106.

20 derigenda: On this orthography, cf. Munro, Lucret. VI 823 Heraeus, H. IV 16 Pfitzner 1. c. p. 48. — On a similar chiasmus at the close of an enumeration cf. c. 26 22 varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore. The artistic balancing of groups of words and clauses is very conspicuous throughout the whole of Aper’s speech and this design is the direct cause of the tautological or pleonastic collocations which critics have so often censured.

22 metum et terrorem: Same synonyms grouped together in Ag. 32 Plin. Paneg. 12. 66.

23 ulter = 'of one’s own motion, or initiative.' In 9 16 19 26 32 10 = 'in addition to, moreover.' Cp. Ioh. Muller, Beiträge p. 16 Woelfhin, Philol. XXVII 127 Heraeus, Tac. H. I 7, 8.

Examples are not wanting, where an indefinite subject must be supplied from the context. Cp. note c. 22 21. But as s and t are scarcely distinguishable in minuscules, there is no need for adopting the 'difficilior lectio' ferat for feras. So possis below in all MSS. (except D) which the advocates
of ferat, if they had been consistent and mindful of the symmetrical structure of these clauses, ought also to have changed into posse.

The entire passage beginning with 'quid est tuiius' is directly based upon Cic. de orat. I 8, 30: neque vero mihi quidquam, inquit, praestabilius videtur quam posse dicendo tenere hominum mentes, adlicere voluntates, impellere quo velit, unde autem velit, deducere. 32 quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, librarare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare integer vel te ulisci lascissit. The divisions of the speech enumerated above are also very nearly identical with those given by Cic. l. c. I 41, 185 ff. in advocacy of the study of civil law.—ipse securus = cum sis securus. This use of an adjective (or substantive) for a subordinate clause is one of the most characteristic features of the style of Tacitus. Cf. c. 1 13 iuvens (cum i. essem) 72 homo novus (quamquam) 8 16 egregius 27 4 mitior. In Ag. (12 exx.) G. (6) Hist. (121) Ann. (183). The combination of this elliptical construction and a subordinate clause is first met with in Ag. 39, curis exercitus quodque—statuit and thereafter with increasing frequency. Cp. Ihm, Quest. Synst. p. 5 ff. where examples from other writers, especially Caesar and Horace (e. g. Sat. I 1, 35 II 1, 16) are also cited. For a somewhat analogous brachylogy, cf. Nipp. Ann. III 9 celebritate occultum. —velut quadam: Cf. c. 30 13 33 3 39 14 Ann. III 55. Cicero usually has quasi quidam (de orat. III 14, 53 Orat. 54, 181 Acad. Post. I 21 Lael. 13, 48). Here velut belongs properly to munitus. On the use of quasi and velut in general, see H. Hahn, De usu velut et quasi Tac. 'Quasi' according to Woelflin, Philol. XXIV 123 is more frequent in the later writings of Tacitus, but see E. Wolff, Die Sprache d. Tac. l. c. The omission of such apologetic particles with metaphorical or unusual expressions is rare in classic Latin. Cf. Cic. de orat. III 41, 165 atque etiam, si vereare, ne paulo durior translatio esse videatur, mollienda est praeposito verbo. Peri òpous 32 'Αριστοτέλης καὶ ὁ Θεόφραστος μελετώντας φασί τινα τῶν θρασσεῖων εἶναι ταύτα μεταφορῶν, τὰ ὑπερεῖ φάναι' καὶ ὁ ὀιονίτως, φασί, ἱσταὶ τὰ τολμηρά. For the laxer Tacitean usage as compared to that of Cicero, see E. Wolff's Introd. to Dial. p. 14 f. In modern languages, apologies for metaphors are generally super-
NOTES.


24 **rebus prosperae fluentibus**: Cf. Ann. XV 5 nec praesentia prosperae fluetant Cic. de off. I 26, 90 in rebus prosperis... fuentibus. Sall. Fragm. 70 rebus supra vota fuentibus (imitated by Tac. H. IV 48 Inst. 23, 3).

25 **aliorum**: Subjective genit. with perfugio, objective with tutela. — 'vis et utilitas' belong closely together 'beneficent power,' as is shown by the sing. predicate.

26 **inrepuet**: Danger is supposed to emit a noise of warning as it approaches. A bold figure and not quite paralleled by the passages usually quoted from Cic. Cat. I 7, 18 quidquid inrepuerit Catilinam timeri. pro Mur. 10, 22 simul atque inrepuet suspicio tumultus and Livy IV 43 VI 37 XLIV 41. The perf. ind. (cod. D inrepuerit) like G. 10, 39 H. II 76 Ann. IV 33. Cp. Klintberg. p. 27.

27 **reo et periclitanti** = reo in periculo eloquentia \( \frac{\text{Ca}}{\text{lorica et gladius ' militia' in acte. The adjective 'periclitanti' is, therefore, not a superfluous addition but is necessary to bring out the antithesis. Translate: 'To the accused in a court of law.' Andersen regarding the expression as tautological, as do the rest of commentators, says that we expect 'in forum,' but that this is the intended contrast to 'in acte is clearly shown by the words 'sive in judicio... in senatu... aequi principem.'

Valerius' very simple emendation [quae est] praesidium admirably restores the force and symmetry of the simile which, if not destroyed, is definitely weakened by the addition of praesidium... item... as a mere expression of eloquence.

28 **pariter et**: The classical *pariter et* also occurs a few times in Tacitus, eg. 80: 14, Ap. XII 1, 19 H. IV 73 Ann. IV 50. See also note 6 to *sive rei... sive* on the use of 'sive.' see the earlier treatments of F. W. Muller, *Deprag Importantis* Gymn. 1871, 1883, and 1885.

The **not** is, as usual, in the imperfect and 25th. The suggestion of *not* as a plain statement as to the result of the percussive in-
explained. Nipperdey Rh. Mus. XIX 271–277, prefers to change the first ‘sive’ into ‘vel,’ but his contention that ‘in senatu’ and ‘apud principem’ belong closely together is quite groundless. I can recognise only two members, vel and sive having accidentally changed places. ‘Sive in iudicio vel in senatu’ form the one (often combined by Cicero), ‘sive apud principem,’ the new judicial tribunal unknown to the Roman republic, the other. Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 7 sive servitia armaret vel militem ascenderet sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet. c. 28 2 aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apru, with note. This interpretation derives weighty support from the change of the preposition (in-in-apud), for had T. intended a mere enumeration, he would probably have written sive (vel) apud iudicem (or centumviris) sive (vel) apud patres sive (vel) apud principem. See c. 7 5 f.

30 Eprius Marcellus: His full name and the principal offices which he held are given in an inscription from Capua, his probable birthplace. C. I. L. X 3853: T. Clodio, M. f. Pal(atina sc. tribu), Epro Marcello cos. II (61 and 74 A. D.), auguri, curioni maximo, sodali Augustali pr(actori) per(egrino) procos. Asiae III (70–73 A. D.) provincia Cypros. A notorious informer (under Nero) and a powerful friend of Vespasian (cf. c. 8) he, for reasons unknown to us, conspired against the emperor and was driven to suicide in 79 A. D. (cf. Cass. Dio 66, 16). Of the three encounters with Helvidius Priscus (cf. H. IV 6, 5. 6 10—9. 43.) the third (c. 70 A. D.) is undoubtedly the one here alluded to, not the second, as is shown by the terms nuper... infestibus patribus... minax... elusit, none of which is applicable to the debate between Helvidius and Marcellus so vividly sketched by Tacitus II. IV 6 10–9, but they unmistakably refer to the last unsuccessful attempt of Helvidius to crush his old enemy. Cf. Tac. H. IV 43 Tanto cum adsensu senatus auditus est Montanus ut spem caperet Helvidius posse etiam Marcellum prostrerni... crimen simul exemploque Eprium urgebate, ardentibus patrum animis (= infestis patribus) quod ubi sensit Marcellus: ‘imus’ inquit, ‘Prisce, et relinquimus tibi senatum tuum: regna praesente Caesare.’ sequebatur Vibius Priscus, ambo infensi, vultu diverso, Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens... consumptus per discordiam dies. The character given to Marcellus, the tribute paid to his eloquence, both here and more fully c. 8 and 13 11 ff., are in perfect accord with the references to him found in the historical writings of Tacitus, even down to the epithet ‘minax’ (H. I. c. Ann. XVI 29). On the importance of this coincidence in determining the author of the Dialogus, see Prolegomena p. xliii f.

32 Helvidius Priscus: Cf. Tac. H. IV 5 Helvidius Priscus † origine Caracina e municipio Cluviano . . . ingenium illustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique quo nomine magnifico segne otium velaret sed quo firmior adversus fortuitum publicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiae (i.e. the Stoics) secutus est . . . quaestorius adhuc (of Achaia in the reign of Nero) a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus, e moribus soceri nihil aeque ac libertatem haudit . . . cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. 6 Erant quibus adeptentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido glorie novissima exuitur, ruina socii in exili pulsus (66 A. D. According to Schol. Iuv. V 36 he betook himself to Apollonia) ut Galbae principatu (68 A. D.) redit, Marcellum Errium delatorem Thraseae accusare adgreditur (68-69) . . . Primo minax certamen et egregius utriusque orationibus testatum mox dubia voluntate Galbae multis senatorum decrecantibus omisit Priscus (1). Ceterum eo senatus die quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos. Hinc (2) inter Helvidium et Errium acre iurgium . . . Marcellum urnam postulabat quae consulis designati sententia fuerat . . . 8 Vicit pars quae sortiri legatos malebat. The discrepancy which Heraeus points out between this account and our passage, does not exist and was only occasioned by his erroneous assumption that the last mentioned quarrel is the one referred to in the Dialogus. Helvidius was praetor in 70. Owing to his contumacious and exasperating conduct toward the emperor (see Epictet. Diss. I 2) he was eventually again expelled and subsequently executed (probably after 75). The Emperor, repenting of his order, is said to have sent messengers to recall the executioners, but they returned upon the false report that the imperial decree had already been carried out. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 15 Dio Cass. 68, 12. The life of Priscus was written by Herennius Senecio for which work he was afterwards executed by Domitian. Cp. Furneaux and Nipperdey ad Ann. XVI 28. — sapientiam used in place of philosophia which the purist Tacitus seems to have avoided, for it occurs only c. 19 15 21 23 30 16 32 33 Ag. 4 H. III 81. The same is true of philosophi, found only c. 19 19 24 10 and Ann. XIII 42 qua sapientia

6. 1 *voluptatem cuius incunditas*: Although "incunditas" is often used as a synonym of "voluptas," we find the poets occasionally employing "incundus" as an epithet of the latter. Cf. Munro to Lucret. II 3 who cites Prop. I 10, 3 Aetna 251.

2 *non uno aliquo momento*: *unus aliquid servas* as a kind of substitute for the singular of "singuli" which was not in use. Cf. Tac. H. I 6. 13 Sen. de vit. beat. III 2 and so also Cic. in Caec. 7, 9 in *Verr.* II 1, 24, 62 de orat. II 72, 292 de off. II 12, 41. — *omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis*: The unusual position of the second "prope" (see c. 17 5) imparts special emphasis. For the collocation of dies and hora, cf. Catull. XXXVIII 3 in dies et horas Hor. Sat. II 6, 47 in diem et horam Sen. Ep. 101, 1 omnis dies, omnis hora. Oratory, Aper contends, affords a perpetual delight, while poetry is at best but a gaudium vulcure (c. 9 14 ff.).

3 *libero et ingenuo*: Also combined in Cic. Brut. 67, 236, but as usual in inverse order. Cf. note c. 4 3.

4 *plenam semper et frequentem*: Cf. Sen. de ira II 8, 1 cum videris forum multitudine refertum et septa concursu omnis frequentiae plena.

6 *idque*: *Qua* joins a whole sentence, as in c. 14 3 suspicatusque Ag. 33 H. I 39 II 49 Ann. III 13 and so quite regularly with "id." Cf. Lex. Tac. p. 701 f. — *pecuniæ*: The profession of law was an extremely lucrative one during the early empire, the lex Cincia having become quite a dead letter, until the time of Claudius, who according to Tac. Ann. XI 7 capiendis pecuniis posuit modum usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur. — On the wealth of Marcellus and Crispus cf. c. 8 5 and in general, Friedländer I 6 326 ff. — *orbitati*: On the notoriously common practice of legacy-hunting among the Romans, cf. Hor. Sat. II 5, 28 ff.
NOTES.


7 non ... aliciuis: aliquis, with a negative or 'sine' in the place of 'quasquam' or 'ullus,' is rare in Tac. e. g. c. 10 29 H. II 45 nec quasquam ... ut non aliquam, but quite common in Cicero. Cp. Schmalz, Antib. s. v. aliquis, Kühner, II 468 Dr. H. S. I 90 R. V. III 53 ff. notes 352 f. — sibi ipsi: 'one's self.' On this indefinite use of 'sibi,' see Nipp. Ann. II 38 and Madvig, de fin. I 20, 67 who cites numerous instances from Cicero. It seems to be especially frequent in Sen., e. g. Dial. XI 1, 3 de benef. II 17, 6 Ep. 6, 2. 52, 14. — dari = tribui. Quite common in Tac., e. g. H. I 77 Ann. I 7 III 72. — quin immo, postpositive as in c. 34 24 39 9 36 23 (by conjecture) G. 14 pilgrim q. i. On the anastrophe of conjunctions, see Nipp. Ann. XV 39, Dr. H. S. I 129 and note c. 19 6. It may be also remarked that the collocation of immo and ipsos disposes of Ribbeck's etymology of the word from ipsimo (Lat. Zeitpart. p. 6).

8 orbos et locupletes et potentes: Observe the climax. 'Rich by reason of their childlessness and powerful in consequence of their wealth. Plin. Ep. V 1, 3 also has locupleti et orbo and Sen. de benef. VI 3, 4 dividem et potentem.

plerumque in a non-superlative sense is with two exceptions out of 22 exx. (G. 13 Ann. VI 15) always prepositive. I, therefore, accept the reading in cod. D in place of venire plerumque of the other MSS. On these 'trans- position variants,' due to interlinear glosses, ( venire ) cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII p. 444–462.

10 tanta ... quam for tanta-quaunts. Cf. c. 37 34 quo saepius ... tanto altior. It is found as early as Ter. Heceyr. III 4, 3 (v. 416) non hercle verbis dici potest tantum, quam re ipsa. Verg. Aen. VI 352, frequent in Livy e. g. XXVI 1 XXXVII 51. Also in Stat. Silv. V
3, 211 Pliny, Ep. III 9, 16 Quint. X 2, 3. 28 and VIII 3, 85 (in a quotation from Cic. pro Ligur. 5, 15, but here our MSS. read quantum). Cp. Dr. H. S. II 521 f. — ingentium opum · · · magnae: In the later writings, probably under Virgilian influence, T. develops an increasing fondness for the more emphatic forms, such as ingens, inmensum, inmanis and the like. In the Dial. · · · ingens’ occurs again c. 37 20. Cf. also Ag. 25 magno paratu but H. II 95 ingenti p. H. I 49 magnae opes but H. III 72 V 8 Ann. XII 22 immensaes opes. H. II 61 viri magni, thereafter regularly viri insignes or inlustres. See Woelflin, Philol. XXVII, 124 f. Here both ingens and magnus are used side by side for the sake of variety.

11 voluptas spectare: Abstract substantives are often used as the predicates of an infinitive. voluptus c. inf. is found, e.g. in Prop. I 10, 3 meminisce mihi iucunda voluptas. Ov. Heroid. XII 21 but not elsewhere in prose. Cp. Dr. H. S. II § 431. On the substantival infinitive, cp. Woelflin, Archiv pp. II 70–91.— homines veteres et senes: homines · · · people, Germ. Leute.’ Cp. Archiv., VI 340 ff. — ‘vetus’ rarely designates time of life as in Livy V 54, 5 Tac. Ann. II 2. 43 VI 31, but it is generally used in the sense of vetustus, of one who has gained ripe experience by length of service in the army, for instance. Cf. H. I 23 Ann. XI 25 and hence some commentators translate veteres et senes · · · old and experienced men,’ thus doing away with the tautology. The tendency of both Greek and Romans, however, to group words like veteres, antiqui, prisci together (cf. note c. 15 1) and expressions, such as we find in Ter. Eun. IV 4, 21 vietus, vetus veternosus senex and Tibull. I 8, 50: in veteres esto dura, puella, senes make it at least doubtful, whether such distinctions were more than vaguely, felt, for the best and most careful writers often use these words without any appreciable difference of meaning. Peter’s interpretation of · · · homines veteres’ as the counterpart of · · · homines novi’ is unsupported by actual usage. He leaves us the alternative of accepting this · · · or of banishing · · · veteres’ from the text, but its deletion necessarily draws that of homines with it! How a scribe ever came to hit upon the unfortunate interpolation of veteres, Peter also forgets to tell us. On the synonymic character of the words, a much disputed question, cp. Landgraf. Cic. pro Rose. Am. 17 Mayor ad Iuv. XV 33 and Schmidt, Handb. der Synonymik p. 479–86. — totius orbis = orbis terrarum is chiefly poetic (e. g. Ovid) and post-Augustan. In Tac.: Ag. 17. 30
H. I 16, 50 II 38, 4 III 49 totius orbis V 25 totius orbis. The fuller and classic form also occurs e. g. Ag. 31 G. 45 H. I 4, toto orbe t. III 60 IV 3. 58 Ann. XV 13 toto t. orbe.

urbs, the emendation of Plutarch, has nothing in its favor, for the exaggeration implied in orbis is especially appropriate to Aper's character, as drawn by the author. Cf. e. g. c. 5 totius imperi... notitiam c. 8 a non minores in extremis partibus terrarum. Totius, moreover, suits orbis better than urbs. See the examples just given and H. I 73 totius civitatis gratiam obtinuit.

12 gratia subnixos: Cf. Ann. XIII 6 g. subnixum. T. seems to have been fond of this word. Cf. H. I 73 Ann. I 11. 47 IV 12. XI 1. XII 25. 54. It is not found in Quintilian. — in summa rerum omnium abundantia: Aper again exaggerates in order to make his point more effective. In Cicero, we find omnium rerum ab. (copia), e. g. Brut. 93, 320 Lael. 23, 87 de leg. ag. II 97. Cf. also August. de cogn. ver. 9 omnimoda omnium deliciarum abundantia. — Observe the concessive force of the preposition. So G. 19. 24 Ann. II 37 III 76 XV 57.

13 togatorum comitatus et egressus: Togati the better classes as opposed to the 'tiers état' called tunicatus populus in c. 7 16. John takes the word in the sense of clientes, quoting Ann. XVI 27, but this restricted meaning of the term is not in keeping with the context. — comitatus et egressus (repeated in Maternus' reply c. 11 13) must not be taken as hendiadys. Andresen well observes that egressus, strictly speaking, refers to the orator himself and only secondarily to the retinue of his admiring followers. Cf. Ann. XV 53 multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere, and Iuv. VII 141 with Mayor's notes.

15 consurgendi = surgendi. Cic. Rosc. Am. 1, 1 de orat. II 78, 316. The compound is used by Cic. only of a multitude de sen. 18, 63 de rep. I 2. Of one individual, as here, apparently first in Livy: III 71 XLV 7 and not uncommon in Silver Latin e. g. Sen. Suas. VI 27 Quint. XI 3, 156 Plin. Ep. IV 9, 18. — adsistendi is perhaps best understood in the military sense, very frequent in Tacitus, of taking one's position in the ranks ready for action; =ad stare, in c. 19 20 20 8; = auxilio adesse e. g. c. 39 18 and H. III 31 orant ut causae suae deprecator adsistat.

16 in unum: Cf. Heraeus, H. I 68. Very common in the younger Seneca. — coire: An acc. with inf. as the subject, with an
abstract noun as predicate (quod gaudium). Dr. H. S. II p. 425 ff. omits this example.

17 coram = in conspectum (sc. oratoris), according to its original meaning (Hand, Tursell, II 126) e. g. Hor. Sat. I 6, 56 ut veni coram (Maecenatis). The hearers crowd close up to the speaker to catch every word; proximity makes them the more easily susceptible of the emotions which the orator assumes.

There is, therefore, no reason for deserting the MS. reading in favor of coronam, an emendation of Acidalbus which is, moreover, open to the objection raised by John in his excellent discussion of this passage (Württemb. Correspbl. I p. 4 f.), that it would be a mere repetition of populus which, according to a common usage in the Dial. and elsewhere, signifies the 'listening public' in the law court or the theatre and the like. Cf. note c. 19 s.

accipere affectum . . . induerit: Affectum 'emotion.' The word often has to do duty for the Greek πάθος as well as ἡθος for which latter the Latin language had no exact equivalent. See the elaborate discussion in Quint. VI 2, 1–29. — The underlying figure is that of a dress which one can put on or off at pleasure. The metaphor is common in Tacitus e. g. c. 26 6 Ann. IV 12 habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat XI 7 facile Asinium et Messallam . . . magnum animum induisse. Cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. induere and John ad loc. — The sentiment itself is very characteristic of Aper, Cicero, de Orat. II 45, 189, Orat. 38, 132 (with Sandys' note) Quint. VI 2, 26 summa . . . circa movendos affectus in hoc posita est ut moveamur ipsi XI 3, 58 and Hor. A. P. 101 si vis meiere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi, all insist that the orator must actually feel, not merely simulate for the occasion the emotions which he wishes to excite in his hearers. Cf. note c. 2 3. The entire passage beginning with 'iam vero' is again largely modelled upon Cic.: de orat. I 8, 31 quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum. 25, 116 magnum quoddam est onus atque munus suscipere atque profiteri se esse omnibus silentibus unum, maximis de rebus, magno in convenut hominum audiendum. 19, 87 et uti ei qui audirent sic adficerentur animis ut eos adfici velit orator. Brut. 49, 185 ut ii qui audiunt ita afficiuntur, ut orator velit. For a similar eulogy of the lawyer's profession, see Iuv. VIII 47 ff. The construction 'adfectum induere' finds a perfect analogue in the
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bad-frequent phrases — adiectum exprimere . d. 23 26 misumere OP. VI 2 66 and absimilare . cit. XI 1 41.

Andrew. Emerii. 1870, p. 126 l. 1 conjectured vulgaris and this reading is found in the text of his latest edition. 0864. This emendation, easy and unassuming as it is, has nothing better in its favor than the frequency of occurrence of the same verb in a similar connection in Op. 1; but this is not sufficient to support an unobjectionable reading.

38 et — quaeque: First found in Plaut. Mem. 795 et et quaeque familiaris. it even in Quint. III 11. 24 in Poet. 47 he invent II 16. 5, Tert. III 2 22 etc. in Caesar or Sallust, more frequent in Livy and in Pliny the elder, rare in the younger Pliny, less common in Cicero, and particularly so in Tacitus e.g. p. 21 4 19. fig. 24 H 1 3 Ann. 77 7 XI 48. 24 times in all. Op. De. H. S. II 33 2 48.

In vulgaris — perennis illa: "Vulgaris" and its opposite "perennis," are such symptomically employed by explanatory phrases and prefixed words, that the same part is being named as the object. The "illae" is utilized as a didactic notion in connection with a particular passage, and the "perennis" as an instructive notion of another passage, and these two have been united as an active notion in the text of the poem. The word "perennis" is frequently used in the following sense: "perennis" as a separate expression can be translated as "perennial" or "constant," but in the context of this poem, it appears to be used in a figurative sense, and the word "illae" is translated as "familiaris" or "common." The word "perennis" is used to emphasize the duration or the frequency of the events described in the poem.

39 quintam — maximus: the word "maximus" is translated as "greatest" or "biggest" in the context of the poem. The word "maximus" is used to emphasize the magnitude of the events described in the poem.
practice.' — perfert: The author passes from the plural (orantibus) to the singular. So also: Cic. Acad. Prior. II 11, 35 ex hoc illud eis usu venire solet ut quidquid dixerint a quibusdam interrogentur: 'ergo istuc quidem percipis.'

21 gaudii pondus et constantia: 'ondus belongs exclusively to 'dictionis,' as is clearly shown by ' quoddam' i.e. Sicut quoddam d. p. est ita quaedam gaudii constant.' — On the use of the singular predicate cp. Dr. H. S. I 175 ff. T. V. III 23 ff. note 334 and c. 5 25 7 12 20 9 22 20 38 19 39 17. For Tacitean usage, when the subjects are proper names, see Ådresen, Appendix to Nipp. Ann. Vol. II extr.

22 sive... profert—sive... attulerit etc.: attulerit is fut. perf., for Tac. does not use the subjunctive with sive-sive. Cf. Nipp. Ann. II 38 Dr. H. S. II 147. In Ann. IV 60 it denotes repeated action, and Ann. IV 56 the subj. is due to indirect discourse. See note c. 28 27. — For the change of tense, cf. c. 37 35 ff. quo saepius steterit — tanto altius agit. Quint. VII 7, 15 si habuerit, convertit 16 si vicerit, habet IX 2, 1 cui placuerit, habet. There is, therefore, no need for writing 'attulit' with Nipperdey l. c. (8. edit.), nor for interpreting a future idea into the phrase 'commendat eventum.' The subject of profert and attulerit is orator, to be supplied from orantibus. — adferre is often used of speeches prepared at home as opposed to ex tempore efforts. Cf. Sen. Cont. III Praef. 4 Vir (sc. Cassius Severus) enim praesentis animi et maioris ingenii quam studii magis placebat in iis quae inveniebat quam in iis quae attulerat. Quint. X 6, 6 in a very similar passage: neque enim tantum habent curae ut non sit dandum ut fortunae locus, cum saepe etiam scriptis ea quae subito nata sunt insenatur... nam ut primum est domo adferre paratam dicendi copiam et certam, ita refutare temporis munera longe stultissimum est... alioqui vel extemporalem temeritatem malo quam male cohaerenter cogitationem. Also Cic. Orat. 26, 89 quaesita nec ex tempore ficta sed domo allata. — novam et recentem: The usual distinction between novus 'something that did not exist previously' and recens 'what has not existed for a long time,' cannot be strictly maintained. Cf. Iuv. II 102 novis annalibus atque recenti historia, Tac. H. V. 13 apud veteres aut novis ingenii et some of the passages cited by Schmidt, Handb. d. Synonymik p. 486 ff. The two synonyms are frequently combined. Cf. c. 8 2 H. IV 65 nova et recentia iura vetustate in consue-
tu dinem vertantur H. I 50. Cic. ad fam. XI 21, 2 recentem novam pro Flacco 6 lege hac recenti ac nova, in inverse order, on which see c. 4 3. Liv. XXXV 10 in Quinticio nova ac recentia omnia ad gratiam erant. — curam ‘oration,’ cf. c. 3 13. — non sine aliqua trepidatione: This was especially true of Cicero who tells us repeatedly that he never rose to speak without a touch of ‘stage fright.’ Cf. de orat. I 26, 121 exalbescam ‘in principiis dicendi etc. pro Deiot. 1, 4 cum in omnibus causis gra vioribus . . initio commoveri vehementius soleam. pro Client. 11. 57 semper equidem magno cum metu incipio dicere, Div. in Caec. 13, 41 Acad. II 20, 64. To these exx. quoted by Wilkins, De orat. l. c., we may add the testimony of Plut. Cic. 35 τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσήμεν καὶ μόλις ἑπάναυσα ταλάμενο καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμῆν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντως.

24 sollicitudo commendat eventum: Tacitus is here in perfect agreement with his teacher Quintilian XII 5, 4 neque ego rursus nolo eum qui sit dicturus et sollicitum surgere et colorem mutare et periculum intellegere, quae si non accident, etiam simulandae erunt. — lenocinatur: ‘adds to the joy of success.’ So again G. 43 insitiae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantis. But in other writers of the Silver age, it is used in the sense of ‘to promote, advance’ e. g. Sen. Rhet. Contr. I 1, 18 Sen. de benef. VII 1, 2 Quint. IV 2, 118 V 12, 17 XII 1, 30 Plin. Ep. I 8, 6 II 19, 7. In pre-Augustan Latin the word is not found with this weakened meaning.

25 extemporalis etc.: A post-Augustan word for the classical subitus, fortuitus, ex tempore (Brut. 61, 219). It is doubtless only accidental that the word occurs first in this passage. The enthusiastic praise here accorded to extemporaneous efforts in oratory makes it not improbable that the young author himself possessed this accomplishment in a high degree. In later life, he seems to have thought less favorably of it, preferring the carefully prepared speech, as insuring a less ephemeral reputation. Cf. Ann. IV 61 Q. Haterius . . eloquentiae quoad vixit celebratae. Monimenta ingenii eius haud perinde retinentur. Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profuens (Sen. Exc. Contr. IV pr. 7 Tanta erat illi velocitas orationis ut vitium fieret . . . Haterius noster sufflaminandus est) cum ipso simul extinctum. The ancient teachers of eloquence, though they sincerely admire the gift of
extemporaneous speech, invariably assign to it an inferior place. The subject is treated at length by Quint. X 6, 6 ff. with his usual discernment and good sense. Cf. also Cic. de orat. I 33, 150 etsi utile est etiam subito saepæ dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum paratus atque accuratus dicere . . . subitam et fortuitam orationem commentatio et cogitatio facile vincit. Ps. Plut. περὶ παϊδῶν ἔνωγῆς p. 6 C-D. and in general, Friedländer III 461 f.


27 diu = iam diu, as frequently in Tacitus e. g. G. 5. 36 H. III 7, Ann. IV 57 V 11 XIII 37 XIV 1 XV 19. 64. The present tense is also unobjectionable. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 39, 85 iam diu comparrantur de off. I 1, 1 annum iam audis Cratippum. ad fam VII 9 iam diu ignoro quid agas. And so analogously with iam pridem (Cic. ad Att. II 5, 1) iamdudum (esp. in Plautus) olim (Hor. Sat. I 1, 25) quondam (Ov. Met. VIII 191) and the like. Cp. Kühner, II 88 f. Dr. H. S. I p. 229 R. V. III 334 note 448.

Following G. Jacob ap. Dronke p. 245, Vahlen (Comm. Momms. p. 63) and John (Correspbl. p. 6 f.) explain alia in the sense of τὰ μὴ διὰ θλα, equivalent to 'quae non sua sponte nascentur'! The instances of this Grecism adduced by John (Tac. Ann. I 30 XIII 43) are not even remotely analogous, and such a construction would, in any case, not be permissible in a style so free from Grecisms as the Dialogus admittedly is. The majority of editors have, therefore, justly regarded alia as corrupt, but the proposed remedies either involve too violent changes or ignore the sense of the passage. Andesen adopts Ernest's emendation 'utiliora,' quoting Cic. Phil. XIII 19, 44 quamquam enim prima praesidia utiliora rei publicae sunt, tamen extrema sunt gratiora. My objections to this reading are: (1) The conjecture lacks all palaeographical probability and displaces diu which is unquestionably genuine, although its meaning has always been misinterpreted. (2) Utiliora is quite out of place, for Aper had already disposed of the argument drawn from the usefulness of oratory in the preceding chapter (plura de utilitate non dico) and it is not again referred to throughout his speech, except once incidentally in c. 87 in quite a different connection (see
(5) The passage from Cicero is totally irrelevant and could at best but prove, very superficially at that, that the useful and the pleasurable may be contrasted. One might with some greater show of justice have adduced Cic. de orat. I 33, 150, cited above, to prove that the genuine reading must have been 'quamquam utilia . . utiliora tamen,' for this passage at least deals with one and the same topic. The present chapter treats exclusively de voluptate oratoria. I have no doubt that Tacitus wrote: quamma quam quae diu sceruntur atque elaborantur grata, gratiora tamen. Although those things which have been sown and cultivated for a long time are pleasing (because of their maturity) yet more pleasing are' etc. The changes called for are of the easiest description. quaes (q) was accidentally omitted after quamquam (i.e. quamq. cf. c. 18 26 tamq. 32 4 quiaq. 18 utq). So c. 3 2 ipsum quem for ipsumque quem 39 24 quoque qui—ω quoque D, see also Buecheler, Rh. Mus. XI, 512 f. Grata dropped out owing to the following gratiora. As for alia, omitted, be it observed, in two MSS., it is clearly the corruption of a dittography of diu, the d being mistaken for al, just as in analogous instances d stands for ol e.g. c. 21 = redent (CD) redolent. In Hor. Ep. I 10, 37, Haupt (Opusc. Ill 47) conjectured victoriidsen for victor violiens. The change finally of a and e into u and a in the verbs can hardly be called a correction. Perhaps we ought also to read laborantur for elaborantur, cf. c. 30 2 and note to c. 9 28, but this is not absolutely necessary.—On the comparative following closely upon the positive, see Cic. de orat. I. c. and c. 9 28 pulchrum id quidem . . quanto tamen pulchrior.

7. 1 laetiorem: Predicate adjective for adverb. Cf. H. III 38 laetos dies ageret II 22 laetam . . . adolescentiam egit. Ann. XIV 61 laeti Capitolium scanderent and note to c. 4 4. The cod. Leidensis (B) has alone preserved 'ipse' for the less idiomatic 'ipso' of the other MSS. See note to c. 3 12.

3 civitate minime favorabili natus: Gaul, the native state of Aper, of Secundus and perhaps of Maternus (see Prolegomena p. lxix) is properly called 'minime favorabils' because one born in this province had great difficulties and prejudices to overcome, if he desired to attain high official positions in the city of Rome. Cf. Tac. Ann. XI 23 studiis diversis apud principem (sc. Claudium) certabatur, asseverantium non adeo aegrüm Italian ut senatum suppeditare urbi suae nequiret . . . quem ultra honorem residuis nobilium aut si quis pauper e Latio senator foret? oppleturos omnia divites illos quorum avi proavique hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro vique ecciderint, divur, Iulium apud Alesiam obsederint. This disposes of the otherwise possible interpretation of civitas as a tribe (Peter) or canton (John). Favorablis is a post-Augustan word, first found in Vell. II 34, 2. Here it is used in a passive sense 'favored, popular.' Nipp. Ann. II 36 insists that favorablis always signifies 'was Beifall erregt.' However true this may be for the majority of instances, such a translation is utterly inapplicable to 'civitas' in any of the possible meanings of the word.

4 eos sc. ago. Such ellipses are common in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 2 et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute (sc. sit, videmus), G. 41 quomodo paulo ante Rhenum (sc. secutus sum) sic nunc Danuvium sequar. H. I 52 III 77 IV 42 Ann. III 29. Cp. Woelflin Bursian Jahrest. (1879) II 226. Dr. H. S. I 216 f. and especially G. Clemm, De breviloquentiae T. quibusdam generibus p. 103. See also note c. 16 32.—mediocritate: Also Ann. XIV 60. In this sense first in Vell. II 111 m. nostrae but frequent in late Latin.

apud patres, though not essential to the context, is a necessary emendation to restore the stylistic equilibrium of the text. John ad loc. to quote his own words, says: 'Die Anordnung ist übrigens hier nicht wie 5 29 eine ansteigende mit Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung des Gerichts sondern eine absteigende nach Maßgabe des Grades der Befriedigung, den ein glücklicher Erfolg dem Redner gewährt (!) Darum folgen den kriminellen die civilrechtlichen Fälle und diesen wieder die Prozesse der verrufenen kaiserlichen Freigelassenen. Selbst diese zu retten, eine sehr unpopuläre (!) und wenig Ruhm (!) einbringende Thätigkeit macht den Aper glücklich! Nur bei dieser Deutung des vorangestellten Pronomens ipse erklärt sich zugleich ipso . . . procuratores ungewunnen.' But this interpretation is throughout open to the gravest objections. (1) There is nothing to indicate that the enumeration of the three juridical tribunals here or in c. 5 contains a gra-
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dato either in maius or in minus. Again, it is not easy to see why criminal cases, which are mentioned first, should afford a livelier satisfaction than civil suits (apud centumviroes); the contrary rather might be inferred from D. 38 to Quint. V 10, 115 Plin. Ep. V 13, 3. (2) John seems to forget that Aper is the speaker, who, so far from regarding the friends of the emperor as ‘verrufen,’ lands them to the skies and praises their happy lot. Aper nowhere, like Helvidius Priscus, displays the faintest indignation at the imperial régime, under which he, indeed, though a novus homo, had attained to the praetorship. (3) We fail to learn, why an able advocate should be incapable of acquiring a great reputation by undertaking the defence of a libertus principis. (4) If the defence of the friends of an emperor had really been less willingly undertaken, because of any fancied opprobrium attaching to it, we should scarcely find the last member of the alleged anti-climax emphasised by an accumulation of two synonyms, and illos should be changed to istos. Ribbeck, “Rh. Muz. XXVIII” p. 503, endeavors to establish a climax by a violent transposition, which defies palaeographical explanation, and is in any case superfluous and therefore false.

6 Centumviri: Cp. Fest. Epit. 54 cum essent Romae XXXV tribus... terni ex singulis tribubus sunt electi ad iudicandum qui... licet V amplius quam C fuerint, tamen, quo facilius nominarentur, Cviru sunt dicti. In Pliny’s day (Ep. VI 33) the number had risen to 180. On the cases that came within the jurisdiction of this court, cf. Quint. IV 2, 5 cum de re constat, de iure quaeritur ut apud centumviroes. Esp. Cic. de orat. I 38, 173 with Wilkins’ note and Smith, “Dict. Ant.” I p. 404 f.

7 Libertos, procuratores: On the position and the great power wielded by freedmen under the various emperors, cp. Friedländer I 82–104 (Vespasian p. 93). ‘Procuratores’ were officers in the imperial household and generally freedmen. Cp. Smith, “Dict. Ant.” II 496–99. If the statement of Sueton. Vesp. 16 ‘creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere quo locupletiores mox condemnaret’ be true, they must have had frequent occasions to avail themselves of the eloquence of great orators.

8 tueri et defendere. The same synonyms combined in G. 14 illum defendere, tueri and frequently in Cicero e. g. de orat. I 38, 172 de fin. II 4, 11 ad fam. 13, 64. Caes. B. C. III 94. — datur: The passive of dare with inf. in Tac. only here and in the Annals: III 67 (where see Draeger), IV 60 (defendere dareetur) VI 5. 19 XII 23. Cp. E. Opitz, Progr. Naunburg 1852 p. 15, Dr. H. S. II 367 f. Stil. p. 59. The active form with inf. is poetic, in prose
only Vitruv. 180, 23 dabat imitari. — **tribunatus praeturas**: On these plurals, see Draeger's lists *H. S.* I p. 11 ff. 19.

10 **in alvo oritur**: Cf. c. 29 10 vitia paene in utero matris concepi mihi videntur. Alvus = uterus (Cf. Paulus-Festus: venter feminae). Tacitus even uses uterus for alveus in Ann. II 6 lato utero, a **ānum cip**.

All our MSS. read *ālium* with the exception of the cod. Vindob. which has albo (i. e. alvo and so Pithoeus). Few passages in the Dialogus have been burdened with more conjectures, of which those given in the adnotatio critica are but a selection (For earlier attempts to emend the unintelligible alio, see Schulze, in Exc. II p. 108-171 of his edition, Walther, Tac. Vol. IV p. 245-47). Andersen in despair writes natalibus paritur. This emendation and numerous others depart too far from the MSS. reading to merit serious attention. The conjecture which has met with most favor is Ritter's 'in aliquo' and yet this reading has nothing in its favor, save its palaeographical simplicity. For (1) aliquo is quite out of place being too vague and indefinite. (2) The meaning which Ritter and his followers attribute to the phrase in aliquo is made possible only by investing the preposition with an emphasis which it never has or can have.

10 **codicillos**; 'Cabinet order, letters patent.' So Ag. 40 codicillos quibus ei (sc. Agricolae) Suria dabatur tulisse. Ann. XIII 20 scriptos esse ad Caecinam Tuscum codicillos, mandata ei praetorio cohortium cura. — **cum gratia venit**: 'comes with influence.' Cf. 20 23 cum volupiate perveniunt, Ann. XIV 53 quibus (sc. studiiis) claritudo venit . . . gratiam immensam circumdeisti. 52 amor carminum venisset Cic. Verr. II 2, 7, 19 and Caec. 26, 74 hereditas venit Sall. Ing. 8 (cited from Cic. by Georges !) ultro illi et gloriaem et regnum venturum. Livy XXXIV, 30 cum qua fama venerunt Hor. A. P. 400 honor . . vatibus venit. Cf. also Curt. 8, 13, 15 cum gloria abire.

13 **non solum — sed etiam**: Always undivided e. g. c. 16 33 20 14 21 32 24 4 Ann. IV 35 except c. 22 10, where, however, non ea solum is followed by sed without etiam. Cf. note to c. 2 6. — **Vacuos** is generally opposed to occupatus, cf. Tac. H. IV 17 arriperent vacui occupatos and Peterson, ad Quint. X 1, 32.

Iuvenes et adulescentes, as all our MSS. with the exception of B have it, destroys the contrast intended by the author (non solum — sed etiam). Nor is the generally accepted reading vacuos et adulescentes more satisfactory, for here again adulescentes are unwarrantably identified with vacui. The proper antithesis is brought about by reading 'iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes.' Vacuos, as its position shows, belongs to both nouns (cf. note
c. 12 19). For an explanation of the corruption, see *Am. Jour. Phil.* I. c. p. 452. John's distinction between vacui 'die nicht thätig sein wollen' and adulescentes 'die nicht thätig sein können' is quite gratuitous. Tacitus says that the busy no less than those at leisure will look up to great orators with admiration si modo . . . sui. John in his interpretation unfortunately overlooked this important proviso. It may be added that this qualifying clause also favors the reading quid? non illustres which at the same time is closer to the MSS. than the other emendations that have been suggested.


16 et tunicatus hic populus: *Tunicatus* opp. to togatus (c. 6 13). Cf. Hor. Ep. I 7, 65 Vilia vendentem tunicato scrutare populo. 'Vulgus, populus, plebs' are not infrequently grouped together by Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 43 vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus H. I 89, 1 vulgus et . . . populus 35 non populus tantum et imperita plebs. *Hic= noster*, Romanus. Cf. c. 20 20 horum 28 9 his propriis 29 10 Ag. I. c. H. I 84 Ann. XV 38. — The *et* is epegegetic, hence the singular predicate. Cf. e. g. c. 6 19 20 13 33 9 Ag. 5. 6. 43 H. II 34 IV 26 Ann. I 1. For examples in other writers, see Hand, *Tursell.* II 477. — *nomine vocat*: The same phrase also G. 28 H. I 23.

17 digito demonstrat: To be pointed at with the finger was, with but comparatively few exceptions, a sign of admiration or respect among the ancients. The earliest occurrence of the phrase seems to be in Aesch. Agam. 1285 Κ. δακτυλοδικτον. Cf. Hor. C. IV 3, 22 monstror digito praeterentium, Pers. I 28 At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est (where see Jahn and the scholiast who refers to the story of Demosthenes, related by Cic. *Tusc.* V 36, 103 Pliny Ep. IX 23, 5 Aelian V. H. 9, 17 Diog. Laert. VI 2, 6), Martial IX 97, 4 turba semper omni monstramur digito and esp. frequent in Lucian, e. g. Somn. 11 δεῖξε σε τῷ δακτύλῳ οὕτως ἔκανος λέγων, Herod. 2 καὶ εἴ τινι γε φανερῇ μάνον δείκνυς ἄν τῷ δακτύλῳ οὕτως ἔκανος Ἡρωδοτός ἔστων. Dial. Meret. 6, 4. Anarch. 36 Harmon. 1. As a gesture of reproach or derision, e. g. Dem. XXV, 67 Lucian


19 *adgnosere* = recognise. Velut is added, because these strangers had not previously seen the orators themselves, but could only know them from the descriptions of others.

8. 1 *Marcellum hunc Eprium*: Cf. c. 5 30. — *Crispum Vibium*: Q. (acc. to C. I. A. III 1, 619) Vibius Crispus, like Marcellus, with whom he is again associated by Tacitus in H. IV 42. 43, a notorious informer, was born at Vercellae (cf. C. I. L. V 2, 6590. 6660. 6711). He was cons. suff. about 57 a. d., curator aquarem 68–71, pro-consul of Africa, acc. to Nipp. Ann. XIV 28 in the last mentioned year. Consul for the second time probably in 83. He died at the age of eighty (Iuv. IV 92), shortly before 93, for Quintilian whose
work was published in that year speaks of him (X 1, 119) as one recently deceased. He remained on intimate terms with Domitian, as has been justly inferred from an anecdote in Suet. Domit. 3. His wealth was proverbial (Mart. IV 54, 7 divitior Crispo) and estimated at 200,000,000 sesterces, acc. to the schol. Iuv. I. c. or 300,000,000 according to Tacitus. The scholiast may, however, have mistaken Vibia Crispus for Crispus Pasienuus. Tac. H. II 10 characterizes him as 'pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos,' in perfect agreement with the statements in the Dial. c. 8 and 13. Juvenal, writing some thirty years after his death, is more favorably disposed toward him 'Venit et Crispi iucunda (=iucundi) senectus | Cuius erant mores qualis facundia mite|ingenium. Regarding the power of his eloquence, there seems to have been no difference of opinion. Quint. V 13, 48 X 1, 119 XII 10, 11 gives it the complimentary epithet of iucundus, also applied to him by Iuv. I. c. Cf. Nipp. Ann. XIV 28 Mayor, ad Iuv. IV 81–93 and in Addenda Vol. I p. 407 f. 414. On the transposition of the cognomen cf. c. 1 1.

3 oblitteratis: Very rare in Cic. (Vatin. 6. 15) and in pre-Augustan Latin (Attius ap. Non. 146, 30), more frequent in Livy and in the Silver Age, particularly common in Tacitus. In the Dial. again c. 22 22. See Lex. Tac. s. v.

minus has justly been regarded as corrupt. Peter alone defending it by an interpretation of esse which is quite untenable. Minus arose out of a wrong solution of a compendium (mih.). On minor in the sense of 'inferior in rank, renown, intellect.' cf. c. 21 24 Ann. I 13 Gallum Asinum avidum et minorem XVI 8 mix Neronem ... quasi minores evasere XVI 20. Especially frequent in Quint. e.g. I 2. 10 minores ... praeceptor I 3. 1 pueros non continuo tradendos eminentiissimo credunt sed apud minores aliquamdid dieinent I 5. 19 illos minores (sc. scriptores), quia facilius eorum intellectus videbatur, probaverunt. VI 3. 67 X 1. 60. 74. See also Hor. Ep. I I. 106 II I. 183.

5 ubi nati dicuntur: Aper does not wish to be understood as saying that the birthplace of Marcellus and of Crispus was at all uncertain, for it was not, but that their world-wide fame made it a matter of indifference, where they might happen to have been born. Cq. the famous remark of Pericles in Thucyd. II 43. 15 δάκτυλοι παντός παλαιού πατρί γε τοιοί — ter milies: The phrase from Martial, quoted above, as well as the fact that Capua refers to Marcellus, whose name precedes that of Crispus in the beginning of
the chapter, makes it highly probable that the first named sum here also pertains to the first mentioned individual. The wealthiest Romans, so far as known to us, were the augur Cn. Lentulus (under Augustus) and Narcissus (under Nero), who are said to have been worth 400,000,000 sesterces (about $17,000,000). Cp. Friedländer I 245 ff. III 12 ff.


7 beneficio: ‘by reason of, on account of.’ Beneficio is here well on its way toward its later use as a synonym of gratia or causa. It is perhaps first met with in the so-called Hygin. Astron. II 23b Inonis b. ‘Cp. Woelfflin, Zu den latein. Zeitpartikeln, in Archiv I 174 f. 574, Bursian Jahresber. XLIV p. 198. The ‘quamquam’ clause has occasioned unnecessary difficulty. Although, says Aper, Marcellus and Crispus may be thought (videri) to have come into the possession of vast riches by virtue of their oratorical power, yet their world-wide fame was not due to their wealth, but solely to their eloquence. Thus the speaker, by taking unexpectedly a purely ideal view, might seem to be contradicting or at least weakening the utilitarian arguments which he had so earnestly advanced in a previous chapter. To counteract this, Aper, shrewd advocate that he is, abandons for a moment the strict sequence of topics outlined in the beginning of his speech and reverts to the question of the utility of eloquence once more, although he had assured us ‘plura de utilitate non dico.’ In this, one cannot but admire the art of the author who, while depicting the trained rhetorician, yet succeeds in preserving some of the stylistic aban- don characteristic of a conversation between friends. — sed eloquentia: Sed was perhaps unnecessarily inserted by Lipsius, for the adversative particle is very often omitted by Tacitus. See note
c. 6 19. In G. 10 Halm reads 'apud plebem sed apud proceres, sacerdotes enim' in place of 'apud plebem apud proceres; apud sacerdotes: se enim' of the best MSS. Cp. Massmann ad loc. and Nipp. Ann. IV 35. — numen et caelestis vis: Cf. Cic. pro Mil. 29, 83 nullam vimi... numen divinum. Verr. II 4, 49, 107 vimi... numenque. On the inverted order cf. c. 4 3. The figure, though a very bold one, is characteristic of Aper's diction throughout. See below, sordidius et abiectius nati, paupertas... circumsteterunt.

9 ad quam usque fortunam: ad usque with an intervening pronoun is comparatively rare and post-Aug., e.g. Ag. 14 ad nostram usque memoriam. With an interrogative pronoun, also Quint. VIII 5, 33 ad quam usque nos vocatis vetustatem, XII 1, 32 ad quem usque modum. Cp. Thielmann, Archiv VII p. 104. — fortunam 'high position'.


Orig. 19 s. omnis paternorum bonorum. Paul. Sent. 2, 26 s. rei familiaris. Dictys I 17 s. opum. Dig. 36, 1, 16. It is in such somewhat far-fetched expressions, no less than by the devices pointed out above, that the stylistic individuality of Aper is brought out into bold relief. Translate: 'Without ample means of subsistence.' With the thought, cf. Iuv. VII 145 rara in tenui facundia panno.

16 neuter . . . egregius: Cf. Tac. H. II 10 Vibius Crispus . . . inter claros magis quam inter bonos. II 95 successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores. Egregius in Latinis always used in bonam partem and so quite common in earlier English and occasionally even in modern writers e. g. Thackeray. See the Oxford Dictionary s.v.—alter habitus . . . corporis contemptus: The context leaves it entirely uncertain which of the two is intended, but the passages from Iuv. IV 86 (quoted above) and Statius, Silv. I 3, 110 Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi render it highly probable that Marcellus is meant here.

17 multos iam annos: Doubtless somewhat exaggerated, as usual. On the position of 'iam,' see c. 22 8 and Am. Jour. Phil. XII 447.—donee = quamdiu with indicative occurs first in Hor. C. I 9, 17, and thereafter most common in Tac.: c. 40 20 H. I 13. 37 IV 12. 74 Ann. I 68 III 15 IV 74 VI 51 XIV 50. See Lex. Tac. s. v. The subj. is found only in orat. obl. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 615. The particle is not used at all by Caesar, Sallust, Velleius, and but four times by Cic.

18 principes in Caesaris amicitia: A peculiarly Tacitean expression for 'p. amicorum Caesaris' or 'p. inter C. amicos.' Cf. e. g. Ann. III 30 in amicitia principis XIII 45 in am. Neronis, and IV 12 XIV 51 in animo principis validus XV 50 in animo principis anteibat. Caesaris = principis, to avoid ambiguity. The reference cannot, as some have thought, be to Titus or to Domitian, because 'Caesar' did not designate the heir apparent or crown prince till the time of Hadrian. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. II 1083 cited by John, ad loc. — 'Princeps fori,' also in Quint. XII 11, 3 Domitium Afrum . . . principem fuisset quondam fori non erat dubium.—agunt feruntque: generally in the concrete sense of plundering or devastating an enemy's country. So in Livy, e. g. XL 49 cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret (Dr. H. S. II 43). Here the phrase is used figuratively. Marcellus and Crispus by virtue of their power and influence carry everything before them, rule supreme. Peter's
explanation 'they appropriate everything to themselves, thus acquiring their immense wealth at the expense of others,' misinterprets Aper's attitude toward these two men. For analogous passages, see Liv. III 37 ferre agere plebem plebisque res and Xen. Cyr. III 3, 2 πάντες υπήρτων ἡδόνειοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἀγονεῖ δυ τι ἣκαστος δίκαιον δίκη, and Tac. H. I 2, 19 (delatores) agerent verterent cuncta. Observe that the usual order of this collocation common both in Greek and Latin, is here reversed. So also Homer E 484 Arist. Nub. 243 Xen. Hell. VI 5, 50. Such variation is very characteristic of Tacitus, who seeks to add a touch of novelty to expressions which had become stereotyped by constant usage. Cf. Ann. XIV 38 igni atque ferro for the regular 'ferro ignique.'

19 cum quadam: In the Dial., the anastrophe of the preposition is habitually avoided (see c. 22 13 cum quodam lumine), except in formulaic expressions such as eaque de re (c. 2 4) quem ad modum (c. 33 7) magna ex parte (c. 35 12) and the like. Cp. A. Gerber, Nonnula de usu praep. apud T. Progr. Glückstadt 1871 A. Greef, Philol. Anz. 1872 p. 296, Woelflin, Philol. XXV 129.

20 venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri: Vespasian was at the time in which this conversation is alleged to have taken place (74–75 A.D.), 65 years old, having been born on the 17th of November 9 A.D.—As Marcellus and Crispus are represented in c. 13 15 as ‘adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi,’ it will be plain, even if we make all due allowance for Maternus’ unfriendly attitude, that ‘patientissimus veri’ cannot refer to the παννεότης of these two men toward their sovereign. The praise of Vespasian seems to be introduced simply by way of apology for openly characterising his all-powerful friends as the real power behind the throne, a criticism which even so mild-tempered a ruler might be liable to resent. Vespasian's great tolerance of outspokenness is well attested by Suet. Vesp. 13 Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuram ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit and Eutr. VII 13 Offensarum et inimicitiarum immemor fuit. Convicia a causidiciis et philosophis in se dicta tulit.—Aper would have had no scruples in subscribing to Seneca's dictum (de ira III 36): vide non tantum an verum sit, quod dicis, sed an ille cui dicitur veri patiens sit. Cf. also the close of his speech (c. 10).

'ìpsis' has been changed into 'ipsi' by Lipsius, which destroys the contrast indicated by 'et alios.' Et after 'ceteros' is quite out of place, and is
either due to a ditography of the preceding syllable or was accidentally transferred from the next line as Peter, followed by John ad loc., thinks. By reading _et ipsis_, we also introduce an epigrammatic antithesis very suitable to the context and in perfect keeping with what Suetonius _Vesp._ l. c. reports of Vespasian himself. See also the passages cited below.

21 **amicos**: This name was applied to men of senatorial or equestrian rank, who constituted a kind of privy council. They were not infrequently the power behind the throne and formed one of the most conspicuous features of the imperial court. Their position, though one of paramount importance (Tac. _H._ IV 7 nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse), was at all times exceedingly precarious and uncertain, being subject to the whims and fickleness of the Emperor. Cf. Tac. _Ann._ III 30 _aeate_ _provecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit_ (sc. Crispus). _Idque et Maecenati acciderat fato potentiae raro semperia_, _an satias caput aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt_, _aut hos cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant._ Hist. IV 8 _nec minus sibi_ (sc. _Eprio Marcello_) _anxiarum talem amicitiam quam aliis exsilium_. Other 'amici' of Vespasian were _C. Licinius_ _Mucianus, T. Rutilius_ _Varus, C. Plinius_ _Secundus, Otacillus_ _Sagitta, Ti. Iulius_ _Alexander_. 'Friends' of Titus with the exception of the elder Pliny are not known to us. On the significance of this, see Proleg. _xxx_ and on 'amici' in general, the exhaustive treatment in Friedländer _1°_ p. 133-148. 205-220 (list of amici principis from Augustus — Elagabalus).

24 **quod . . . acceperint nec accipi possit**: _Quod_ is used _ἐντὸς κοινωνίας_, serving both as object and subject. Cf. _G._ 18 _quae_ _nurus_ _accipiant_ _rurusque_ _ad_ _nepotes_ _referuntur_, _Ann._ II 83 _quae_ _quam_ _statim_ _omissa_ _sunt_ _aut_ _vetustas_ _oblitteravit_. _Sall. lug._ 14, 16 _quae_ _aut_ _amisi_ _aut_ _ex necessary adversa factura sunt_. _Liv. XXII 6 quae . . . servata_ _fides_ _ab Hannibale est atque in vincula omnes coniecit_. _Sen. de tranq._ 8, 9 _quae_ _[corpora]_ _superfundiuntur et undique_ _magnitudo_ _sua_ _vulneribus obiecit_. An analogous 'inconcininitas,' peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus' love of stylistic variety, is found in the change from an active to a passive. Cf. _H._ III 76. 77. _IV 65_ (where see _Heraeus_) _V 22 Xipp. ad Ann._ III 21 _Draeger ad Ann._ VI 44. — With the thought, cf. _Ann._ XIV 54 _et tu (Nero) quantum tum_ _princeps_ _tribuere_ _amico potest_ _et ego_ _(Seneca) quantum_ _amicus a principe accipere_. _Sen. Ep._ 41, 6 _quid enim est stultius quam_
in homine aliena laudare? quid eo de mentius, qui ea miratur quae
ad alium transferri protinus possunt. 8 Lauda in ipso quod nec
eripi potest nec dari. Ep. 98, 13 Honores repulit, pater Sextius
... iatum clavum, divo Iulio dante, non recepit. Intelegebat enim,
quod dari posset, et eripi posse.

25 Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum: Minimum = infimum is
apparently ár. áp., the nearest approach to it being Plin. N. H.
XIV 1. Locum magnum obtinet in medicaminibus. — tot ac tanta
= tot ac tantas res. Tot as a neuter substantive is not found else-
where, but analogous instances are common in Silver Latin, and par-
ticularly characteristic of Tacitus. E. g. c. 39 10 tot pariter ac tam
Cic. Cael. 28, 66 Ovid, Am. II 12, 10. So also c. 19 20 pervulgatis
iam omnibus (sc. rebus), c. 21 1 quibusdam, where see notes.
Ann. III 15 nullo (=nulla re), where see Nipp. Sen. Ep. 33, 2
illo (=illa re). Cp. also Dr. H. S. I 54 ff.

There is, therefore, no real necessity for writing with Vahlen haec tot,
on the analogy of Cic. pro Rosc. 32, 89 haec tot et tanta . . . quamdiu
die res.

Imagines ac tituli et statuae: As Aper is speaking of novi
hombres sine commendatione natalium, imagines cannot refer to the
waxen images of ancestors, but rather to the so-called 'clipeatae' or
'argenteae imagines' which represented the Emperor or his amici or
some distinguished man. Tituli were the inscriptions on these,
hence joined by ac, i. e. imag. cum titulis et statuae. Plin., Pan.
103 is less careful to bring out this dependent relation, when he
says 'titulis et imag. et stat.' On the subject itself, cp. Mommsen,
Ant. I 992, where other literature is cited. John well observes
that Maternus' answer (c. 11 14) seems to imply that this method
of decorating one's house was less a valued privilege than a kind of
irksome duty, by which the incumbent of an office gave outward
expression of his loyalty.

26 neque = ne — quidem. In Tac. again H. IV 80 Ann. II 82

27 divitiae et opes: Divitiae occurs in T. only here and in Ann.
XVI 3 divitiarum expectatio, where opes immediately precedes.
The whimsical aversion to this word is a unique peculiarity of Taci-
tus. The same collocation in Flor. III 12, 7 Justin. I 7. The
two words are carefully distinguished by Cic. de fin. V 27, 81 and Lael. 6, 22 divitiae ut utare, opes ut colare, where see the excellent note of Seyff.-Müller p. 147 ff. With the thought, cf. Sen. Contr. II 9, 18 facilius possum paupertatem laudare quam ferre.

28 *igitur: Marking the close of an argument, as in H. II 84. IV 70 Ann. I 4. On the position, cf. c. 3 1.


9. 1 *nam: i.e. Nor can you rejoin, that the pursuit of poetry offers similar material and ideal advantages, for etc. On this elliptical use of *nam, cf. note c. 1 16, and the long list of instances in Lex. Tac. s.v. p. 895 f. The word frequently, as here, introduces the more or less detailed refutation of possible objections, by way of confirmation of a preceding argumentation. Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Cic. Lael. p. 312.— *carmina et versus: ‘Carmen’ is the generic term to which the more specific word is added by way of emphasis or for the sake of a clearer definition. This stylistic peculiarity of Tacitus is discussed by Nipp. Ann. XIII 42 (and also Dr. H. S. II 11), but he strangely omits, as do the commentators, the very numerous instances found in the minor writings, particularly the Dialogus. Cf. c. 13 3 certamina et pericula 16 29 caeli siderumque (also in Ag. 12) 19 7 condicione temp. et diversitate aurium 19 24 vi et potestate, iure et legibus 20 8 vulgus adversitatem et adfluens . . . auditor 22 18 visum et oculos 24 10 more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato G. 2 memoriae et annalium 3 monumenta et tumulos H. IV 58 proelium et acies Ann. II 37 stirps et progenies 74 crinina et accusationes XIV 3 ferrum et caedes 20 militia et armis 33 fletu et lacrimis. — The distinction observed in Ann. XVI 19 levia carmina (“lyrics”) et faciles versus
(‘elegiacs or iambics’) is inapplicable to our passage, because Maternus is spoken of only as a tragic poet.


3 utilitates alunt: ‘advance our material interests,’ a dr. cip., but no bolder than e. g. H. IV 18 conatus ... alunt and some of the many metaphorical applications of this verb cited in the lexica from Cicero. Cf. also H. II 30 eandem utilitatem fovere. For the abstract plural, cp. Dr. H. S. I 11 ff. and Proleg. p. ciii f.

4 brevem: The adjectives brevem, inanem and vagum, inanes, volucre below are rendered more emphatic by being placed after their nouns. Cp. Dr. Stil p. 91. Observe that Aper, in this negative part of his argument, retains the same subdivisions as outlined in c. 5 15.

5 licet: In a concessive clause only in the minor writings c. 13 3 Ag. 32 licet ... commodent, and once in a speech in the Ann. XIV 55 licet multa videantur. Cp. in general, Hand, Tursell. III 543-546. Schmalz, Antibarb. s. v.

6 aures tuae respuant: Cic. Part. Orat. 5, 15 auditorum aures respuant, pro Sull. 25, 70 cuius aures ... respuerunt, pro Planc. 18, 44 respuerent aures ... repudiarent. Quint. XI 1, 61 quid aures hominum magis respuant. Boetticher’s assertion (Lex. Tac. s. v.) that aures is more frequent in T. than in any other writer, not excepting Cicero and Quintilian, is without foundation. It occurs 47 times in T. to 41 in Quint. (smaller by about 40 pages), and more than 50 times in Cicero’s orations alone. — After respuant, we must supply some phrase like ‘dicam tamen.’ Cp. also the similar remark of Messalla c. 27 7 nec vos offendi decepit si quid forte aures vestras perstringat. — cui bono est: a legal formula of inquiry touching the motive of the crime. The phrase was frequently used and perhaps even invented by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla (cons. 127 censor 125), celebrated for his severity as a judge (Val. Max. III 7, 9 scopus reorum). Cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 30, 84. L. Cassius ille quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem
NOTES.

putabat identidem in causis quaerere solebat 'Cui bono' fuisset. Phil. II 14 35 illud Cassianum 'cui bono.' pro. Mil. 12, 32 (see Ascon. ad loc.). — *apud te:* *Apud* is used in speaking of a particular passage or composition of an author, while *in* refers to his work as a whole. Cp. Hand, *Tursell.* I 409, 6 Peterson, Quint. X 2, 13. So in Tacitus e. g. H. II 37 invenio apud quosdam auctores. Ann. I 81 adeo diversa (sc. de comitiis consularibus) non modo *apud* auctores sed *in* ipsius orationibus. II 88 reperio apud scriptores III 3 matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum... reperio ullo insigni officio functam IV 35 apud scriptores. No instance of *in* 'de scriptore' occurs in Tacitus. — Agamemnon aut Jason: As Jason unquestionably refers to the Medea of Maternus, it follows that Agamemnon refers to the Thyestes also mentioned in ch. 311, where see note. Schöll, *Comment. Wölfli.* I e. maintains that a third 'Graeculorum fabula' of Maternus is here implied, but we have no reason to suppose that Maternus composed two dramas on the Argive legends.

7 defensus: i.e. successfully defended.

9 honorificentius: Another rare comparative, though the superlative is common. Cf. Nepos, Eum. 1, 5 Cic. ad Att. I 16, 4 ad Q. fr. III 2, 2 and Tac. Ann. VI 7 quo non aliud honorificentius eventit. This instance is omitted in the long list given by Dr. *H. S.* I 27 ff. — praeclarissimum vatem: Alluding, not without a tinge of irony, to Secundus' designation of Bassus as absolutissimum poetam. *Praeclarissimum,* like 'absolutissimum' (see note c. 5 0), is a double superlative, but, as Woelflin *Philol.* XXV 132 observes, the force of the preposition was no longer felt, as in many similar compounds common in post-August. Latin. Cf. note c. 7 17. — *Vates* was the ancient name for poet. Cf. Enn. Ann. 222 V. versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant. Hor. Ep. II 1, 26 annosa volumina vatum. Ovid, A. A. III 407 f. With the Hellenisation of Latium, the term seems to have fallen into contempt and disuse (see Munro, *Lucret.* I 102), making way for the Greek 'poeta.' It was restored to honor by Virgil, and thereafter generally retained more solemn associations, often designating, like προφήτης Μουσάων, 'the inspired singer or sacred bard,' as opposed to poetα the 'maker' or artist, e. g. Verg. Ecl. IX 32 me fecere poetam Pierides... me quoque vatem dicunt pastores. Hor. A. P. 400 honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque carminibus venit (poeta only twice in the *Odes* : IV
2, 33. 6, 30). Ovid, Am. III 9, 17 sacri vates et divum cura voca-
mur. Quint. X 1, 48 invocatione dearum quas praeidere vatibus
creditum est. XII 10, 24 ipsum (sc. Platonem)... instinctis
divino spiritu vatibus comparandum. The etymology of 'vates' is
very doubtful. Varro L. L. VII 36, in his naıve way, derived it
from versibus viendis. Moderns generally connect the term with
Irish faith. Gr. φάργχ, Lat. fārī, fābula are different. Mommsen,
Hermes XVI 620 note 4 supposes a Gallic origin, on the basis of
Strabo IV 4, 4 p. 198 τρία φύλα τῶν τιμωμένων... Βάρθοι τε καὶ
Οδάνει καὶ Δρυδαί. On the use of vates and poetæ, cp. L. Müller,
The purist Tacitus never uses 'poeta' except in the Dialogus,
where it could not well have been avoided. See also note on sapi-
entiam c. 5 ext.

10 deducit, salutat, prosequitur, are all more or less technical
terms. Deducere is to escort the statesman or orator from his home to
the forum or the senate as a mark of honor or respect,— more rarely
in the sense of deducere 'to accompany back to his house.' Cf. Cie-
de sen. 18, 63 haec ipsa sunt honorabilia... assurgi, deduci, reduci,
ad fam. X 12, 2 cum magna multitudine optiorum virorum et civium
me de domo deduceret pro Mur. 34, 70 interdum ad forum deduci-
mur, and Livy XXIII 23 ext. ne deducendi sui causa populum de
foro abduceret Tac. H. III 86 Domitianum... miles frequens...
in paternos penates deduxit. Plut. Cic. 22 p. 871 διὰ ἀγαπᾶς ἀνεi-
βαινει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν... τῶν συλλαμβάνων αὐτῶν. In a
different sense c. 34 3,—salutare 'to pay a visit,' usually early in the
morning, one of the chief duties the client owed his patron.
Gk. ἔχοντες or ἀπευκτοῦν, cf. Plut. l. c. 16 p. 868 ἀληθῶν τοῖς
θήραι ἔνθεν ὡς ἀποσαρωμένους τοῦ Κικέρονα, and c. 8 p. 864.
Cp. Fried-
länder, I 382 ff. Becker, Gallus II 159 ff. Mayor ad Iuv. I 128
III 127 V 19 ff. See Maternus' answer c. 11 13.—prosequi either
synonymous with 'adsectari' in the general sense of 'accompanying,'
as in c. 2 7 quos... in publico adsectabar, or perhaps better taken
as the opposite of deducere (de domo). Cf. Gell. XVIII 1, 16
prosecuti Favorinum in domum, and Ann. XI 12. Andresen and
Wolff take prosequi to mean 'to accompany on travels,' but as the
impoverished Bassus (c. 9 25) was not likely to travel extensively,
Aper's remark would savor of facetiousness, bordering on sarcasm.
—nempe: 'And if—he will of course etc.' c. 17 7 'as we all

11 _negotium_ is regarded by the commentators as equivalent to 'negotium forense' (so c. 14 16 Quint. _I_ 12, 7), as in Quint. _IV_ 2, 27 _XII_ 9, 8 and in _Tacitus_ _c._ 19 26 38 9 Ann. _II_ 27 _IV_ 15 _XIII_ 4 _XVI_ 22. But as Aper, with admirable urbanity, suppresses the real object of Bassus' consultation of a lawyer, it will be preferable to take _negotium_ also as an intentional euphemism. Translate: 'Should he become involved in some difficulty' or 'meet with any trouble.' This meaning of _negotium_ occurs in all periods of the language e.g. _Plaut._ _Men._ _V_ 9, 13 _Poen._ _I_ 2, 30 Cic. _ad fam._ _III_ 10, 1 _de off._ _III_ 31, 112 _Quint._ _V_ 12, 13 and note to c. 3 20.

12 _recurret:_ 'Will have recourse to.' Very rare in this sense for the regular _decurrere._ Cf. Quint. _Proem._ 17 _ad auctores recurrere, I_ 6, 13 _ad eam rationem recurrunt._ Here practically equivalent to _curret,_ for in Tac., as in Silver Latin generally, _re- _in composition is often merely intensive. Cf. G. 30 plus _reponere_ in _duce quam in exercitu._ Ann. _XIII_ 57 residentibus flammis _XV_ 73 revictam coniurationem. See also note c. 7 10.

13 _non quia—neque ut:_ In place of 'neque ut pro eo versus facias,' we expect some such phrase as 'sed ut pro eo dicas, causam agas, eum defendas.' The slight anacoluthon was occasioned by Aper's reluctance to allude, save by implication, to the possible contingency of a troublesome lawsuit in which Bassus might figure as the defendant. On similar constructions in _Tacitus,_ cf. _H._ _III_ 4, 10 suadente Cornelio Fusco non quia industria Flaviani egebatur, _sed ut consulare nomen ... praeitenderetur,_ and the examples cited by Clemm, p. 128 f.—According to Nipp. Ann. _XIII_ 1 (where see also Furneaux' note), the indicative is used after 'non quia,' when a fact is admitted to be true or likely to have been true, while its influence upon the ensuing result is denied. So _H._ _III_ 4 (above) Ann. _XV_ 60. Cf. note to c. 37 28, where we must read _fuerit_ (with Madvig) for _fuit_ of the _MSS._ — _domi nascentur:_ A proverbial phrase. Cic.
C. 9.

Acad. II 25, 80 Desine, quaeo, communibus locis: domi nobis ista nascuntur ad. fam. IX 3, 2 sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur ad Att. I 19, 3 Petron. 38, 1 omnia domi nascuntur. Ep. 23, 3 volo illam tibi domi nasci. Similarly Cic. Orat. 38, 132 uterer exemplis domesticis . . . uterer alienis de orat. II 9, 38 nisi domesticis se instruxerit copis, aliunde dicendi copiam petere non possidet et Pind. Nem. VII 75 ἀδιν κυρίαν λάγευν οἰκοθεν (cited by Reid, Acad. l. c.). For analogous expressions with domi, especially in Plautus, see Brix, and Tyrrell, Mil. Glor. 194, and Otto, Die Sprichwörter etc. p. 120, 3.

14 pulchri quidem = pulchri illi quidem. Cf. note c. 3 8. — exitus est ut, cum: 'The upshot of it all is.' For similar instances of the temporal cum with indicative, cf. e. g. G. 24 tanta tementare ut, cum omnia defecerunt . . . contendant et Ann. III 30. 54. See W. G. Hale, Cum Constructions p. 204 ff. — Note the 'gradatio ad minus' in toto anno — magna noctium parte.


16 rogare ultra et ambire etc.: ultra 'into the bargain,' cf. c. 5 23. It belongs to both verbs, as indicated by the position. See note c. 12 10. With the statement itself, cf. Plin. Ep. I 13, 2 f. (a locus classicus on the subject of recitations) lente cunctanterque veniunt (sc. auditores); nec tamen permanet sed ante finem recedunt, alii dissimulante et furtime, alii simpliciter et libere . . . multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus. III 18, 4 cepi autem non medio-
crem voluptatem quod hunc librum (sc. Panegyricum) cum amicis recitare voluissem, non per codicillos, non per libellos, sed 'si commodum' et 'si valde vacaret' admoniti (numquam porro aut valde vacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem). rogare 'by letter,' ambire 'by oral solicitations.'


18 **libellos dispersit**: 'distributes programmes' not 'invitations,' as usually interpreted, for these have already been designated by 'rogare.' Cf. Cic. Phil. II 38, 97 gladiatorum libellos venditare. On the many significations of libellus, see Landgraf, Archiv VI p. 248.

19 **ut beatissimus . . . eventus prosequatur**: ut 'even granting that,' occurs not earlier than Cicero, who uses it in this sense very frequently. It is not found in Sallust, and is comparatively rare in other writers. Quint. VI 3, 112 in quibus ut erraverim, legentes tanen non decepi. In Tacitus: Ann. IV 33 utque familiae ipsae extinctae sint 40 ego ut sinam. Cp. Dr. II. S. II 758 ff. — beatissimus eventus 'most gratifying success, issue.' 'Eventus' is a so-called vocabulum medium, denoting either a good or bad result. Cf. Plin. Ep. V 20, 2 egi pro Varena, non sine eventu: nam bene an male, liber indicabit. Used in bonam partem in Ann. II 26, where see Nipperdey. — **prosequatur** = sequatur. Cf. note c. 7 17.

20 **unum aut alterum**: Cf. c. 21 6 29 2 39 13 Ag. 15. 40 Ann. III 34 and G. 6 H. I 83 Ann. III 47. IV 17 unus alterve. H. II 75 Ann. XIII 46 unus alterque. H. V 6 unus atque alter. The copulative conjunction has an intensive force (G. 11 et alter et tertius dies cunctatione consumitur Hor. Sat. II 5, 24 vafer unus et alter); joined by 'aut' or 've,' the phrase implies either 'a few' (so here) or 'one or the other' taken at random. Cf. Nipp. Ann. III 34 John ad c. 21 6 Schmalz, Antirh. p. 137. — After dieum, a participial form of esse, or a subordinate cum clause, may be supplied in thought.
So also c. 8 18 principes fori. 21 4 in eodem valetudinario (sc. ὁσράς). Ag. 6 ludos ... duxit, uti longe a luxuria ita famae propior (ὅρ). 10 septentrionalia eius (sc. Britanniae) nullis contra terris (ὁστά) pulsantur. Ann. I 27 is ante alios (ὅρ) aetate et gloria belli, firmare Drusum credebatur. 43 liberos eius ut multum infra (ὅστες) despectare. XIII 19 Rubellium Plautum per maternam originem ... a divo Augusto (ὅστα). — Aper's view is evidently shared by Mr. Balfour (Add. and Essays): 'Literary immortality is an unsubstantial fiction, devised by literary artists for their own special consolation.' — velut in herba vel flore praecipita: i. e. the reputation possibly acquired by the recitation of poetry is purely ephemeral, and like a blossom or a flower untimely plucked, it withers, without reaching its full fruition. The simile is abbreviated, the expressions 'praecipita' and 'pervenit frugem,' though properly applicable only to 'herba' or 'flore,' blending with the object compared. So Hor. Ep. I 2, 41 qui recte vivendi prorogat horam Rusticus expectat, dum desfluat amnis. A. P. 348, where see Kiessling's notes. The metaphor seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Cato ap. Gell. XIII 18 (17) 1 nunc ita aiunt, in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta esse. Ovid. Her. 16 (17) 263 sed niumnum properas et adhuc tua messis in herba est. Fronto Ep. I 5 egone qui indolem ingenii tui in germine etiam, tum in herba et in flore dilexerim, nunc frugem ipsam maturae virtutis nonne ... diligam? Symm. Ep. IV 20, 2 tuae res non in germine sed in fruge sunt. Cp. Otto, Sprichw. p. 161. The same phrase also in Tac. H. V 7 sive herba tenus aut flore seu solidam (Heraeus) in speciem adolevere. — Praecerpere, not 'praecipere,' is the verb used in these and analogous expressions. Cf. Cic. Verr. II 4, 37, 80 praecerpo fructum offici tui Ovid, Her. 20 (19) 143 quis tibi parsum nostras praecerpere messes. Plin. N. H. XVIII 19, 49, 177 germinum tenera praecerpere. Plin. Ep. V 20, 8 florem praecerpam.

22 amicitiam inde refer etc.: Practically an amplified repetition of quis domum ... tibi obligatus reedit. — mansurum: The use of the fut. act. part. for an adjectival clause is poetic and post Aug., and highly characteristic of Tacitus, who seems, moreover, to have had a special fondness for this particular word. Cf. Verg. Aen. III 86 mansuram urbem Ovid A. A. II 242 mansuri amoris Quint. XII 10, 49 mansuris litteris and Tac. H. I 78 nova iura ... mansuram II 49 modicum et mansurum (sc. sepulchrum) IV 52 mansuram
concordiam Ann. II 70 præmia . . . mansura IV 38 in animis vestris effigies et mansurae XIV 20 mansuram theatrici sedem. For other exx. in the Dial., cf. c. 10 33 dicturam 22 is 34 23 duraturus (-am). On this use of the fut. act. part. cp. R. V. III p. 741 note 579*, with the copious literature there cited, Küntner II 576 and Helm, Quaest. Synt. p. 9 f.

23 vagum: 'Sporadic, capricious, that cannot be depended upon.' On the applause at recitations, cp. Mayor, Iuv. l. c. (I p. 178 f.) and c. 15 16 clamoribus quaQualit.

24 voces inanes: Meaningless exclamations of approval such as belle, praelaure, pulchre, festive (Cic. de orat. III 26, 101), effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate! (Mart. II 27, 3) Pers. I 49. Plut. de aud. 45 F krotothoribous gánasun par' aut év légyov (ko. 'Eptikouros) dhris' istor: o de tás xías phonás tóis akrosetríoiow vén éteiságoynves útois kai Théos kai Théofrítos kai 'Apósitos éptilégontes ktl. They are styled inanes 'empty, meaningless' because of their insincerity. — gaudium volucre: 'fleeting, transient joy.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 52, 11 quanta autem dementia eius est, quem clamores imperitórum hilarem ex auditorio dimittunt. Quid laetaris quod ab hominis his laudatus es quos non potes ipse laudare.—Such, in Aper's opinion, is the 'bubble reputation' of the poet, but the orator's reputation ever waxes greater as time passes. On the uselessness of poetry, as compared with the profession of the general and the orator, cf. the discussion in Plut. de glori. Athen. c. 5 (p. 348 f.): Tóna oín ai kalai trekhostai tais 'Athanaios díniron híngkan: ei óutos h Edrípiódon sofía kai h Sopolís Lexicóphi kai to. Lógyvov stóma tois tón dúschirolá aítillázen h tis tón lakmówai periptóthi, áxiów gn tis drámatos tois pradóis antiaparabhán . . . kai tois ón mi h étin h Lýmpióporia kai gegevínai katanéástous: tois de nixíasoon o trípous úphíxov, óuk ánáthmow tis níkis, ós Dímáatrios físhov, állo épístepima tón ékkekfrémovn bíov kai tón ékklípontwn kai tois fótovn óikov. Tóoua xar tis pojetikís télh kai laoptróterov oídnav i'é autón. . . . 'Alla vó Día pайдiá tów pojetów oí de rítoreres éxouni tis parabalómenous proi tois strateugon ktl.—nuper: Probably to be here taken quite strictly, although the word is used very loosely. Thus in G. 2 (written 98 a. d.) Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, it refers back to the time of Caesar; in H. IV 17 it points backward over sixty years. Ann. XIII 57 the reference goes back eight years, but in all other Tacitean passages, the time elapsed never exceeds five years, usually less.


27 si ita res familiaris exigat: The same phrase in Quint. XII 7, 9 si res familiaris amplius aliquid ad usus necessarios exigat.

28 se ipsum colere: To advance one’s own material fortune by more lucrative employments than poetry, so as to render one’s self independent of princes’ favors. The commentators err in interpreting the phrase to mean ‘ingenium studiose excolere,’ for this is precisely what Bassus has been doing all his life. — Ipsum is not the object in apposition to se, but corresponds to ‘orator se ipse colit’ in the direct discourse, as opposed to Bassum Vespasianus coluit.
See Heller, *Philol. LI* p. 347. Hence 'si ita res familiaris exigat' is in its proper place, and Wolff's suggestion to transpose the phrase after 'quidem,' or Andresen's to supply it in thought, is not only superfluous but not in keeping with the sense of the passage. — *genium propitiare*: Here used in the sense of 'genio indulgere, to enjoy the good things of life.' Cf. Pers. V 151 indulge genio: carpamus dulcia. These phrases embody virtually one and the same idea — a fulness of expression due to the speaker's desire to inculcate the importance of pursuing a profession which will enable a man to acquire, as Aper himself had done, affluence, high political positions and an enviable reputation, merely by his own intellectual efforts and in the face of discouraging obstacles. The commentators less correctly take 'genium propitiare' in its literal sense, in reference to the ancient superstition of tutelary spirits (on which cp. Pauly, *R. E. III* 693 L. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 566 Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* II 241 f. and Kiessling, Hor. Ep. II 1, 143), thus assuming that the poet Bassus had hitherto been invoking the good will of the 'genius' of another, which he is now called upon to abandon in favor of his own tutelary deity. With the thought itself, cf. Sen. Ep. 15, 10 quam iucundum sit nihil poscere, quam magnificum sit plenum esse nec ex fortuna pendere, and Shakespeare, Henry VIII 'How wretched is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors.'

29 *adice quod*, like 'adde quod' formed on the analogy of 'accedit quod' (cp. R. V. III 496 Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* p. 499), is first found in Liv. XXIII 5, 9 adicite ad haec quod. Neither adice nor adde quod occurs elsewhere in Tacitus. Cp. also Sen. Contr. IX praef. 3, once in Plin. Paneg. 53, 3. and Quint. II 17, 40 adiciunt his qui contra sentiunt quod. It is, however, especially characteristic of the younger Seneca, but usually in the form 'adice nunc quod,' e. g. Dial. II 17, 4 de ira III 5, 7 de tranqu. 15, 3 de clem. I 2, 2. 8, 6 II 6, 1 de benef. III 7, 4 Ep. 40, 4; 70. 3. 8. 15; 100, 6; 114, 13.

30 *elaborare et efficere*: Ex in composition, especially in such words as elaborare and efficere seems to add an intellectual element to the original meaning. Cp. R. V. II 19 f. note 322, a view clearly confirmed by a passage in Plin. Ep. V 20, 5 Iulius Candidus... solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam. The same synonyms are joined by Cic. ad fam. IX 16, 2. — *conversatio is a post-Aug. word, first found in Vell. II 102, thereafter frequent,
especially in Seneca e. g. de tranq. 17, 3 de brevit. vit. 3, 3 Ep. 7, 2; 32, 2; 47, 15; 94, 40. 41; 99, 19; 100, 12. Also Quint. I 2, 4 VI 3, 17 and Tac. G. 40 satiatam conversatione mortalem deam (Ann. XII 49 cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret. Its equivalent in Cicero is 'sermo familiaris,' e. g. pro Cael. 19, 46 relinquenda studia delectionationis ... convivium, sermo paene est familiarium deserendus.

31 **incunditas urbis:** Cp. Friedländer I p. 10 ff. — **utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos:** A poetic commonplace, as old as Hesiod's Proemium to the Theogony and especially affected by the Alexandrians, whence it passed into Roman poetry. (Dilthey, Callimachi Cydippe p. 15). Cf. e. g. Hor. C. I 1, 31 me gelidum nemus | nympharumque leves cum satyris chori | secernunt populo Ep. II 2, 77 Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbes. C. III 4, 7. 25, 12 IV 3, 10 A. P. 298 Prop. V 1, 1 In vestrum (sc. Callimachus and Philetas) quaeso me sine re nemus. Ov. Trist. I 1, 41 carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt Inv. VII 58 cupidus (sc. vates egregius) silvarum. Auson. Ep. 25, 90. — The same collocation also in Verg. Ecl. VIII 86 Prop. IV 9, 24 Luc. I 453 and in Tacitus: G. 9. 11. 45. — On the alleged allusion of Pliny (Ep. IX 10, 2) to this passage, see Proleg. p. xvii f.

10. 1 **opinio et fama:** Opinio, like valetudo, eventus, is a so-called vocabulum medium and derives its precise meaning from the context or from some attributive. Here = 'good opinion in the eyes of others, reputation.' In Cicero, the word is only used with an adjective (Verr. II 3, 24, 59) or with an objective genitive (ad Att. VII 2 opinio integritatis). Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 220 Nagelsbach, Stilist. § 59, 1 Peterson, Quint. X 5, 18. The same collocation of synonyms (they belong closely together as shown by the singular predicate, on which see note c. 5 25) is found frequently. E. g. Cic. de off. II 9, 32 fama et opinione liberalitatis (on the order, see note c. 4 3) Caes. B. C. I 82 opinio famaque Sen. de benef. VI 43 ext. opinionem quidem et famam eo loco habeamus, tamquam non ducere sed sequi debat.

cui soli serviunt ... **fatentur:** This confession, which must not be confounded with the predictions of immortality common in both Greek and Latin poets, is most frequently met with in Ovid. Cf. Am. I 15, 7 mihi fama perennis | quaeitur, in toto semper ut orbe canar A. A. III 404 quid petitur sacris nisi tautum familia poetis |
hoc votum nostri summa laboris habet Trist. I 1, 53 donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore | quae undique mihi nominis arbor erat V 12, 37 f. denique non parvas animo dat gloria vires | et facunda facit pectora laudis amor Tac. H. IV 6 etiam sapientibus cupido gloriarum novissima exuitur (a Platonice simile frequently used by the Stoics, see Athen. XI 116 Simpl. in Epict. 48 Fronto p. 144) Ag. 9 fama cui saepe etiam boni indulgent. Plin. Ep. VII 4, 10 unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent simuliter aut iudicent (sc. de carminibus meis). Simonides ap. Plut. An seni etc. 783 F said of the desire of glory ἵκα τον δύται καὶ γάς. The statement of Horace A. P. 324 Graiis . . . praeter laudem nullius avaris, seems not reflected in any of their extant literary utterances. — The same idealistic view is attributed to the ancient orators by Tac. Ann. XI 6 veterum oratorum exempla referens (sc. Silius) qui famam et posteros praemia eloquentiae cogitaviessent pulcher- rima, where recent editors follow Nipperdey, unjustly it seems to me, in reading cogitaviessent. pulcherriam . . . principem. Cp. Suster, G., Il sentimento della gloria nella litteratura Romana, Lanciano 1889.

2 aequae poetas quam oratores sequitur: In his eagerness to bring his arguments home, Aper, in this closing portion of his speech, injures his case by an over-statement, which Maternus has, of course, no difficulty in refuting. See c. 12 14 ff. — aequae quam, for 'aeque ac,' usual after a negative, occurs sporadically in ante-classical poetry e.g. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 467. It was introduced into prose by Livy e.g. V 3, 4 (where see Weissenborn and Kühnast Liv. Synt. p. 349) and is common in Tacitus, who has 'aeque ac' but once: H. IV 5. Quintilian has the phrase only IX 4, 85 (with quam). Cp. Dr. H. S. II 634, Stil p. 71. R. V. III 224 note 415h. Ziener, Junggram. Streifzüge p. 110.

3 mediocres poetas nemo novit: Cf. Hor. A. P. 372 mediocribus esse poetis | non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

4 rarissimarum — 'most remarkable, extraordinary.' Cf. e.g. Ps. Tib. III 4, 37 artis opus rarae. Sen. Contr. VIII 5 (28) homo rarissimi . . . ingenii. Tac. Ag. 4. 7. 9 G. 30.

6 *quotus quisque*: 'how few.' So c. 21 7 26 30 Ann. I 3 *quotus quisque* reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset VI 9 *nam quotus quisque*. In Cicero only in the nominative and in principal clauses e.g. *Tusc. Disp. II 4, 11* *quotus enim quisque philosophorum inventur.* — *ex Hispania:* Perhaps Aper had in mind the pretty anecdote related by Plin. Ep. II 3, 8 *numquamne legisti Gaditanum quendam Titii Livii nomine gloriaque commotum ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse statimque, ut viserat, abisse? — *Asia:* As Hispania shows, Asia here designates the Roman province (Strabo XVII 718 ἡ ἱδίως καλομέτρη, Plin. N. H. V 27, 28, 102 quae proprie vocatur), composed of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia (Cic. pro Flacco 27, 65 pro Pomp. 6, 14). The term *Asia Minor* does not occur till the time of Orosius (I 2).

7 *Gallia nostra:* See Proleg. p. lxix f.

8 *adeo:* 'and if, in truth.' c. 14 7 'on the contrary.' c. 33 2 'you seem so far from having as yet accomplished.' c. 3 15 'so little.' c. 21 18, 33 23 13 32 12 38 11 = *tam or ita.* All these meanings are paralleled in other writings of T. Cf. Lex. Tac. 31 f. See also John ad c. 3 15. — *ut semel vidit, transit* etc.: A highly significant utterance in the mouth of a Roman, for the national appreciation of works of art never advanced beyond a passing curiosity. The Romans themselves were well aware of this deficiency (Cic. Verr. II 2, 35, 87 nos qui harum rerum rudes sumus), but they professed to believe that 'ludicrae artes' were incompatible with 'gravitas,' and perversive of their peculiar mission in history, a conviction brought out in the memorable lines of Verg. Aen. VI 847 ff. Excedent alii (sc. Graeci) spirantia mollius aera, | credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus . . . tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem | parcere subjectis et debellare superbos, or else they pleaded in extenuation the lack of that freedom from official duties which it was the sole privilege of the Greek to enjoy. Cf. Pliny N. H. XXXVI 4, 8, 27 Romae quidem multitudo operum, etiam obliteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorumque acervi omnes a contemplatione tamen abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis admiratio est. Sen. Ep. 88, 18 will not even recognise sculpture and painting as liberal arts: non enim adducor, ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios . . . aut ceteros luxuriae ministros. As a concrete illustration of this
NOTES.

apathetic attitude toward works of art, it may be sufficient to mention Cicero’s admiring comment, pro Pomp. 14, 40 postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. See also Bernhardy, Röm. Lit. p. 54 ff., Friedländer, II 187 f. III 314 ff. and Sandys, Cic. Orat. 2, 5, Introd. p. LXXI—LXXIV. Goethe and Schiller had similar experiences, cp. Lewis’ Goethe p. 155.

10 natura sua... denegavit: The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ann. XV 42 quibus ingenium... erat etiam, quae natura denegavisset. Cf. also Cic. de orat. II 29, 126 a natura denegatum Ov. Ep. Sapph. 31 Lucan VI 59 Iuv. I 79. Translate: ‘To whom their natural endowment has denied oratorical talent.’ The passage was perhaps suggested by Cic. de orat. I 25, 117 neque haec in eam sententiam disputo, ut homines adolescantes, si quid naturale forte non habeant, omnino a dicendi studio deterremus.

Sua is quite unobjectionable. Cf. Cic. Brut. 56, 204 quo ferat natura sua quemque. Andresen (Emend. p. 171) who deletes the pronoun, himself confesses ‘unde tamen irepserit, non audeo affirmare’ and then adds, as if the MS. reading were quite unintelligible, ‘nec vero id potius ago ut corruptelas originem aperiem quam ut emendem’!


16 sacras: sacer as a synonym of ‘venerabilis’ is poetic and post-Aug. e. g. Hor. C. II 13, 29 Prop. III 16 (IV 16) 11 Mart V 69, 7 VIII 56 Luc. IX 983 Sil. Ital. VIII 100, but rare in prose: e. g. Sen. Contr. I praef. 10 sic sacerrimam eloquentiam... violare non desinunt Quint. XI 1, 59 sacra quaedam patris eius memoria. — The same collocation in Sen. Ep. 14, 11 nomen philosophiae venera-
bile et sacrum 55, 4 philosophia sacrum quiddam est et venerabile
de ira 31, 7.—cothurnum: A common metonymy for tragœdia.
Here more particularly of the elevated and sublime style appro-
priate to tragedy. Cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 10 Sola Sophocleo tua car-
mina digna cothurno. Prop. II (III) 34, 41 desine et Aeschyleo
componere verba cothurno. Stat. Silv. V 3, 96 sidera terris-
super intonuere cothurno. Iuv. VI 634 fingimus haec ultum satura
sumente cothurnum | scilicet et finem egressi legemque priorum |
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu. XV 29 cunctis gra-
viora cothurnis (where see Mayor). Quint. X 1, 68 Namque is (sc.
Euripides) et sermone, quod ipsum reprehendunt quibus gravitas
et cothurnus et sonus Sophocli videtur esse sublimior. Sen. de
tranq. 11, 8 quotiens mimicas ineptias et verba ad summam caveam
spectantia relictum, inter multa alia cothurno non tantum sipario
fortiora. Symm. Ep. Fragm. p. 22, 4 (cited by Mayor l. c.) ne in
poëticos flatus rerum ingentiurn cothurnus erumpat.

vestrum: Scholars obstinately refuse to recognise the use of
vester = tuus, although Munro, Elucidat. to Catullus p. 216 has
adduced several indisputable instances e. g. Cat. XXXIX 20 vester|
exploitation dens est XCIX 6 tantillum vestrae demere saevitiae.
Cf. also, Verg. Aen. X 188 crimen, Amor, vestrum, Cic. de orat.
III 47, 182 Aristoteles, Catule, vester. Wilkins, ad Cic. de orat.
I 35, 160 begs the question, when he says that the 2. pers. plur. is
never found with a singular force in Latin, for this is true only,
because the many available passages in support of Munro's view
are not admitted by him as evidence. In the present instance,
Andresen, in order to avoid taking vester = tuus, supposes Aper
to have included Bassus, but he is known to us only as an epic
poet! Peter's explanation 'you and your fellow tragedians' is not
warranted by the context.

15 heroci carminis sonum: 'The lofty tone of epic song.' Cf.
Cic. de opt. gen. or. I I et in tragœdia comicum vitiosum est, et in
comoedia turpe tragicum et in ceteris (sc. carminum generibus)
suis est cuique certus sonus et quaedam intelligebatur nota vox
de orat. II 12, 54 addidit maiorem historiae sonum vocis (sc.
Caelius Antipater) Quint. I 8, 5 sublimitate heroici carminis animus
adsurgat et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat.—lyricorum
incunditatem: Incundus, τερπνός, and the like, are standing epithets
of lyric poetry. Cf. Anth. Pal. IX 571, 1 ἐπει ΤΕΡΠΑ | ᾧμελεῖ
16 elegorum lascivias: Cf. Mart. III 20, 6 lascivus elegis an severus herois. VIII 73, 5 Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti. Quint. X 1, 93 Ovidius utroque (sc. Propertio et Tibullo) lascivior. The passages from Martial show clearly that Peter is wrong in thinking Aper to have had Ovid chiefly in mind, on the ground that lascivia is not a characteristic feature of Roman elegy! The plur. of lascivia is post-Aug.; in Tac. also Ann. X 36. The word is used only in bonam partem in Cicero.—iamborum amaritudinem: Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. III 38, 91 Hor. A. P. 79 Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo. C. I 16, 2 criminosis... iambis. Quint. X 1, 96 cuius (sc. iambi) acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio... reperietur IX 4, 141 aspera vero et maledica, ut dixi, etiam in carmine iambis grassatur. Diomed. III 485 K. iambus est carmen maledicum. So also in Greek, iambōzēv is used as a synonym of λαοδρείν (Arist. Poet. 4 p. 1448 b 32. Phot. Cod. 239 p. 319 b 15). See Mayor’s note to Quint. X 1, 59 (p. 135).

17 epigrammatum lusus: Cf. Mart. IV 49, 1 f. Nescis, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacc. quique tantum lusus illa iocosque putas. Plin. Ep. VII 9, 9 Fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otiō non potest) sed hoc arguto et brevi... Lusus vocantur.—Polysyndetic ‘et,’ more than twice repeated: c. 25 16. 26 37 11 Ag. 37 G. 40 and H. IV 53. Thereafter it disappears entirely, an asyndeton or variations with et, ac, que taking its place. Cp. Wœfflin, Philol. XXV p. 125.—quamcunque aliam... habet, such as comedy and satire, music, grammar (Cic. de orat. I 49, 212).—Indefinite relative pronouns do not take a subj. in Tacitus, except once, in Ann. III 74, where, as generally in analogous cases, the subj. is that of repeated action, or else due to orat. obl. Cp. Nipp. l.c. Dr. H. S. II p. 524 ff. Kühner II 787 f. 795 f., R. V. III 409 note 474 Schmalz, Lat. Synt. p. 495 f.

18 ceteris alienarum artium studiis: Aliarum is unquestionably pleonastic, but what seems redundant or superfluous to modern stylistic feeling was often regarded by the ancients as a legitimate
fulness of expression, frequently resorted to solely for euphonic or rhetorical reasons. Examples of this particular usage are common both in Greek and Latin e.g. Hom. η 84 Xenoph. Anab. I 5, 5 Plat. Phaedr. 278 B. Other analogous redundancies are c. 30 18 omnem omnium artium varietatem. Cic. de orat. I 49, 213 III 19, 72. The pleonasm under notice is a stylistic peculiarity of Porphyrio. See C. F. Urba, Meletemata Porphyrioea, Vindob. 1885 p. 62.

As the reading of our MSS. is perfectly sound, it is needless to discuss the emendation of Ribbeck and of Andresen in detail, even if they were otherwise acceptable. (Cp. Baehrns, Comm. Crit. p. 60). Altiorum especially has nothing but palaeographical simplicity in its favor, for it is incompatible with the convictions of the speaker who, if consistent, could only have used an expression like létiorum (cf. Cic. de orat. I 49, 212). The examples which Andresen cites in favor of his view (to which might have been added H. IV 5) only show that altiora studia or altiores artes occasionally occurs elsewhere.—The collocation 'ceteris allarum studia artium,' preserved in cod. D, very probably represents the original reading, see note 12 a.


I write mox summam adeptus on the analogy of Tac. H. II 82 plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit (sc. Vespasianus) egregios viros et mox summam adeptos. The majority of editors have accepted adepturus, an emendation of Acidaltus, but the nominative of the fut. part. with an accusative is extremely rare, even in Tacitus, only two or at best three instances being found, viz. H. I 33 obsidionem nimirum toleraturus, Ann.
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XIV 41 ultionem elusurus and perhaps c. 33 9 forum ingressuri, where see note. Vahlen defends the MS. reading by taking adeptus in the sense of 'summo ingenio ac summa facultate praeditus,' but adiipisci never has this meaning in Tacitus. See Lex. Tac. s. v.

levioribus subsistis: Cf. the similar passage in Quint. I proem. 20 nam est certe aliquid consummata eloquentia...altius tamen ibunt qui ad summa nitentur quam qui...circa ima substiterint. The abandonment of the figure was probably due to the preceding 'summa,' which is equivalent to 'mox summam eloquentiae famam adeptus in levioribus studiis (sc. poeticis) subsistis. Cf. c. 28 11 quae (sc. vitia) natos...excipient et...cumulantur 32 20.

21 ut si esses = 'as if, by way of example.' Usually = quasi, as in c. 10 9 H. I 32. 62 Ann. II 20 III 46. In Tac. regularly with imperf. or pluperf. subj. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 642.—ludicras...artes exercere: 'Ludicrae artes,' as defined by Sen. Ep. 88, 20, are those 'quae ad voluptatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt,' and as such they are opposed to 'artes honestae.' Cf. also Tac. Ann. XIV 15. More commonly 'artes ludicrae' refers to the drama e. g. Tac. I. c. foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere ibid. 16 ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris (sc. Neronis) artes notescerent. Hor. Ep. II 1, 180 Liv. VII 2 Quint. III 6, 18 f. artem ludicram exercerit.

nibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedia, where see the commentators. In general, cp. Grasberger, Erzleb. u. Unterr. II 63 III 359 Friedlander III 298 f. 304 f. — Nicostrati, of Cicilia, the son of Isidotus (Lucian, Πῶς δέ Ἰσότροπος 2, 59), a celebrated athlete and a contemporary of the speaker. He carried off the victory in the παγκράτιον and in wrestling in one day (Olym. 204 = 50 a. d.), being the seventh (Paus. V 21, 9 f.), to accomplish this feat, one Kapros of Elis, of unknown date, being the first. Cf. Paus. 1 c. Τοῦτον τῶν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παιδα ἐτί καί Πρυγηρσοῦ λέεται τῆς Φευγων ηρπασαν, οἰκίας δέντα οἰκ ᾠφανὸς. κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Αἰγίδας ωνύσατο ὅστις δή. χρῶνε δὲ ἱστερον τῷ ἄνδρι τούτῳ ὄντων γίνεται. λέοντος δὲ ἰδέεν ὕπο τῷ σκίμνιοι κατακεύθαται σκῦμιον εὖ οὐ ἐκάθευν ἤδε Νικόστρατος. Νικόστρατη μὲν δή, ὡς πρόσθη και ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένοτο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης. Quint. II 8, 14 at si fuerit, qui docebitur, ille quem adul scentes senem vidimus, Nicostratus, omnibus in eo docendī partibus similiter utetur efficetique illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque, quorum utroque certaime isdem diebus coronabatur, invictum. — robur ac vires: ‘mighty strength.’ Hendiadys. The same collocation also H. I 87 vires et robur II 11 virium ac roboris. Woelflin’s distinction (Philol. XXV 134) between robur ‘moralischer Halt, etwas qualitativ inneres’ and vires ‘numerische Kraft, etwas quantitativ ausseres,’ is not universally applicable. — ac — ae, joining a sentence and two nouns respectively, occurs again in a stylistically similar passage in c. 41 21 si . . . illi . . . his nati essent ac deus  aliquis vitas ac temporae repente mutasset, and, if the reading be right, also c. 16 18 ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor. — non paterer: a favorite phrase of Aper. Cf. c. 5 12 16 15.

23 ad pugnam natos lacertos: pugna refers not to a fight in battle, but to contests in the athletic arena, as ‘lacertos’ and ‘pugnando’ in the above passage of Quintilian clearly show.

24 levitate iaculi et iactu disci: Of the five contests of the πάνταβλον viz. "ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, άκούτα, πάλην," only the last three call for ‘vires lacertorum,’ and of these again the πάλη alone was classed among the so-called ἀγωνίσματα βαρέα. Aper, therefore, to bring out the full force of the simile, had to mention both the άκούτα ἐρωτή, and the δίσκον βολή. As these easier exercises of the πάνταβλον are not fit for the sturdy arms of a Nicostratus, so Maternus, whom nature has designed for the severer exertions of
the forum, is implored not to waste his strength upon ‘artes leviores,’ lest they incapacitate him for the higher calling of the orator. Levitate is used, because the ‘iaculum’ (ἀκον, ἀκόντιον) was a light weapon. Cf. Lucian, Anach. 32 ext. κοῦфа ἀκόντια.

Andresen (Emend. p. 100) deletes iactu, on the ground that the MS. reading involves an absurd antithesis ‘quia diversissimi generis sunt levitatis et iactus notiones.’ But (1) instances of an analogous inconcininity are not rare in the Dialogus, cf. note c. 1 21 and iactu may well have been preferred, because of the fondness of our author, as Wolff ad loc. observes, for grouping etymologically related or phonologically similar words. (2) Andresen unfortunately overlooked, and this is fatal to his emendation, that by the deletion of iactu, ‘levitas’ is predicated of the discus which was a very heavy missile, as compared with the javelin. Cf. Mart. XIV 104 pondera dieci. Stat. Theb. VI 640 pondera vix totum curvatus corpore iuxta | deiecit.

vanesecere: a poetic and post-Aug. word, of frequent occurrence in Tacitius, but comparatively rare in other writers, only once in Quintilian (IV 3, 8). Cicero uses the compound evanesecere. Cp. note c. 1 18. On the gradual decay of powers, if neglected, see the remarks of Plut. An seni c. 16 (p. 792 A – D).

25 ab auditorii et theatris: Dramatic performances were no longer given in Rome in the days of Vespasian, Maternus’ plays, like those of Seneca, being book dramas which the author recited before an audience, previous to their publication. The fictitious encounters of the drama enacted in recitation-halls are contrasted with the real contests of the orator in the forum. Cf. Pliny, Ep. II 3, 5 f. Nos enim qui in foro verisique litibus ferimur, multum malitiae . . . addiscimus. Schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis, innoxia est. For the use of military metaphors as applied to eloquence, cf. Iuv. VII 173 ad pugnam qui descendit, and notes c. 5 ext. 26 10 ff. 37 ext.

This evenly balanced antithesis is rudely destroyed by et ad causas, an interlinear gloss to vera proelio which subsequently found its way into the text. Mähly p. 21 and Knaut p. 11 have, independently of each other, deleted the objectionable clause, but editors have refused to attach any validity to their reasons. But the words in question clearly violate two stylistic laws of Tacitius, which may be thus formulated: 1. When one and the same preposition can govern two nouns, joined by et, ac or atque, the preposition is not repeated. Only three apparent exceptions (G. 24 H. I. 51. 74) out of 252 instances are found. 2. The preposition never varies with two substantives joined by et, ac or atque, provided one and the same preposition can do duty for both nouns. These rules are not observed in the case of disjunctive connotations or in asyndetic collocations, and it is to this class that the exx. cited by Nipp. Ann. II 08 Dr. Stil p. 42 and the exhaust-
tive list given by Kušera, *Ueber die taciteische Inconcininitll* p. 14 f., belong. It, therefore, follows that neither 'et ad causas et ad vera proelia' nor 'in forum et ad vera proelia' represent consistent Tacitean usage, but only 'in forum et vera proelia' which reading also alone establishes a perfect rhetorical equilibrium between the contrasted clauses and preserves the oratio bimembris so carefully observed throughout the entire sentence, cf. also Knaut, p. 11. For 'in proelia vocare' in place of the more usual 'ad cf. Verg. Aen. VI 172 vocat in certamina divos. Cp. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XII 453 f. On the stylistic practice of other writers in regard to the variation or repetition of the preposition, see R. V. III 729 ff. note 576.

27 *plerisque patrocinatur*: *plerisque* 'many.' See note c. 2 10. 'patrocinari,' probably a legal term, is chiefly post-Aug. It is never found in Cicero, and in Tacitus only here. — *obnoxium sit offendere*: For the infinitive after an adjective, see note c. 16 11 manifestus est acenti. There is a curious discussion on the meaning and origin of the word *obnoxius* in Gell. VI (VII) 17.

28 *effervescit*: In its tropical sense, the word is a favorite one with Cic. e. g. Cael. 31 extr. efferbusse videtur huius vis.

29 *aliquo*, after a negative, as in c. 6 init., where see note. — *periculosus*: Cf. c. 3 8 non . . . securiorem.

30 *necessitudo* = *necessitas*. So repeatedly in Cicero, e. g. de invent. II 20, 61. 57, 170. 171. Sall. Cat. 33, 5. Cf. especially Gell. XIII 3 (An vocabula haec : necessitudo et necessitas differenti significatione sint). John is, therefore, wrong in assuming 'relationship' to be the only classical signification of necessitudo. The same confusion occurs in the Ann. III 40. 64 IV 20 XII 30.

31 *fortuitae et subitae*: The classical equivalent for 'extemporalis.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 33, 150 subitam et fortuitam orationem. The same collocation also G. 11 nisi quid fortuitum et subitum. Ann. XV 58 fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus. See note c. 6 ext. and on the inverse order, note to c. 4 3.

32 *meditatus videris elegisse*: Your offence, says Aper, has no extenuating reasons, for it was neither due to circumstances beyond your control nor occasioned by a sudden impassioned outburst, but with cool deliberation, as it seems, did you select for the hero of your tragedy a man whose acknowledged prominence would lend additional weight to his utterances. *Meditatus* is clearly the participle and not the infinitive with 'esse' understood, even though the perf. pass. part. of meditor happens not to occur elsewhere in Tacitus in an absolute and active sense. Cf. however, Sen. Ep. 20, 12 cum vero multo ante meditatus accesseris. — On the omission of
the adversative particle (sed), see note c. 6 19. — eligere furnishes another of the many illustrations of the genetic development in the style of Tacitus. Used exclusively in the minor writings, barring one exception in G. 6, it receives a companion in deligere in the Histories (29 : 20); in the Annals finally ‘eligere’ occurs but twice, ‘deligere’ 92 times. Cp. Woelflin, Philol. XXV p. 108. — On the thought itself, cf. Quint. VIII 5, 8 magis sententia decet eos, in quibus est auctoritas ut rei pondus etiam persona confirmaet.

The other interpretations, to which this passage has been subjected, all seem to me to destroy the evidently intended antithesis. John (Correspbl. p. 17 f.) takes ‘meditatus’ in a juridical sense, without citing a parallel instance of this use, and coordinates it as an elliptical infinitive with the following ‘elegisse,’ changing ‘aut’ into ‘et.’ This view lacks intrinsic probability and is best refuted by John’s own translation ‘Als überlegter Thäter (!?) gilt du, der eigens eine augenfällige Persönlichkeit gewählt hast.’ ‘Aut,’ the unintelligible reading of our MSS., is merely the accidental repetition of the preceding ‘aut.’ Cp. Andressen, Emend. p. 168 Knaut p. 26.

33 dicturam: Fut. act. part. = adj. See note c. 9 23. — quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes adsensus: The verb which governs the orat. obl. must be supplied from the context, for ‘responderi,’ which otherwise would perform this function, has already been preempted by ‘quid.’ On this ellipsis, peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus, cp. G. Clemm, de brevilog. Tac. p. 88 ff., from whom the following instances are selected: c. 30 14 suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: [dicit enim] se apud Q. Mucium didicisse H. I 50 nota publicarum cladium nomina loquebantur: prope eversum orbe m IV 85 sed Mucianus quod occultaverat ... expromsit: Domitianum ... interventurum V 5 Iudaei ... numer intellegunt, profanos etc. Ann. I 67 contractos ... monet: unam in armis salutem. 79 congruentia ... disseruere: pessumituros ... campos. III 56 modica ... rettulit: esse illi coniugem. XIV 21 nomina praetendebant: maiores ... non abhorriisse. 62 eum Caesar ... admonet: solum ... subvenisse. Cf. also H. II 74 Ann. I 11 IV 14 XIV 11. — hinc: After hinc, in its causal sense, the substantive verb (esse, nasci, oriri) is invariably omitted, for in Ann. XIII 9 ortum must be taken with iurgium. Cf. G. 40 H. I 84 II 30. 53 III 23. 25. 68 IV 6. 14. 31. 35 V 5. 21 Ann. II 69 III 27 IV 39. 59. 72 VI 17. 35. 50 XII 4. 5. Cp. Clemm. p. 62 f. The passage itself is an example of the figure προκατάληψις or πράληψις, on which see Straub, p. 108.
This consistent usage of 'hinc' disposes of most of the conjectures enumerated p. 13. Still others, like those of Ritter, John, Heller have no palaeographical probability. 'Ex his' is simply an interlinear gloss to hinc.

35 ferri: 'are soon in everybody's mouth.' Cf. Mayor, Quint. X 1, 23 (p. 79), and Plut. Thes. c. 20 πάτες, ὡς ἔτοι κινέω, διὰ στόματος ἵχουσιν. — tolle igitur: That is very true, says Aper, but such notoriety is incompatible with that love of quiet and freedom from molestation which poets yearn for.

The missing thought is so easily supplied from the context, that it is unnecessary to assume an actual lacuna in the text before 'tolle,' however acceptable in themselves the conjectures of Vahlen (Proem. 1881 p. 10 f.) or of Andresen (Emend. p. 140 f.) may be. For an analogous ellipsis, see Cic. pro Mil. 18, 48 quoted by John ad loc.

quietis et securitatis: The same collocation in Plin. Ep. VI 8, 2 cf. also c. 13 4 securum et quietum. 'Securitas,' or 'securus,' in the sense of 'safety, freedom from danger,' which Heraeus, H. I 3 seems to regard as the regular meaning of the word ('eigentlich Sicherheitsgefühl'), is post-Augustan. In earlier writers, and here as well as in H. I 3 IV 48, it denotes 'freedom from care.' Quietis may have been added to prevent a possible ambiguity. Cp. c. 32 22.

36 adversarium superiorem, namely the Emperor.

The phrase 'privatas controversias' does not occur elsewhere. Moreover, an adjective (not pronominal) and a genitive joined by 'et,' as attributives to the same substantive, is also an inconcinnity which is not yet found in the minor writings and only a few times in the other works e. g. H. III 140 quaes (sc. violentia) seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae Ann. I 35 saeum id malique moris . . . visum. H 43 Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat. These objections, taken in connection with the analogous passage in Cic. de orat. I 37, 169 qui hanc personam susceperit, ut amicorum controversias causasque tueatur leave little doubt, in my mind, that 'causas' (edit. Bipont.) was accidentally omitted after 'privatas.' Knaut p. 9 hit upon the same conjecture, but he advanced no valid arguments in support of the emendation. — The codex Ottobonianus (F), which has preserved the genuine reading in nine instances as against the other MSS., omits expressis, a word which defies explanation, for Peter's defence plainly does not satisfy even himself, while John betrays by his unusually forced and awkward version of the passage that the MS. reading cannot justly be retained. See Proleg. p. cxxviii (6).

38 potentiorum aures offendere: Cf. c. 2 2 offendisse potentium animos. — probata sit fides et libertas excusata: Cf. Ag. 3 hic interim liber honorì Agricolae socieri mei destinatus professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.
Ch. 11–13. Maternus, in reply to Aper, points out that the alleged uselessness of poetry was not exemplified, in his case, at least, for one of his own early dramas had been the primary cause of ridding the commonwealth of the powerful Vatinius, a success attended with greater reputation than could have been won in the law courts, and as for the external triumphs of the orator, by which Aper had laid such store, they offer no sufficient inducement to the speaker to alter his fixed resolution to bid farewell to forensic duties forever (—c. 11). A contemplative life, on the other hand, passed amid the solitude of the silent groves, instills a deep and lasting joy. Poetry was, in fact, the language in which eloquence first clothed itself, and from the earliest period its devotees were beloved of the gods and the kings of the earth, and their fame was ever as great as the renown acquired by the orator (—c. 12). The anxieties and tribulations, moreover, inseparable from an orator’s career, when compared with the honored and tranquil freedom vouchsafed to the disciple of the Muses, fully justify his determination to pass the rest of his days under their benign protection (—13 ext.).


3 non minus diu: ‘at no less length, in an equally long speech.’ Cf. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 32, 89 quam diu diceres pro Cluent. 10, 29.
In Tac.: c. 25 2 non minus diu contradicendum est Apro H. I 16 monere diutius Ann. VI 27 neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est 49 miseranda diu ferret. See Nipp. Ann. IV 69. Lewis and Short, and Georges ignore this use of the word. — laudaverat: The pluperf. in reference to the time implied in 'parantem.'

6 concedendo: The modal ablative of the gerund is extremely frequent in Tacitus e.g. c. 33 15 docendo Ag. 20 pariendo 21 laudando G. 22 potendo 24 suggerendo H. I 24 (15 times in all) Ann. I 10 (22 instances). In c. 14 22 componendo 27 6 lacessendo 36 2 urendo, we have an instrumental ablative. Cp. Helm, Quaest. Synt. p. 44–48. This introductory paragraph is again noticeably influenced by Cic. de orat. I 17, 74 Tum ridens Scaevola 'non luctabor tecum,' inquit, 'Crarse, ampius; id enim ipsum quod contra me locutus es, artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi, quae ego vellem non esse oratoris, concederes.

7 sicut—ita: Here equivalent to the concessive quamquam—tamen. In this sense: c. 37 19 Ag. 44 H. I 52 V 7. The pleonastic sicut for 'ut' again occurs c. 6 21 Ag. 2 G. 45 H. III 51 Ann. XIII 55. Cp. also Dr. H. S. II p. 632 Stil p. 70 and Woelflin Phil. XXXIV 142. On this usage in other writers, see R. V. III 836 note 612a. — efficere aliquid et eniti: The same collocation is found three times in Cicero: Div. in Caec. 8, 26 quid eniti aut quid efficere possim, Phil. IV, 6, 16 eniti atque efficere potero Lael. 16, 59 eniti et efficere, where Seyff.-Mull. p. 383 unnecessarily assume a kind of hendiadys. On the inverted order, see note c. 4 3.

8 ingredi auspicatus sum: Pleonasm is perhaps nowhere more frequent in Latin than in phrases containing the idea of 'beginning.' In Tacitus, we find the following instances G. 18 ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis 30 initium . . . incohant H. I 39. 76 III 14. 44 Ann. I 31 II 1. (initio orto; so also Ter. Hec. III 2, 16 Cic. pro Cluent. 64, 180 Caes. B. G. V 26) H. II 72. 79 initii (initium) coeptum Ann. I 45 primi . . . coeptaverant 54 XIII 10 principum anni inciperet XV 41 principium ortum H. I 44 primum . . . coeperat (cf. Lucr. II 613. IV 111 V 1014 Liv. III 54). Cf. also Livy, Praef. initio . . . rei ordiendae XXXVII 19 instauremus novum de integro bellum Suet. Cal. 54 initium auspiceretur Iustin. 27, 1, 1 auspicia coept 26, 2, 2 auspicia . . . incipientes 1, 2, 4; 4, 3, 6; 7, 5, 1 primis initii. Callim. Hymn. III 113 τὸ πρώτον
NOTES.


9 in Neronem etc.: The evident desire for succinctness and clearness is responsible for the peculiar 'collocatio verborum' noticeable in this phrase, a conciseness inimitable in English. The construction itself is supported by numerous parallels. Cf. e. g. Cic. de rep. II 27, 49 in populos perpetuam potentiam III 15 (14) 23 in populum vitae necisque potestatem habent Caes. B. G. VII 9 and in Tac. H. I 77 ius virgarum in histriones II 49 atrociissima in Verginiurn vi Ann. I 33 in Germaniam favor (sc. populi Romani) IV 11 ex nimia caritate in eum Caesarius. Weinkauf p. 120 unnecessarily supposes an ellipsis of 'exercitam.' Translate: 'I crushed Vatinius' baneful power over Nero, by which even the sanctity of literature was violated.'

The acc. Neronem, which gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, has been uniformly rejected by editors, with the exception of Baehrens. See p. 13. But the ablative cannot under any circumstances be regarded as the original, for no conceivable reasons can ever have prompted a scribe deliberately to alter 'Nerone' into 'Neronem.' On the other hand the ablative is easily explained by the accidental omission of the dash over the e. The persistent refusal of critics to accept 'Neronem' becomes the more surprising when it is observed that every other reading involves us in insuperable difficulties. 'Imperante Nerone,' which has met with great favor, is, in my judgment, quite out of place, for the chronological information thus imparted is wholly gratuitous. Every one of Maternus' hearers must have been perfectly familiar with the celebrated achievement alluded to. 'In Nerone' could only refer to a practextata composed by Maternus in Nero's time, but this is necessarily based upon the assumption that the poet began his career as a dramatist with practextatae, an assumption intrinsically improbable and flatly contradicted by c. 3 ex. Under these circumstances, the imaginative reconstruction of the plot of 'Nero' as given by Peter, no less than the conjectural fancies of Ritter and others who identify Nero with the Domitius (c. 3), may be fitly passed by as unworthy of serious attention. We must be content with learning that Maternus achieved this signal success by some drama in which Vatinius was covertly though unmis-
takably attacked in the person of some character in the play. But neither the title nor the plot can even be guessed at.


10 Vatiniī: One of the most notorious favorites of Nero, whom Tac. characterizes in the Annals (XV 34): Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit, surrinae tabernae alumnus (cf. Mart. X 3, 4. XIV 96, 1 Iuv. V 46) corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus, primo in contumelia adsumptus; dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret.

11 in nobis notitiae ac nominis: The preposition, in place of the more usual dative, as in H. IV 11, 2 nulla in victoribus auctoritas. Ann.XIV 43 quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est. Peter's objection to the use of the preposition here, on the ground that fame and reputation refer to something without us ('die Berthmheit bildet nicht einen inneren sondern einen äusseren Besitz'), does not hold good, as H. I 49 vetus in familia nobilitas is sufficient to show.—Notitia as a synonym of 'fama' is very rare, and apparently first found in Ov. Ep. ex P. III 1, 50 plus notitiae quam fuit ante dedit, ibid. IV 4, 48 virtus | Notitiam serae posteritatis habet. Sen. Ep. 19, 3 iam notitia te invasit 31, 10; 79, 14. In the D. c. 5 13 6 36 18. Not elsewhere in Tac., never in Quintilian or in Pliny the younger. The passage from Nepos, Dion 9, 4 propter notitiam sunt intromissi is erroneously cited as the earliest instance of this use, as a glance at the context will show.—The same alliterative collocation occurs c. 36 18.

12 partum: sc. esse. Cf. note c. 2 13. — deiuangere a forensi labore: 'Deiungere,' appropriately combined with 'labor' (cf. boumque labores in Verg. Georg. I 118. 325), is a very rare word (cf. Inscr. Grut. 1003 iuncto deiuangove iumento), and in a tropical sense only here, for in Plaut. Asin. 658 Varr. L. L. X 3, 45 Hor. Ep. I 14, 27 Iuv. V 119 modern editors read diiungere. The phrase is highly expressive and well suited to the poetic style of Maternus.
On the thought, cf. the very similar passage in Cic. ad fam. I 9, 23 nam etiam ab orationibus diiungo me referoque ad mansuetiores Musas. (See c. 13 17.) Here 'diiungo,' if joined to 'orationibus,' would be too bold a metaphor and out of place in this particular context. Hence the very easy emendation is not permissible.

13 comitatus . . . egressus . . . frequentiam salutantium: With reference to Aper's words (c. 9 9 f.), 'comitatus' corresponding to 'prosequitur,' 'egressus' to 'deducit,' and 'freq. sal.' to 'salutat.' Cf. Tac. Ann. XI 12 non furtim sed multo comitatu domum, egressibus adhaerescere.


14 aera et imagines: Hendiadys, equivalent to 'clipeatae imagines, bronze medallion,' on which see note c. 8 25.

15 nolente: The partic. form (usually in the abl.) is post-Augustan. Cf. Lucan I 274 nolente senatu Quint. III 6, 68 sermonibus me nolente vulgatis. — in domum—inruperunt: Inrumperere, in the sense of 'to force an entrance into,' is elsewhere in Tacitus invariably construed with the accusative, as occasionally also in pre-Aug. Latin. Cf. H. IV 50 domum consulis inrumperunt, Caes. B. C. III 111, 1 domum eius i. Sall. Jug. 25, 9 portam. Cicero, on the other hand, never omits the preposition, and it is this usage that the youthful Tacitus and his teacher Quintilian follow. See Woelflin, Philol. XXVII 138. Nipp. Ann. II 11, Schmalz, Antid. I p. 730.

16 nam statum euiusque . . . tueitur: Only the firm belief that a pure character and honest convictions will insure immunity from punishment can account for the certainly imprudent refusal of Maternus to alter such passages in his plays as had given offence. The generalisation, unjustifiable though it be (see below), is pre-eminently suited to the poet's optimistic nature. The entire passage is intended as an answer to Aper's general inquiry in c. 5 quid est tutius etc.? No doubt eloquence is an admirable defensive weapon, but it is far preferable not to be called upon to use it, and the speaker, for the reason given, does not anticipate such a contingency. Cf. also Cic. Hort. fragm. 66 sufficere ad gloriem bene facti conscientiam.

This interpretation requires only the insignificant change of tuetur into tueitur. So videtur in c. 53 15 for videor. 39 2 rideatur (crdev) ridear (ab).
Nevertheless modern editors have followed Lipsius in reading 'hucusque,' which involves a more violent change and at the same time introduces a

\textit{in.}\ \textit{eup.} (Woeiflin, \textit{Archiv} IV 52-57 Thielmann ibid. VI 68). 'Huc usque' also calls for a past tense, John's remarks ad loc. to the contrary notwithstanding. Nor does the fact, that 'illuc usque' is once in Tac. (Ann. XV 54)

used in a temporal sense, in itself justify the insertion of an analogous phrase, although it might possibly have served to illustrate a traditional reading.

\textbf{innocentia:} According to Cicero (Tusc. Disp. III 8, 16), the Greek possessed no equivalent word: \textit{innocentia}, quae apud Graecos usitatrum nomen nullum habet, sed habere potest \textit{φιλάβεων}, nam est innocentia adfectio talis animi quae noceat nemini. With the thought cf. also Tac. Ann. III 67 multa adgeregantur etiam insontibus periculosas, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum delectis respondeos et orandi nescius, proprio in metu qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat.

18 \textit{alterius discrimine}, i.e. not like Eprius Marcellus, compelled to plead in his own behalf. 'Discrimen' in its legal sense is frequent in Tac. e.g. c. 69 34 10 37 37 G. 12 H. II 61 Ann. VI 9

XIII 43 XVI 30.

\textbf{12. 1 et secretum ipsum quod A. increpabat:} the usual order is et ipsum secretum. \textit{inrepabat} (viz. in c. 9 extr.) is a favorite word of Tacitus. For a different, intransitive sense, see c. 5 26.

2 \textit{praecipuo:} In a superlative sense esp. frequent in T. See Lex. Tac. s. v. — \textit{in strepitu:} Cf. Hor. Ep. II 2, 79 inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos. The phrase is intended as an answer to Aper, who l. c. had spoken only of the iucunditas urbis, ignoring the serious drawbacks of city life for him who delights in quiet. On the noise in Rome, cp. Friedländer I 27 ff. and Mayor, Iuv. III 245.

This clear back-reference, as well as 'ostium' mentioned immediately below, render the insertion of urbis wholly superfluous.

3 \textit{sedente ante ostium litigatore:} Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 9, 22 vigilas tu de nocte, ut tuis consultoribus respondeas ... te gallorum ... cantus ex suscitat Hor. Sat. I 1, 9 agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus | sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat Ep. I 5, 31 atria servatam postico falle clientem. — \textit{non — nec — nec — sed:} On this correlation, exceedingly common in Tac., see note c. 29 7.

4 \textit{inter sordes atque lacrimas:} The same collocation in inverse order (see note c. 4 3) in Cic. post red. 3, 7 ad fam. XIV 2, 2.
5 secedit animus: This sentence ought logically to have been incorporated in the preceding: Non in strepitu . . . reorum sed in locis puris . . . sedibusque sacris componuntur. But the importance which the speaker attaches to sylven retirement as best suited to poetic contemplation, caused him to add this idea, by way of prominence, as a principal clause. Quintilian in a long passage (X 3, 22–33) takes direct issue with this view: Non tamen protinus audiendi qui credunt aptissima in hoc nemora silvasque quod illa caeli libertas locorumque amoenitas sublimem animum et beatiorem spiritum parent, mihi certe iucundus hic magis quam studiorum hortator videtur esse secessus . . . Namque illa, quae ipsa delectant, necesse est avocent ab intentione operis destinati . . . quare silvarum amoenitas . . . et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se trahunt ut mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videatur cogitationem quam intendere. These statements are sufficiently general to be applicable to pursuits other than those of oratory, although Quintilian primarily intended them for the latter.

6 haec . . . haec . . . hoc . . . sic: This particular anaphora is logically justified only, if ‘primordia’ and ‘penetralia’ are not taken in a too strictly local sense. The anacoluthon, spoken of above, caused ‘haec’ to be joined to ‘sedes’ as its real antecedent, whereas, in reality, it refers to the act of poetic composition implied in the preceding clause, i. e. poetry composed amid the woodland seclusion of hallowed places is the earliest and holiest form which eloquence assumed.' For a similar anaphora cf. G. 18 hoc — hoc — hoc — sic — sic. Cp. John ad loc. and especially Wiesler, Progr. Leoben (1886) pp. 6–8.

7 commoda: ‘accommodating herself to the primitive minds of the men of that early period’ i. e. it assumed the form which best suited their understanding. For this meaning of ‘commoda,’ see Ter. Heaut. III 2, 10 commoda mulier Hor. C. IV 8, 1 commodus meis sodalibus Liv. XXXIV 3, 5 nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est. Eloquence is here personified as in c. 32 18 quae olim . . . pectora implebat 37 34 38 7 Cic. de orat. I 34, 157 II 38, 157 Orat. 19, 64 Brut. 96, 330 Tusc. Disp. V 28, 80. — mortalibus: This adjective is found as a substantive as early as Ennius. In Cicero, it is used only with multi, omnes, cuncti. Cp. Cramer, Archiv VI 340 ff.

8 et nullis contacta vitiiis pectora: To Ann. I 10 simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium, the only instance of this collocation
cited from Tac. by Dr. Stil p. 92, add c. 31 25 communibus ducta
sensibus oratio Ann. III 30 fato potentiae raro sempiternae
also Cic. de orat. I 27, 128 ceterarum homines artium spectati
Quint. XI 1, 41 minima . . . alieius . . . fiducia partis 81 quodam
Delphici . . . oraculo dei. — Et before a negative, such as nihil, nul-
lus, nemo and the like, seems to occur more frequently in Tac. than
XI 27 XIII 3. 47 XIV I. 19. 48 XV 43. Also not uncommon in
Seneca (see Peter ad loc.). In general, ep. Dr. H. S. II 7 ff. Stil
p. 46 Woelflin, Archiv VI 105. — On the thought, see Tac. G. 10
candi et nullo mortalium opere contacti and Ann. III 26 quoted
below. — sic oracula loquebantur: The statement is not strictly
accurate, for in the earliest period the Pythian oracles were either
wholly or partially delivered in prose and they had again ceased
to be composed in verse, when Plutarch wrote his essay peri tou
mu XEAMATA VN TIN PIVIA (toward the close of the 1. cent. A. D.).
Cf. Plut. l. c. 404 A theosompos oidein XETON ATRON TION
EISTOUDAKOS peri to xerosthriov, ischiros epite tymme tois XE
nuimous kata to tine xrono XEMETRA TIN PIVIAN THESTIEM
EISTO TOUVO BOULIMOS XEPODEIE.
Panta pasine oiswochi xeromws isporokein vs tin alloin kai tino
echoi katalagioin ekfermenov also 403 D 404 B 405 F 406 F.
Regarding poetry as the earliest form of literary expression and as best
suited to a primitive age, see Plut. l. c. 406 C 7in 8in tino
nuimous xerostmew inichroin metrion kai meliein kai xedais,
pasavan 8in isoreian kai phileos, pan de pathos, ws aplos eipouin,
kai pragma sympetrofia fainen xerwmen eis poieitikin kai muoseiin
agontes. Oi gar monon vin oiswchi
molis epaleister, toto de pantes xerostmio kai xerom wdoimeno,
episthe tis PANDARON ALLA UP TOY PROS POIEITIKON
epitatheisf 8in plasteiuu dea lirakai kai xedais evnoutheiwn.
9 nam: John is clearly wrong in thinking that this particle marks
the real beginning of Maternus' answer (which is arranged accord-
ing to the identical topics discussed by Aper), for the argument
'de utilitate poesis' has been disposed of in c. 11 and is not again
alluded to throughout the remainder of this speech. — These 'good
old times' no longer exist, says Maternus, for the present age is
materialistic and corrupt, and poetry which once constituted the only form of eloquence, has now been displaced by the sordid eloquence of the forum. If, it may be added, ‘penetralia etc.’ is interpreted in a local sense, the explanatory ‘nam’ clause would refer to an unexpressed antecedent. — lucrosae: also occurs in Ag. 19. — sanguinantis: In a figurative sense the word is ἀε. ἔρ. Cf. Plin. N. H. XIX 8, 53, 169 sanguinarium responsum Plin. Ep. IV 22, 6 sanguinataris sententiis and so in Greek αἰμαργός.—On the thought, see Tac. Ann. XI 5 f. Aliquin et bonarum artium principem (sc. eloquentiam) sordidis ministeriis foedari, ne fidem quidem integram manere, ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur ... nunc inimicitias accusationes odia et injurias foveri et quomodo vis morborum pretia medentibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat c. 32 1 f. and Ov. Am. I 10, 39 turpe reos empta miserors defendere lingua. — On the lex Cincia de donis et mercedibus, see Smith, Dict. Ant. II 37 f. and note to c. 6 o. On lawyer’s fees cp. Friedländer I 231 Mayor, Juv. VII 106 ff. — huius: ‘now in vogue.’ The use of this pronoun in the sense of ‘the present time,’ without the addition of a noun such as tempus, dies, saeculum or the like, is comparatively rare in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 31 H. I 16 II 7 IV 7 Ann. II 14 III 25 XIV 54. This temporal use of ‘hic’ seems not to occur in Quintilian. — On hic = noster cf. notes c. 7 10 32 13. — Note also the ellipsis of the copula throughout.

malis moribus, whether taken as a dat. or an abl., is untenable. The former is excluded by the context; the latter is equally objectionable because ‘nascor’ is used with the ablative without the preposition only in the case of proper names or family designations. ‘Et’ and ‘ex’ are often confused, which accounts for the error in ABD. Cf. e. g. c. 14 10 22 7 33 35 Liv. V 32, 4 (‘ex’ omitted after ‘et’) where see Drabb.

10 ut tu dicebas etc.: see c. 5 28. The same figure in Ann. XVI 27 quod velut alripue accusatores.

11 ceterum: ‘on the other hand.’ In this adversative sense, the word occurs sporadically in early Latin (e. g. Plaut. Truc. IV 3, 73 Ter. Heceyra III 3, 31), often in Sallust, Livy and Curtius, never in Caesar or Cicero, occasionally in Quintilian and the younger Pliny, and especially frequently in Tacitus: c. 26 (twice) and in 32 other passages (vide Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 167 a). — Cp. Spitta p. 156 ff. Dr. II. S. II 132 f. Kleiber p. 67. — ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum: Sen. Ep. 115, 13 quod optimum videri volunt, saeculum


13 male admissa: 'admissum' as a noun is rare. Cf. Liv. XXV 23 tale admissum and Tac. H. IV 4 cunctis sub Nerone admissis Ann. XI 4 de admissis Poppaeae. 'Male' is superfluous, as 'admissum' is used only in malam partem. The adverb was, however, added for the sake of symmetry with 'bene facta.' — On the neuter substantive formed from perf. pass. part., very characteristic of the style of Livy and of Tacitus, see Helm l. c. p. 30 f., who omits the present example. The original verbal character of such substantiv forms is not altogether lost sight of, as their adverbial modifiers show. — On the thought, cf. Tac. Ann. III 26 f. vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant ... ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur etc. Sen. Ep. 90, 4 f. sed primi mortalium ... naturam incorrupti sequebantur, eundem habebant et duce et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio ... (5) illo ergo saeculo quod aureum perhibent penes sapientes fuisse regnum Posidonius indicat ... nemo quantum posset, adversus eos experiebatur, per quos coeperat posse nec erat cuiquam aut animus in iuriam aut causa ... sed postquam subrepentibus vitis ... opus esse coepit legibus Ov. Met. I 89 ff. aurea prima sata est aetas quae vindice nullo, | sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque celebat. | poena metusque aberant; nec verba minacia fixo | aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat | iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice nullo and c. 41 si inveniretur civitas etc. Furneaux, Ann.
NOTES.

1 c. regards the above passage as an echo of the Stoicism of the author's day, rather than a literary reminiscence. This may be true, but the parallel utterances in the Dialogus do not appear to have been taken from this source directly, but were more probably due to Cicero's Hortensius, a work to which Tacitus is more largely indebted than has been hitherto supposed. See note c. 16 24 and Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc. vol. XXII p. 46 ff. Proleg. p. xciii f.

14 ullis: Ulli takes the place of the plural of 'quisquam,' which does not occur in Latin, as Charisius 2, 7 expressly informs us: unum autem adest (sc. pronomem) quam semper singular. Non enim ut quisquam quemquam sic utique quiquam quosquam dicimus. As a substantive 'ulli' is, however, very rare in prose. A few times in Cicero e.g. Tusc. Disp. I 1, 2 in ullis 6, 11 ne sunt quidem apud inferos ulli pro Sull. 5, 16 de orat. II 37, 154 and in Tac. only here and in Ann. XI 27 ullis mortalium. Cp. R. V. III p. 69 ff. note 361 Anton Stud. z. lat. Gramm. III p. 285 f. Neue, Forment. II* 508.

The reading gloriamor in all our MSS. was due to metathesis, an exceedingly frequent source of error. To the instances cited by Vahlen, Prooem. 1881 which might be greatly extended, a few examples from so carefully written a MS. as the Medicicus of Tacitus may be added: Ann. III 18 aspernas = Asprenas 76 ipso = Piso IV 45 examinaretur = examinaretur VI 15 clavis = Calvisio. This unmistakable origin of the corruption disposses of Michaelis' conjecture 'gloria mortalibus maior.' The lacuna indicated in our MSS. makes it highly probable that a word like 'erat' dropped out, owing to the similarity of the following word.

15 proferre respondam: i.e. as ὑποφῆτα τῶν θεῶν. Cf. Plato, Phaedr. 262 E Μουσῶν προφῆται Theocr. 16, 29 Μουσάων . . . τίνων ἱερῶν ὑποφῆτας 17, 115 Μουσαῶν ὑποφῆτα 22, 116 Hor. A. P. 391 sacer interpresque deorum . . . Orpheus. — interesse epulis: It was a common belief among the ancients that this honor was accorded to illustrious men of the heroic age, e.g. to Hercules (Hor. C. IV 8, 27) Tantalus (Eur. Orest. 9 Hor. C. I 28, 7 conviva deorum). Nestor says of Athene (γ 420) Ἡ μοι ἐναργής ἤλθε θεῶν ἔς δαίτα βάλειν, and so the gods, according to Alcinous (γ 201 ff.), were wont to feast with the Phaeacians. In the Golden Age, in fact, the gods were thought to associate with mortals on terms of equality. See Hes. fr. 218 Mk. Ἔνναὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δαίτε έσαν, ἔνναι δὲ θώσκοι | ἀνανάτωσι θεωτι καταθηγοί τ’ ἄνθρωποι θεοῖ καὶ ὀμοτρόπεζει θεοῖς ἐσαν. Cat. I.XIV 384 ff. praesentes
namque ante domos invisere castas | heroum et sese mortali ostendere coetu | caelicolae nondum spretae pietate solemabant, where see Ellis’ note. But that poets enjoyed the hospitality of the gods is not elsewhere recorded. Cp. Schiller, Die Theilung der Erde: Doch willst (viz. the poet) in meinem Himmel mit mir leben, so oft Du kommst, er soll Dir offen stehn. — inter quos: ‘In whose company.’ For this use of ‘inter’ with ‘esse,’ cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 28 is homo . . . numquam inter homines fuerit. — deinde: In the minor writings, only the full form is found (c. 26. 32. 33. Ag. 8. 9. 38 G. 40. 42. 44), in the Histories ‘dein’ has a slight lead, and in the Annals it greatly preponderates. Cp. Woelflin, Phil. XXV p. 107.


17 neminem caudicium: nemo as an adj. is used only with a personal noun (nemo civis, homo etc.), except in very late Latin, and is generally separated from its substantive (esp. in Cicero) by an intervening word. Cp. Neue, Forment. II p. 522 f. Landgraf, Cic. pro Rosc. Am. p. 374 Schmalz, Antilib. s. v. It occurs but once in the other writings of Tacitus: Ann. XV 16 neminem Romanum.

The genit. plur. caudicorum of the MSS. absurdly implies the existence of caudici in the golden age which, according to Maternus, was ‘oratorum et criminum inopes.’ Baehrens’ defence of Heumann’s emendation is the only acceptable item in his long note (Comm. Crit. p. 64), which is principally devoted to a justification of a most violent transposition in the text. Cp. the excellent discussion of Wiesler Progr. Leoben (1886), pp. 8–10.

Orpheus ac Linum: Grouped together also by Verg. Ecl. 4, 55 non me carminibus vincat nec Thraciae Orpheus | nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit | Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo Quint. I 10, 9 Orpheus et Linus quorum utrumque dis genitum. The mythical Orpheus, Linus, Olen, Philammon, and the Homeric bards are invariably associated with Apollo as the god of song and music, but he is nowhere else represented as having
been a poet himself. — Peter supposes that Apollo is mentioned with particular allusion to his sojourn at the court of Admetus, but according to the commonly received legend (Apolloc. III 10, 4) the god was compelled to serve a mortal for one year by way of atone-
ment for his murder of the Cyclops. And even if we accept the version given by the schol. to Eur. Alc. 2 and Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 46 etc., this case would not be an apposite illustration of the state-
ment of Maternus, ‘ullis . . . apud deos,’ for Admetus was not a poet.


19 fabulosa nimis et composita: These qualifying phrases are peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 40 sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis factum et compositum G. 46 cetera iam fabulosa sunt H. II 50 ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos Ann. III 78 alia ficta haec et . . . composita XI 27 fabulosum visum iri . . . sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam et G. 3. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem. — Adverbs, pronouns, or adjectives, when intended as attributives to two adjectives, verbs, or substantives, are in the Dialogus placed between the words which they modify. Cf. e. g. c. 4 9 6 14. 28 7 13 11 7 12 9 13 20 15 1 32 2 34 13. 31. — concedes, 'grant,' with acc. c. inf. also c. 33 23 H. II 37 V 7, with ut — c. 11 6 21 20. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 415.

20 minorem honorem: On similar ὅμοιότητα cf. c. 21 30 propri-
ribus temporibus 28 25 militareµ rem 29 3 serio ministerio. See also note c. 4 10.

22 Lysiae aut Hyperidis: Appropriately associated by the ancients because of the stylistic charm (χρώµγς) especially charac-
teristic of these two orators of the Attic Canon.
23 Ciceronis gloriam ... detrectent: Cf. c. 18 18 satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obrectatores defuisse. Of these, Cicero himself mentions Calvus (Brut. 82, 284 Tusc. II 1, 3 de opt. gen. 4, 10), to whom Tacitus i. c. adds Brutus. There is perhaps an extant allusion to these strictures, as Sandys observes, in Cic. Orat. 7, 26. After the orator's death, Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, wrote a 'comparatio patris et Ciceronis,' to the great disparagement of the latter, and it was against this book that the emperor Claudius composed an elaborate rejoinder (Suet. Claud. 41 Pliny, Ep. VII 4, 4). Gellius XVII 1, in addition to Gallus, also speaks of one Largius Licinius 'cuuis liber etiam fortur infando titulo Ciceromastix ut scribere ausi sint, M. Ciceronem parum integre atque inproprte atque incon siderate locatum. The work of Didymus on the De republica of Cicero, to which Suetonius a century later wrote a reply (cf. Suidas s.v. Τραγυκαλλος), was probably not levelled against the orator so much as against some of the contents of the book, as we may infer from Amm. Marcell. XXII, 16. Quintilian repels all these attacks with an almost pathetic fervor. Cf. esp. IX 4, 1 XII 10, 12-14. See also Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 105 and Sandys, Cic. Orat. Introd. p. lxx.
—Vergilii detrectent: Cf. Donat. Vita Virg. p. 65 f. R. Obrectatores Virgilio numquam defuerunt, nec mirum: nam ne Homero quidem. Prolatis bucoliciis innominatus quidam rescrispt anti bucolica, duas modo eclogas (sc. I. III) sed insulsissime παραδειγματα, quarum prioris initium est. 'Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?' sequentis, 'Die mihi Damoeta, cuium pucus anae Latinum? non: verum Aegonis nostri sic rure loquuntur.' . . . est et adversus Aeneida liber Caribii Pictoris titulo Aeneomastix. Serv. Aen. V 521 culpa hic Virgilium Virgiliomastix, Ecl. II 23 hunc versum male distinguens ('lac mihi non aestate novom, non frigore: defit') Virgiliomastix vituperat. He is not identical with the critic mentioned, whose parodies did not include the second Eclogue. Donatus 1. c. continues: Herennius tantum vitia eius, Perelli Faustus furta contraxit. Sunt et Q. Octavi Aviti διουσ -οντων (homoeon elenchon — Reiff.) octo volumina quae quos et unde versus transtulerit continent (from these Macrobius, Saturn. I 24, 6 III 10 ff. V 3-16, has preserved some remnants, either directly or indirectly—according to Ribbeck through the medium of Servius). Asconius Pedianus libro quem contra obrectatores Ver-
NOTES.

gilii scrisit (among whom Bavius and Maevius are also mentioned, cf. Serv. ad Ecl. III 90 VII 21), pauc a admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere, et quod pleraque ab Homer o sumpsisset, sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere assuetum ait: 'cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos, facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere.' Cp. Ribbeck, Proleg. ad Verg. Opera p. 96–113.

24 Asinii aut Messallae liber: C. Asinius Pollio (born 76 B.C. cos. 40, triumphed over the Parthians 39, died c. 5 a.d.), M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (born c. 64 B.C. cos. 31, triumphed over the Gauls 27, died not later than 8 a.d.), both distinguished as statesmen, generals, poets, historians, and orators, and repeatedly grouped together e.g. by Quint. X 1, 113 (where see Peterson's notes), by Tacitus, c. 17. 21 Ann. IV 34 XI 6. 7. They are here introduced only in their capacity as orators, their other literary achievements being overlooked chiefly because they are contrasted with Lysias and Hyperides, partly also because their fame as historians and poets, particularly in Messalla's case, was, in the judgment of later generations, eclipsed by their oratorical reputation. Liber = oratio edita. Frequent in Silver Latin, but not in Quintilian. See note c. 3 2.

25 Medea Ovidii: Written at the age of 30 (cf. Am. III 1, 29), and mentioned by the poet himself in Am. II 18, 13 III 1, 11. 67. Trist. II 553 and perhaps referred to Am. III 15, 18. Probably used by Seneca (F. Leo, Sen. Trag. I p. 166) and by Maternus. Cf. Quint. X 1, 98 Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset. Only two lines, quoted by Quint. VIII 8, 56 and Sen. Suas. III 7 have come down to us.—Varii Thyestes: L. Varrus Rufus (74–14), an older contemporary and friend of Horace and Virgil, whose Aeneid he, with the aid of Plotius Tucca, prepared for publication. He is chiefly known as the writer of epic poems celebrating the exploits of Caesar and Octavianus, and as the author of the tragedy Thyestes. Cf. the prefatory scholion to the cod. Paris. 7530 Incipit Thuestes Varii — Lucius Varrus cognomito Rufus Thyesten tragoediam magna cura absolutam post actiacam victoriam Augusto ludis eius (29 B.C.) in scaena edidit, pro qua fabula sestertium deciens accipit. Quint. I c. Iam Fari Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest Philargyr. ad Verg. Ecl. VIII 10 Varium, cuius exstat Thyestes tragoedia omnibus tragicis
praeferenda. — According to L. Müller in Berl. Phil. Woch. No. 24 (1893) the opening lines have been preserved in Sen. Ep. 80, 7 En impero Argis etc.—Observe the artistic symmetry of this paragraph, and the singularly appropriate grouping of authors. Homer and Demosthenes, by common consent the greatest Greek poet and the greatest Greek orator, are opposed to Cicero and Virgil, who occupy the same rank in Latin literature. On the Greek side, Sophocles with Euripides, and Lysias with Hyperides, who are regularly associated by the ancients, are contrasted with the orators Asinius and Messalla and the tragedians Ovid and Varius, who are also habitually grouped together. The Roman instances, moreover, follow the Greek in chiastic order. Any other names, it will be noticed, such as Aeschylus or Aeschines or Calvus, for instance, would have totally destroyed the equilibrium of this finely elaborated antithesis (α : β : αα : ββ : b : a : bb : aa).

13. 1 contubernium: 'Association with the Muses.' Aper (c. 9 ext.) had said that poets, in order to accomplish anything, must abandon the intercourse with friends and seek the retirement of the woods and groves. Maternus does not deny this, but he rejoins that such surroundings are particularly agreeable to him, while the necessary separation from friends by no means results in solitude, as alleged, inasmuch as it is the peculiar privilege of the poet to enjoy the society of the Muses and it is their inspiring intercourse that he seeks. Contubernium in this less concrete meaning is common in the Silver Age. Cf. note 5 5 and Kleiber p. 39.—timuerim = dubitaverim imparts a touch of politeness to a strong assertion. Cf. c. 26 33 non verebor nominare Plin. Paneg. 89, 1 Ep. IV 9, 7.

2 inquieta et anxia: Opp. to securum et quietum. The same redundancy in Plin. Ep. II 9, 1 anxium me et inquietum habet petitio. With the statement itself, introduced to offset Aper's glowing description of the career of a successful orator, we may compare Tac. H. IV 8 Ann. VI 48.

3 certamina et pericula: Pericula is added to 'certamina' as a more specific term, according to the characteristic usage of Tacitus pointed out c. 9 1. On the technical meaning of 'periculum,' corresponding to the now obsolete use of danger in English, see Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 36.—vel ad consulatus: Although the consulship during the Empire retained but the semblance of its
former greatness, a factitious and sentimental importance attached itself to this ancient office and its attainment was regarded down to the latest times as the goal of a Roman’s ambition. Cf. Tac. Ag. 44 quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Sen. de brev. vit. 20, 1 ut unus ab illis numeretur annus, omnes annos suos conterent. ‘Wenige Erscheinungen der späteren römischen Welt,’ Friedländer S. G. I* p. 265 well says, ‘sind so merkwürdig wie diese, dass selbst das klügliche Schattenbild der alten Grösse Jahrhunderte lang in so hohem Grade statt des längst entschwundenen Wesens gelten, die alte Ehrfurcht erwecken, den alten unwiderstehlichen Zauber üben konnte.’

From this it will appear that the addition of vel before ‘ad’ (et MSS.) is far more appropriate and also easier than Vahlen’s insertion (accepted by John) of ‘praeturas’ or ‘sacerdotia,’ for an enumeration of some of the political offices an orator might secure, decidedly weakens the force of the passage.

evexerat.

4 securum et quietum: Cf. c. 10 ext. quietis et securitatis Livy XXXIX 1 quietum et securum. — Vergilii secessum: Vita Verg. p. 57 R. habuitque domum Romae in Esquiliis iuxta hortos Mæcenas natis quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur.


7 auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus: Both ‘versibus’ and ‘forte prae sentem’ seem to leave no reasonable doubt that the reference is not to the recitation of an entire poem (cf. Donat. Vita Verg. p. 60 R. bucolica eo successu edidit ut in scaena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiarentur Serv. Verg. Ecl. VI 11 dicitur autem ingenti favore esse recitata sqq.) but more probably to the quotation of some Virgilian lines in some play or minus. — surrexit universus: ‘rose as one man.’ This particular homage was usually paid only to the Emperor (Plin. Paneg. 54 in venerationem tui theatra ipsa
consurgent Suet. Claud. 6), and occasionally to members of the imperial family (Suet. Octav. 56 fliis prætextatis adhuc assurectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est). On the great popularity of Virgil during his lifetime, and during the Early Empire cf. Vita Virg. p. 57: si quando Romae, quo rarissime commebat, viseretur in publculo, sectantis demonstrantisque se suffugeret in proximum tectum and Comparetti, Virgilio nel medio evo c. 3.

8 praesentem spectantemque: It is not necessary to regard this phrase as a kind of hendiadys, in the sense of 'praesentem inter spectatores.' It is simply one of the numerous examples of that fullness of expression so characteristic of the style of this treatise. Cf. Plin., Paneg. 56 ipsum praesentem audientemque consalutabant imperatorem, where 'audientem,' although equally superfluous, has never been objected to. — Vergilium: The repetition of the proper name here in place of a pronoun has the effect of emphasising the significance of such an ovation being accorded to a private individual. For similar repetitions in T. cf. H. V 21 Ann. I 13 II 28 III 30. 41 IV 29. 31 VI 15. 39 XII 64 and Ioh. Muller, Beiträge IV 13 note 2. — veneratus 'greet respectfully.' In this sense very rare. E.g. Tib. I 5, 33 Plin. Pan. 54 Suet. Claud. 12 and Tac. Ann. XVI 4.

9 sic quasi: Such emphatic phrases are not so rare in pre-Aug. writers as Wolff seems to think. Cf. e.g. Plaut. Amph. II 2, 51 me sic salutas quasi dudum non videris Cic. de orat. II 11, 47 sic tractare quasi nihil possit dici pro Cluent. 1, 4 ad Att. VI 1, 12 etc. and so analogously with 'tamquam' e.g. Cic. ad fam. XIII 69, 1 sic Ephesi fui tamquam domi meae, less frequent with 'velut.'

10 Secundus Pomponius: A distinguished tragic poet and intimate friend of the elder Pliny who became his biographer (Plin. N. H. XIII 12, 26, 83 Pliny, Ep. III 5, 3). He was a partisan of Sejanus and upon the downfall of this minister (31 A. D.) was thrown into prison, where he is said to have remained for seven years till released by Caligula, who raised him to the consulship, probably in 44 A.D. The emperor Claudius sent him as legatus to Germany, where he defeated the Chatti, obtaining the honor of the triumphal ornaments (50 A.D.). Tacitus repeatedly speaks of him in terms of high praise. Cf. Ann. V 8 multa morum elegantia et ingenio industri X 11 28 decretalesque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit. His
great literary reputation is fully confirmed by Quint. X 1, 98 eorum (sc. tragoedorum) quos viderim, longe prīnceps Pomponius Secundus, quem sēnès parum trāgicum putabant, eruditio nec nitore praestare confitebantur. The title of a prætextata 'Aeneas' has come down to us. Cp. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 284, 7, and esp. L. Brunel, De tragoedia apud Romanos circa principatum Augusti corrupta, ch. 6, 2 Paris 1884.—Afro Domitio: A celebrated orator of the reign of Nero, cos. suff. 39 a. d. curator aquarum (Dio LIX, 20 Frontin. Aqu. 102) 49–59, in which latter year he died. See Tac. Ann. XIV 19 Sequuntur virorum in industria mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant. Ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae; quam clariorem effecit ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus. On his character and his fame as an orator, cf. Tac. Ann. IV 52 Claudia Pulchra, sobrina eius (sc. Neronis) postulatur accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere... Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et scuta adseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum appellavit; mox capessendis accusatoribus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod actas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam. Quint. X 1, 118 eorum (sc. oratorum) quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. Arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas XII 11, 3 Vidi ego longe omnium, quos mihi cognoscere contiguit, summum oratorem Domitium Afrum, valde senem cotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate perdentem, cum agente illo quem principem fuisset quondam fori non erat dubium, alii, quod indignum videntur, riferent, aliī erubescent; quae occasio fuit dicendi malle eum deficiere quam desinere. This highly remarkable agreement between Quintilian and a passage in the historical writings of Tacitus is sufficient to show how hazardous it is to argue against the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus, because of striking parallelisms with the writer of the Institutio Oratoria. Quintilian also refers to a work of Afer 'On Testimony' (V 7, 7), to one entitled 'Dicta' (VI 3, 42) and repeatedly to some of his orations, of which those in behalf of Cloatilla and Volusenus Catulus appear to have been the most famous. On the transposition of the cognomen, see note c. 11.
12 ad quorum exempla me vocas: Cf. c. 8. For the phrase, cf. Plin. Ep. IX 2, 2 ad cuius (sc. Ciceronis) exemplum nos vocas Paneg. 58 non te ad exemplar eius voco Cic. Acad. Pr. 18, 56 me ad Democritum vocas. — habent . . . concupiscendum: 'What do they possess that one might covet?' Different from the construction of 'habere' with the gerundive, discussed c. 8 12. 'Concupiscendum' here takes the place of the missing adjective 'concupiscibilis.'

13 quod timent an quod timentur: an 'or perhaps.' Usage in similar interrogative clauses leads us to expect 'aut' (R. V. III p. 313 note 442) but 'an,' as a disjunctive particle, is, according to Nipperdey's observation (Ann. I 13), more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. Cp. Heraeus ad H. I 7 Gantrelle, Style de Tac. § 134. The same contrast is brought out in Tac. H. IV 42 nihil quod ex te concepisceret, nihil quod timeret and in Sidon. Apoll. Ep. V 7 (a locus classicus on informers) hi sunt quos timent, etiam qui timentur.

14 ii quibus non praestant indignatur: As Marcellus and Crispus are importuned for favors day after day (cotidie), they would naturally find it impossible, even if willing, to grant all requests made to them, and hence they necessarily incurred the hatred of those who remained unnoticed. Cf. the quite similar statement in Plut. Comp. Alc. et Coriol. 235 C: οὗ γάρ θεραπεύοντι τῶν πολλῶν ὡς μὴ δεύμονο τιμῆς, εἴτε χαλεπαίνουσι μὴ τυγχάνοντες . . . ὡς τὸ χαλεπάνεν μάλιστα μὴ τυγχάνοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἵκ τοῦ σφόδρα γλύ- χεσθαι φυίμενον.

Lipsius' easy emendation has been uniformly rejected. Of those who defend the MS. reading, some (e.g. Wolff) suppose it possible that the author designedly introduced a paradox as a surprise for the reader, who naturally expects a negative statement; others, like John, contend that the emphasis is on 'indignatur,' but in that case some such reading as Michaelis suggested would be necessary, which, however, is itself open to palaeographical objections. Andresen, followed by Peter, conjectures 'vel ii quibus praestant indignatur,' a sentiment more epigrammatic than true, as is clear from Andresen's own translation 'selbst diejenigen, denen sie ihre Bitten gewähren, sich beleidigt fühlen!' In all the passages, moreover, cited by these scholars in support of this view (Tac. Ann. IV 18 Sen. Ep. 8, 32 Florus IV 2, 92 to which might have been added Tac. H. IV 62 Sen. de bel. I 3, 1 IV 40, 1 Ep. 19, 11), it is invariably the expected repayment of an obligation incurred that is said to render the gift irksome to the recipient. But this idea is not expressed in our passage nor do the words of the text lend themselves to such an interpretation.
15 adligati omni adulatione: Marcellus and Crispus, in the eyes of Maternus, have lost all personal independence by their slavish obsequiousness toward the Emperor. Marcellus was dead when these bitter words were written, and Crispus was not likely to have been in favor in the reign of Titus. Cp. Proleg. xxx — ‘adulatio’ is perhaps of more frequent occurrence in Tacitus than in any earlier writer.

The great majority of editors refuse to accept Walther’s emendation omni (c                                                                   CDV). It is, however, absolutely certain, as a glance at the variants in c. 214 might have shown: omni erudizione (omni — CEAV c                                                                   ABD), for here there can be no doubt as to the genuine reading. A similar false solution of a compendium gave rise to an unintelligible ‘omne’ (C) for commune in c. 26 30.

17 liberti, sc. principis. This statement, as Andresen observes, is a thrust at Aper, who (c. 7) had mentioned the defence of the Emperor’s liberti, as among the most honorable occupations of an orator. On the ‘liberti’ under the Empire see note to c. 7 7. —


19 in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant: The preposition does not signify ‘into,’ which would involve an absurdity, but it may be taken in the sense of ad. ‘towards,’ Germ. ‘an,’ as in Prop. III 16, 17 semper in Oceanum mittit me quaerere gemmas | et iubet ex ipsa tollere dona Tyro, or τοις in Greek e. g. K 306 φειγον ου κηρυκα 420 προς | προς φιλον and esp. analogous to our passage K 107 ἡ μεν ἰέρ | ἰέρ κηρυκα κατεβησε καλλιρέθηρον. Inasmuch, however, as the sanctuaries of the Muses were situated on high places, it seems far preferable to interpret in as ‘up towards’ a signification which it also frequently has. E. g. c. 10 19 in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat 19 16 in caelum laudibus ferebatur Ann. XII 35 decadere barbari in ina montium Plaut. Cist. II 3. 78 in cae-
lum conspicis Cic. de orat. III 10, 25 (Nepos Paus. 4, 5) tamquam in aram confugitis Prop. V 8, 13 si fuerint castae redeunt in colla parentum Claud. in Ruf. I 22 tolluntur in altum.—Sacra, we are assured by Baehrens and Andresen, is not elsewhere found in the sense of 'sacra loca' and the dictionaries, it is true, do not cite any instances. Nevertheless examples are by no means lacking even in Tacitus, where this word, as shown by the context, can have no other signification, while in others there is, at least, no obstacle to its being interpreted in a local sense. Cf. Tac. H. III 33 cum omnia sacra profanaque in ignes considerent solum Mefitis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum Ann. I 54 profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum templum . . . solo aequantur 79 qui sacra et lucos et aras patris annibus dicaverint Prop. IV 1, 1 Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philetae | in vestrum, quaseso, me sinite ire nemus Pers. Prol. 7 ipse semipaganus | ad sacra vatum carmen affero nostrum. The shrines of the Muses, as remarked, were generally located on the tops of mountains and in the immediate neighborhood of springs, whence poets were said to drink inspiration. So Mt. Helicon, with the sacred springs of Aganippe and Hippocrene (Paus. IX 29, 3), Mt. Parnassus with the Castalian spring (Plut. de Pyth. orac. 402 C). Numa Pompilius dedicated a grove to the Muses next to a sacred fountain, because they were believed to associate there with the nymph Egeria (Liv. I 21 Plut. Num. 13). Cf. also Mayor, ad Iuv. III 13 nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur.

From the above it must be clear that the passage is entirely sound, neither the preposition nor 'sacra' nor 'fontes' presenting the slightest difficulty. On the other hand, the generally received reading of Ritter (for even Peter and John join 'in' with 'fontes' by assuming a kind of zeugma of the preposition), besides being based upon a palpable misinterpretation, is open to other insuperable objections. (1) The variation of the preposition violates a stylistic usage of Tacitus, pointed out c. 10 25. (2) The anastrophe of the preposition is confined to the later writings of Tacitus (cp. Woolf, Phil. XXV 116), and even in these, ad in anastrophe after a pronoun is extremely rare. Cp. H. C. Maué p. 71 A. Gerber, Progr. Glückstadt 1871, and Am. Jour. Phil. XII p. 333-5.

20 insanum ultra et lubricum forum: Cf. Verg. Georg. II 501 f. ferrea iura insanumque forum Prop. IV (V) 1, 134 insanum verba tonare foro Cic. pro Mil. 17, 45 insanissima contio Sil. Ital. VII 542 insanae spectate tribus! pro lubrica rostra et vanis fora
laeta viris. *Insanus* designates the senseless noise made by the populace; *lubricum* the uncertainty and danger attending forensic pleading.

21 *famamque pallentem*: Fame is here said to cause paleness, because of the instability and transitoriness of forensic reputation, which is wholly dependent upon the fickle favor of the populace. For the thought, cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 57 f. Non contingit tranquillitas nisi immutabile certumque judicium adeptis: ceteri decidunt subinde et reponuntur et inter intermissa adpetitae alternis fluctuantur. Causa huius iactationis est quod nihil liquet incertissimo regimine utentibus, fama.—For the metonymy (cause for effect), cf. Verg. Aen. VI 275 pallentes morbi Hor. C. I 4, 13 pallida mors Pers. Prol. 4 pallidam Irenen V 55 eumimum pallens Mart. XI 6 pallentes... curae Hom. H 479 χλωρον διος Tac. G. 36 pax marcess, and so similarly Iuv. VII 206 gelidae cicitiae Hom. Θ 159 β'λεα στοιχία o 463 οίνος ήλες Eur. Bacch. 691 θαλετον... ὑπνον (refreshing sleep). In the following two instances from Tacitus, we have metonymy and oxymoron combined: H. II 45 misera laetitia Ann. I 8 arroganti moderatione.

John and Andresen take fama to mean ‘town-talk, popular opinion,’ on the ground that ‘glory’ is equally sought both by orator and by poet. But this interpretation conflicts with the character of the speaker as drawn by Tacitus, for Maternus disdainfully ignores the gossip of the multitude (see c. 2. 3) and by the use of the epithet ‘pallentem’ simply distinguishes the ‘bubble reputation’ of the orator, acquired amid surroundings which place him in a perpetual state of worry and excitement, from the stable and lasting fame vouchsafed to the poet. ‘Pallentem,’ which John accepts, would of course be a very suitable attribute of ‘fama’ in the sense which he erroneously attributes to it here.

*trepidus*: On the adj. for the adverb, see note c. 4 4. — *non me... nec... excitet*: ‘non’ is used in place of ‘ne’ to emphasise ‘me,’ some phrase like ‘sed alii’ being understood. Cf. Tac. Ann. I 11 non ad unum omnia deferrent, where Nipp. also cites examples from Cic. pro Cluent. 57, 155 and Liv. IX 34, 15. In the poets (e.g. Verg. Aen. XII 78) and post-Augustan prose-writers this usage is common. — For ‘nec’ with the optative or hortative subjunctive, cf. c. 13 ext. 22 ext. nec... determinet 32 init. nec quisquam respondeat H. I 84 nec illas voceis ullus usquam exercitus audiat II 47 nec tempus computaveritis — nec diu moremur 76 nec... expaveris. See Nipp. Ann. I 43, where similar instances
from other writers are also given. — *fremitus salutantium*: Cf. Sen. Ep. 19, 11 turba salutantium and Mayor ad Iuv. III 127.

22 *anhelans libertus*: ‘Let no freedman in panting haste rouse me from my sleep,’ namely, in order to convey some message from the Emperor, or to bring the information that his master has arisen and is ready to receive the early morning visits of his ‘friends.’ Cf. Epictet. Diss. IV 8, 41–50, quoted by Friedländer I* p. 143. Schaubach p. 5 and Weinkauf p. clvii erroneously take ‘anhelans’ to mean ‘maxime studiosus,’ in which figurative sense the word would be δεινος. Cp. also Kleiber p. 75 note. — *incertus futuri*: Perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. VIII 580 spes incerta futuri (op. Schmaus p. 36). *Incertus* c. gen. is in prose first found in Bell. Afr. 7 and then in Liv. I 7, 6. Frequently in the poets. In Tacitus: H. III 55 Ann. II 75 VI 46 and so ‘certus,’ on which see Nipp. Ann. XII 66 Heræus Hist. II 46. On these adject. with genit., in the use of which the culminating point is reached in Tacitus, cp. G. Schoenfeld, *De T. studiis Sallust.* p. 34–39 Dr. H. S. § 206 and esp. A. Haustein, *De genit. adject. accommodati in ling. lat. usu*, Halle 1882. — It was customary for wealthy Romans to bequeath legacies to the Emperor in their wills in order to insure the carrying out of the other bequests, for, where this caution was omitted, emperors such as Caligula, Nero and Domitian (Suet. Calig. 38 Ner. 32 Dom. 12) often annulled the testament, appropriating the entire estate to themselves. Nero, according to Suetonius l.c., even went so far as to enact ‘ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinentem.’ Maternus, therefore, sincerely hopes that, rather than submit to such compulsion, his fortune, unlike the colossal wealth of Marcellus and Crispus of which Aper had spoken so admiringly (c. 8), might remain within moderate limits, so as not to excite the covetousness of the princes. No other writer, it may be observed, refers to this practice more frequently than Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 43 satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem. H. I 48 testamentum Titii Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit. Ann. XIV 31 Rex Icenorum Prasutagus longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias
scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul
inuria fore XVI 11 nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte
heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo con-
sulere G. 20 Ann. VI 29 Plin. Paneg. 43 in eodem genere
ponendum est quod testamenta nostra secura sunt; nec una omnium
nunc quia scriptus nunc quia non scriptus heres est. Cp. Marquardt
Statutes. II p. 294. — Ruperti, blissfully oblivious of the rules
of prosody, regards 'futuri — scribam' as a hexameter.

24 quandoque fatalis et mens dies veniet statuar: Quandoque =
et quando. So Cic. de orat. III 55, 212 quid quandoque debeat
Liv. XXXIV 56, 13 dimittendique ei quos eorum quandoque vellet,
ius esset, the former instance is unjustly rejected by Madvig de
fin. p. 833 and the latter by Wilkins l.c. The possible ambiguity
arising out of this use of quando-que is no greater than that of
quoque = et quo, on which see note c. 8 12. 'Quando' as a temporal
conjunction = cum is chiefly poetic (e. g. Liv. Andr. ap. Gell. III
16, 11 quando dies adveniet quem praefata Morta est Hor. Epod.
16, 27) but occurs also in prose, according to Woelffin's observation
(Philol. XXV 119 f.), whenever the style strikes a higher tone, as
here and Tac. G. 33. — fatalis, and similarly 'fatum,' are repeatedly
used of natural death. Cf. C. I. L. I 1009 hora. . . . fatalis mea
Orelli, Insc. 3023 (4777) hic tuus fatalis dies (which also furnish
illustrations of the collocation of the pronoun with fatalis, although
the position of et = etiam is certainly awkward) 4758 f. diem pera-
gere Vell. II 4, 6 seu fatalem seu confutam insidias . . . mortem
obit II 48, 6 quieta aut certe non praecipitata fatali . . . morte
functi sunt Sen. Nat. Quaest. III 27. 1 cum fatalis dies diluvii
veneit Tac. Ag. 45 H. V 10 fato aut taedio occidit Ann. I 3
vulnere in validum mors fato . . . vel dolus abstulit II 42 finem
vitae sponte an fato implevit VI 10 L. Piso pontifex rarum in tanta
claritudine fato obit XI 2 functam fato (se. uxorom) XIV 12.
Silana fato functa est 62 fato obit, where see Furneaux. The last
four examples seem to me sufficient to invalidate Peter's, Baehrens'
(Comm. Crit. p. 66) and John's assertion (Correspbl. p. 22) that these
words derive this meaning only through the expressed or implied
antithesis of an untimely or violent death. 'Fatum' in this latter
sense is found but once in Tacitus: Ag. 42. — Mens dies simply
repeats the idea already expressed by 'fatalis.' Cf. diem suum
obire 'to die a natural death,' e. g. in Plaut. Poen. IV 2. 82
Sulpicius in Cic. ad fam. IV 12, 2 Sen. Apocol. 1 Fronto, Ep. ad Anton. IV 1 and analogously Suet. Caes. 89 nemo percussorum Caesaris sua morte defunctus est.

Of the numerous interpretations to which this passage has been subjected, such as are entirely or partially based upon objections against the phrase 'fatales et meus dies' may be, I think, dismissed as groundless on the strength of the many passages just cited. The others naturally group themselves under two heads, according to the interpretation of 'quandoque' in the sense of 'aliquando' (Halm, Peter, Andresen, Wiesler), or in that of 'quandocunque' (Ritter, John, Wolff). Both parties agree in reading 'statuarque.' According to the first-mentioned view, the entire phrase is a parenthetical remark, containing the sanguine assurance of the speaker that he will not meet with the violent death which Aper is alleged to have predicted for him (c. 10 ext.), if he persisted in provoking his powerful superiors by too outspoken poetical productions. To this, it may be replied: (1) That such a statement is wholly out of place in a parenthesis, and not properly introduced by 'enim,' which Peter and Andresen retain, for there is no causal connection between 'nec plus habeas' and 'quandoque — veniet.' See John, Correspbl. p. 22. (2) Aper's words 'igitur ... superiorem' cannot be made to imply the prediction of a violent death any more than those immediately following, 'si quando necesse sit ... potentiorum aures offendere.' (3) Maternus had already disposed of his opponent's warning in c. 12 ext., rendering a renewed refutation entirely useless (see John l. c.). — The other interpretation is open to equally serious objections, for (1) quandoque — veniet is now closely connected with the preceding clause, being thus deprived of any independent force, as will be clear from a translation: 'Let me not possess more wealth than what I can dispose of according to my own wishes, at whatever time my last hour may come.' (2) But supposing this to be satisfactory, we should still have the correlation of 'nec — que,' which never occurs in Tacitus, neque — que being also found but once, viz. Ann. III 12 sed neque reum prohibeo ... vosque oro, where, however, it must be observed, there is an interval of nearly two lines between the two conjunctions. There remains, therefore, the interpretation offered above, which involves no violent changes and brings out the full force of the passage. 'Let me not possess more wealth, etc., and when my final summons too (et) shall come, then let me stand upon my tomb,' etc. It is curious to notice that Wolff, though he follows Ritter and John in his commentary (1809) adopts the very view here advocated, in his German translation of the Dialogus (Frankfurt-a.-M. 1891). 'und wann ... soll man.'— 'Quandoque ... veniet' is not sufficiently characteristic either in thought or phraseology to be plausibly taken, with Heller (Philol. LI 348), as a direct poetic quotation.

25 statuar tumulo: The local ablative of rest without the preposition seems particularly characteristic of Tacitus, although not uncommon in other post-Augustan writers (ep. Dr. H. S. 11
520 ff.). It is most frequent when an attributive adj. or genitive is added (Ann. XIV 10 tumulo matris), or with two nouns (Ann. XIV 61 imagines... foro ac templis statuunt), less often with single substantives, as here and e.g. H. II 16 V 4. 5 Ann. XIII 5 XIV 20. Cf. the many instances of this usage collected by Nipp. Ann. I 60 III 61 and Dr. Stil p. 27 Furneaux Ann. Vol. I p. 38.—On sepulchral busts, cf. Cic. pro Arch. 9, 22 in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is (sc. Ennius) constitutus ex marmore Orelli Insc. Sel. 4456 (cited by Peter) simulacra Claudiae. The passages quoted from Ov. Her. II 67 and Tac. H. III 74 do not refer to sepulchral statues. Dronke absurdly interprets the phrase in the sense of sepeliri! —maestus et atroc etc.: i.e. not sorrowful and fierce of countenance, as may be natural in an orator whose life was ever ‘inquieta et anxia’ (c. 12) and passed amid ‘sordes ac lacrimas reorum’ (c. 11), but cheerful of aspect shall be my features upon my crowned sepulchral bust, expressive of the honorable retirement, which it was my happy lot to enjoy.

26 coronatus: The crowning of the dead was a very ancient custom among both Greeks and Romans, but less common among the latter. Cp. Mayor ad Iuv. VII 208 Smith, Dict. Ant. I 550.—pro memoria mei: Maternus, like Hor. C. II 20, 23 f. sepulchri mitte supervacuos honores, cares not for public statues and like honors, believing that his own works will constitute a more lasting monument. See below.—pro for the more usual dative or the abl. with ‘de,’ seems to be first met with in Livy (XXI 9 gratificari pro Romanis XXVII 30 pro Aetolis cura). Thereafter, with other than proper names, in Sen. e.g. Ep. 4, 6 omnem pro illa sollicitudinem and so quite common in Quintilian (see Bonnell Lex.) and in Tacitus, e.g. Ag. 12 aliud... pro nobis utilius. 26 securi pro salute de gloria certabat (here used probably because of the following ‘de’) IV 4, 58 numquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior.—mei: The obj. gen. with memoria represents the regular construction, but T. also employs the poss. pron.: H. I 37 auditisne ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postularentur Ann. I 8 mea caede imbuite manus IV 37 cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur 38 superque memoriae meae tribuent. On this usage in other writers, cf. Kühner II 435 n. 4. It must be carefully distinguished from the analogous idiom by which the obj. gen. is made to do duty for the poss. pron., on which cp. Madvig de


nec consulat: sc. senatum. So H. II 91 cum... patres consulerentur Ann. I 7 de honoribus parentis consulturum (sc. patres) 26 eundem senatum consulendum III 52 consulti patres IV 76. Occasionally the same verb is used of the Emperor: H. IV 40 consulendum... principem Ann. II 81 Caesar... consultur VI 23 consultus Caesar XIV 18 senatus... consulendum principem respondit.—
nec roget: sc. principem. The permission to erect statues in public places in honor of deceased individuals was down to Diocletian granted by the senate, although after the time of Tiberius (cf. Tac. Ann. IV 15) the formal approval of the Emperor seems also to have been necessary; hence 'roget' is added. Cf. Mommsen Röm. Staatsr. III* 451 Friedl. III 261.—With the thought, ep. Tac. Ann. V 1 (VI 1) non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber... antico periculum. vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis.

14. 1. finierat: sc. orationem. The same absolute use of this verb occurs in c. 42 finierat Maternus. It is especially common in Ovid e.g. Met. I 506 finierat Paean XIV 441 finierat Macareus. Quint. XII 9, 4 finita est (sc. oratio). Cf. the equally easy ellipsis of 'vitam': Tac. Ann. II 83 quo in loco finierat VI 50 sic Tiberius finivit.—

conciatus: conciatus, a synonym of 'ardens,' is a favorite word of Quintilian e.g. X 1, 90 Lucanus ardens et conciatus III 8, 58 conciatum semper orationem 60 torrens... et concitata... oratio.—

velut instinctus: 'inspired.' Cf. Cic. de div. I 31, 66 a corpore animus abstractus divino instincu conciatur Quint. XII 10 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus, and so very often.

2 Vipsana Messalla: See Prolegomena pp. lxxiii—lxxv.

Halm, Baehrens and Andresen follow Ernesti in deleting 'eius.' The pronoun, it may be admitted, is not necessary to the context, but it is quite unobjectionable, and it is not easy to see why it should have been interpolated by a scribe.

3 intentione: For the meaning, see note c. 11 1 intento ore.—

altiore = graviorem. Cf. Tac. H. IV 5 altiora studia Quint. III 8, 42 altior quuestio, and so frequently.

4 tempestivus: On the adj. for adv. see note c. 4 4.—interveni consilium... meditationem tractantibus: Tacitus is fond of joining an acc. with compound verbs in place of the more usual dative or a preposition (cp. Dr. Stil 20 and in general, H. S. I 376–382.
406–425), but ‘interveni’ with acc. occurs only once: Tac. Ann. III 23 cognitionem intervenerant, where see Nipp. and Furneaux. These scholars take ‘consilium’ with ‘tractantibus’ (so e.g. Liv. XXXIII 31, 7 consilia decem legatorum tractabantur); it is, however, equally possible to construe ‘interveni’ both with consilium and tractantibus, governing the impersonal object in the acc. and the personal in the dative. Roth, John and Wolff in their translations tacitly adopt this interpretation. The inconveniency is quite Tacitean.—meditatio seems to be here used in the same sense as ‘scholastica controversia’ (see l. 24), μελήματα. Cf. Quint IV, 2 29 cum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio. It is opposed to iudicia ‘actual pleadings in court.’ Cf. Quint. X 1, 70, where the word refers to trial scenes enacted in the plays of Menander, not ‘speeches suitable to be made before a court’ as Peterson ad loc. explains. The sudden introduction of a new speaker, preparatory to the taking up of a fresh topic of discussion, is a device borrowed directly from Cic. de rep. I 11, 17 Haec Scipio cum dixisset, L. Furium repente venientem aspexit . . . tum Furius: ‘quid vos agitis? num seremonem vestrum aliquem diremit noster ventus?’ ‘Minime vero,’ Africanus; ‘solem enim tu haec studiose investigare’ etc.


9 accuratissimus: ‘carefully elaborated.’ On this meaning of ‘accuratus,’ see note c. 6 20.

11 laeta: ‘enthusiastic,’ with particular reference to the tone of the speech, as shown by ‘ardentior.’ Of style = ἀνθρώπινος, see c. 22 6.


I fail to see on what grounds it can be said that the defence of a poet ought to be more especially characterised by ‘audacia’ than that of an orator (cf. c. 18 7). As a matter of fact, the speech of Aper, whether we examine its style or its subject-matter, merits the epithet of ‘bold’ equally
well; what it does lack is the elevated and fervid tone of the poet, and
this distinction is very appropriately expressed by ‘ardentior.’ The pas-
sages usually cited in favor of the MS. reading from Quint. X 5, 4 XII 10,
23 seem to me irrelevant, for in the latter ‘audax’ refers to the orator
Aeschines, while the former pertains to bold translations of Greek words.

poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio = poetarum quam ora-
torum orationum ... oratio. An example of the so-called ‘compara-
tatio comprediaria,’ by which the property belonging to the person
or thing is directly compared with the person or with the thing itself.
This brachylogy is often employed to avoid the awkward repetition
of the same word or the unidiomatic substitution of a demonstrative
pronoun. In Tacitus the construction is rare, e. g. G. 46 quae
omnia diversa Sarmatis (= moribus Sarmatarum) sunt. Ag. 24
solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a
historia) enim proxima poetis (= poetarum operibus) Plin. Ep. I
16, 3 orationes eius ... facile cui libet veteran ... comparabis
Mayor to Iuv. III 74. sermo | promptus et Isaeo torrentior (=Isaei
sermone). Especially common in Cicero. See Ellendt and Wilkins
de orat. I 4, 15 Sandys Orat. 13, 41 Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 8, 27 Holden
de off. I 22, 76, and in general, Madvig, L. G. § 280 note 2 R. V.
III p. 624 f. The ‘composio syllabarum’ noticeable in similior
oratio, does not find favor in the eyes of Quintilian (IX 4, 41):
‘videndum etiam ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis
sit eadem. But in all save a few of the 32 instances in Tacitus
which Weinkauf p. 76 has collected, the conjunction of syllables
would have remained unnoticed by Roman ears, because of the
difference in quantity e. g. c. 41 12 minor oratorum c. 13 10 servi-
dentur 36 1 flamma materia H. II 1 decor oris. In Virgil and
Ovid (see the examples in R. V. III 806 note 819, where also other
literature on this subject is given) both syllables, it is true, have
the same quantity, but Quintilian’s criticism would not, even in
these cases, have been as fully justified as in Cicero’s ‘invisae
visae’ or ‘fortunatam natam’ quoted by him (l. c.) in illustration.

Et — atque, joining two clauses, is an intolerable soleicism. Cp. Hand
Turs. I 629 5 Madvig de fin. p. 389, and Dr. H. S. II 81, who is prac-
tically of the same opinion. Halm has, therefore, justly deleted ‘et’ as a
dittography of the preceding syllable. Nevertheless, Andresen’s suggestion
(Emend. 141 f.) to insert ‘et oratio’ has met with great favor (Peter, John,
Wolff). It is based upon the assumption that ‘sermo’ must here have the
restricted signification which Secundus gave to it in the preceding paragraph, in which case all reference to Maternus' splendid contribution would be entirely wanting in Messalla's answer. But (1) no valid reason has been or can be adduced why the speaker could not have used 'sermo' in the same sense as in his introductory remarks (= 'conversation, discussion'), the more so, as the subtle distinction made between 'sermo' and 'oratio' by Secundus is not confirmed by general Latin usage. Cf. Quint. II 21, 1

sermo quacunque de re compositus dictur oratio XII 10, 44 aliam videtur habere naturam sermo vulgaris, aliam viri eloquentis oratio Victorin. L. p. 242 H. sermo philosophorum, dictio oratoris, oratio autem potest et ad dialogum convenire si sit paulo splendidor Rhet. ad Heren. III 23 sermo est oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni. The qualities which Cic. Orat. 19, 64 demands of an 'oratio' as distinguished from 'sermo' are certainly as abundantly found in Aper's speech as in that of Maternus, nor can the former's argument be legitimately characterised as being 'finitima cotidianae locutioni' (cf. e.g. the figurative language in c. 5. 6 ext. 9 med. 10 med.), and yet Andresen quotes the last two passages himself in support of his view. (2) The addition of 'et oratio' necessarily involves the further change of 'adfectisset' to 'adfectisset,' for a singular verb after two substantives joined by 'et—et' is extremely rare (see note c. 22 20), and permissible only if one of the subjects were entitled to the greater emphasis; but this would, in the present instance, be open to the identical objection which prompted Andresen to insert 'et oratio.' Finally, it may be remarked that the emendation in question lacks all palaeographical probability. Cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII 330 f.

15 atque id ipsum: 'Not only ... but even the very fact, I may add.' On this intensive use of 'atque,' cp. Seyff.-Mull. Lael. p. 96 mihi vero erit gratum atque id ipsum ... Fannius antevortit and c. 19 10 atque id ipsum laudabat H. I 50 atque in eo ipso sacramento.

16 declamatorio studio: Cf. Quint. IV 2, 29 eum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio II 10, 4 sint ergo et ipsae materiae quae finguntur, quam simillimae veritati et declamatio, in quantum maxime potest, imitetur eas actiones in quorum exercitationem reperta est 7 totum autem declamandi opus qui diversum omni modo a forensibus causis existimant, ii profecto ne rationem quidem, quia ista exercitationis inventa sit, pervident (See II 4, 41 Sen. Contr. I praef. 12). These 'exercises' moreover, were held both in private and in public. Cf. Sen. Contr. III 12, where Cassius Severus gives among his reasons, why his 'declamationes' were inferior to his forensic speeches: adsumevi non auditorem spectare sed judicem and esp. 18 vix iam obtineri solet, ut declamem (i.e. before a large audience) illud obtineri non potest ut velim aliis quam familiaris-
simis audientibus. From these and numerous other passages in Quint. and Seneca, it follows that Andresen, John, Wolff and others are wrong in identifying 'declamatorium studium' with 'arcana semotae dictionis' in c. 2. For in that case, we should also expect the phrase to have been transferred to the 'sed etiam' clause, since 'non forensibus tantum negotiis (real cases) et decl. stud.' (extra judicial pleadings) are clearly contrasted with the 'disputatio' of Aper and Maternus, interrupted by the entrance of Messalla. — *non ... tantum* is, in Tac., with but two exceptions, always separated by an intervening word. Cf. c. 22 17 Ag. 45 G. 35 H. I 15. 35 Ann. III 33 XV 45 XVI 2 and XIII 20 non tantum matrem Plautumque XIV 55 qui me non tantum praesiva sed subita, where rhetorical reasons may have caused the irregular collocation. Cp. notes c. 2 6 and 7 13.


19 *litterarum incundissimum* etc.: On the ὀμιόττωτος, see note c. 5 6. — *cum — tum*: See c. 5 6.

20 *pervenerint*: The subjunctive in a conditional relative clause expressing repeated action occasionally occurs in Cicero, but always in the perfect as here. The subj. preterite in such constructions is not found before the time of Livy. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 540 f. Stil p. 66 Madvig L. G. § 359, Furneaux, Ann. *Introductio*. I p. 47. — The inconcinnity observable in the interchange of moods ('qui . . . adferunt' and 'ad quorum . . . pervenerint') is quite characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. Ann. I 44 adprobaverat . . . obiectavissent VI 18 habuisset . . . tribuerat, where see Nipp. and Furneaux. The reference is, of course, to outsiders, as in c. 32 31 quos si forte audierint, but John unaccountably cites this passage in support of the very opposite interpretation! These phrases, it may be observed, unmistakably indicate that the Dialogus is not the faithful reproduction of an actual debate, as alleged, although it may possibly, like the similar works of Cicero, be ultimately based upon some historical occurrence. See Prolegomena p. lxxx note 179.

22 Iuli Africani: According to Quint. X 1,118 Julius Africanus was next to Domitius Afer the most distinguished orator whom he had known: eorum quos viderim D. A. et Julius Africanus longe praestantiissimi... hic concitator sed in cura verborum nimius et compositione nonnumquam longior et translationibus parum modicus. Cf. also XII 10, 11 vires Africani, maturitatem Afri. He is again mentioned alongside of Afer in c. 15. He was a countryman of his biographer, and, on one occasion, spoke in behalf of his native state (probably the Santoni, as appears from Tac. Ann. VI 7, who says, referring to his father, executed under Tiberius 32 a.v., Julius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate). See Quint. VIII 5, 15 insigniter Africanus apud Neronem de morte matris: 'rogant te, Caesar, Galliae tuae, ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras' Plin. Ep. VII 6, 11 f. mentions a grandson of the orator who was also an advocate, and opposed to him in a certain trial. — componendo: On this instrumental abl. of the gerund cf. note c. 11 6. — hominibus, 'readers.' 'Spem facere alicui alicuius' also in Liv. XXXVIII 1, 3.

23 scholasticis controversiis: Cf. Sen. Contr. I praef. 12 declamabat autem Cicero, non quales nunc controversias dicimus, ne tales quidem, quales ante Ciceronem dicebantur, quas theses vocabant, hoc enim genus materiae quo nos exercemur adeo novum est, ut nomen quoque eius novum sit. controversias nos dicimus, Cicero causas vocabat. hoc vero alterum nomen Graecum quidem, sed in Latinum ita translatum ut pro Latino sit, scholastica controversia molto recentius est Quint. IV 2, 92. 97 scholasticis controversiis. Cp. note c. 35 15 which passage also explains the omission of sua-sorae here.

24 otium...consumere: On the thought, cf. Plin. Ep. II 3, 5 (de Isaeo quodam) Annum sexagesimum excessit et adiuco scholasticus tantum est; quo genere hominum nihil aut sincerius aut simplicius aut melius. nos enim qui in foro verisque litibus terimur multum malitiae quamvis nolimus, addiscimus. Schola et auditorium et facta causa res inermis, innoxia est, nec minus felix, senibus praesertim. — Messalla fully recognises the approval (probari video) which Aper as the true exponent of the rhetorical practices of his day has received; he cannot, however, resist the temptation (cf. c. 32 ext. quod nihil in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi) of expressing the popular verdict in such a way (nondum) as to leave
no doubt as to his own private convictions. This covert reproof and delicate irony is not lost upon Aper, as his reply shows. But the courteous character of this answer renders it highly improbable that Messalla had expressed his disapproval of Aper’s conduct in so blunt and insulting a manner as he would have done, if we suppose with Andre森 that ‘improbari’ (or ‘damnari,’ according to Halm) had been accidentally omitted after ‘in Apro.’ See also the excellent note of Peter ad loc. and Proleg. p. lxv.


2 invidere atque contemnere: Contempt follows ridicule, hence ‘atque,’ according to the usage pointed out c. 4 3. The same collocation also in Cic. de leg. agr. II 35, 96 irridebunt atque contemnent. On the ‘laudatio temporis acti,’ cf. Ann. II 88 dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi III 55 nec omnia apud priores molitora sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitantia posteris tuit Plin. Ep. I 16, 8 neque enim debet operibus eius obesse quod vivit sqq. VI 31, 1 sum ex iis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio Mart. V 10 Esse quid hoc dicam, vivis quod fama negatur | et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat. | Hi sunt invidiae nimium, Regule, mores | praefarat antiquos semper ut illa novis VIII 69 Miraris veteres, Vacerra, solos | nec laudas nisi mortuos poetas. See also note to c. 18 16 where other illustrations of this often recurring thought are cited. The question as to the superiority of the ancients over the moderns is discussed frequently under various forms in ancient literature and then reappears in France in the seventeenth century. The particular controversy regarding the decline of eloquence from older standards seems to have reached its culmination in the reign of Nero, and had practically become a dead issue when Quintilian wrote his Institutio. See e. g. X 1, 122 and cf. esp. Proleg. pp. xxxii–xxxiv.
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'Non... contentmene' is erroneously taken by Michaelis, Peter, and earlier editors as a question implying surprise or indignation, the interrogative particle being, as often in such cases, omitted. This view is, however, clearly refuted by the following 'nam' clause. Baehrens, followed by John, reads 'nunquam,' but this emendation seems also superfluous, and is, moreover, somewhat inconsistent with 'saepe,' for which we should rather expect 'semper,' i.e. 'You never cease, etc., for I continually hear this kind of talk from you.'

4 fratri tui: i.e. M. Aquilius Regulus, one of the most notorious informers and legacy hunters in the reign of Nero and of Domitian. The occurrence alluded is known to us only from Tac. H. IV 42 magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstamus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Igitur Messalla non causam neque reum tueri sed periculis fratris semet opponens flexerat quosdam. He was acquitted by Vespasian and died in the reign of Trajan (Plin.VI 2). Pliny frequently speaks of him, but always with supreme detestation and indignation, e.g. I 5, 14 Regulus, omnium bipedum nequissimus (quoted from a letter of Modestus) II 20 IV 2 VI 1, 4 'bene fecit R. quod est mortuus; melius si ante.' Martial, on the other hand, exhausts his copious vocabulary to extol the virtues and oratorical accomplishments of Domitian's powerful friend. Cf. Mart. I 111 IV 16 V 63 VI 38. 64.

'Antiquis' is unintelligible, and is very probably the gloss of some ancient reader who, as John observes, took 'contendere' in the sense of 'comparare.' The attempts to retain the word by the insertion of 'praec' or 'parem' ignore the pregnant use of 'orator' (on which see c. 1 6). 'Atque id eo' is palaeographically improbable. The missing conjunction is supplied by reading eoque, 'que' being easily dropped, owing to the similarity in sound of the letter immediately following. Cf. c. 41 12 obscurior gloria for obscuriorque.


7 ipse tibi: for the regular 'tibi ipse,' the antithesis being intentionally emphasised by chiasmus, which in the Dialogus often
marks the close of a period. Cf. c. 8 ext. 10 ext. 12 ext. 15 ext.
—This opening paragraph is probably modelled upon the similar
passage in Cic. de rep. I. 13, 20 Tum Manilius: Pergiusse eam,
Laeli, artem inludere in qua . . . excellis ipse.—Baehrens' objection
to 'ipse' is based upon the non-recognition of the idiomatic use
of this pronoun, on which see note c. 3 12.

8 paenitentiam ago: A post-Aug. phrase, doubtless very com-
mon in Quintilian's day, for he goes so far as to censure Sallust
(IX 3, 12), for using a form of paenitere in its stead. Eo usque
processum est ut 'non paeniturum' pro 'non acturo paenitentiam'

10 in contrarium: Cf. c. 16 11 Ann. II 69 VI 17 XIII 37. 47.
In the use of these prepositional clauses with neuter adj., Tacitus
exceeds previous writers, with the possible exception of Seneca.
See note c. 2 14.—aliter sentire credo: Cf. the similar rejoinder in
Cic. de rep. III 5, 8 ne sic etiam sentire videare . . . neque sit
ignota consuetudo tua contrarias in partes disserendi et de orat. I
18, 84, 62, 263 cited c. 24 9 ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit etc.—
velim impetrum: The perf. inf. pass., generally with ellipsis of
'essem,' after verbs of wishing in Tacitus only here, is most frequent
in Cicero, and not uncommon in early Latin, never in Caesar or
Virgil, twice in Sall. (Iug. 110, 6; 112, 3), five times in Livy, but
rare in post-Augustan writers. E. g. Val. Max. VI 5, 7 perditum
H. Ziemer, Junggramm. Streifzüge p. 76 ff. Dr. H. S. II 405 f. R. V.
III 350 ff. note 453.

12 scrutetur ac reddat: "Let some one investigate and then give
us the results of his inquiry." On this force of 'ac,' see note c. 4 3.
—plerumque: 'very often,' cf. note c. 2 10. —conquiro: Especially
frequent in Cicero and Tacitus. Cf. e. g. H. II 50 Ann. IV 11
XIV 44 libet argumenta conquirere Cic. de orat. III 8, 29 vetera
exempla conquiro Tim. 14 naturae primas causas conquirere.

Inquirio rests upon no MS. authority, 'in' being merely a supralinear cor-
rection of some scribe. It is, moreover, never used without a preposition
in Tacitus, and rarely so elsewhere, e. g. Hor. Sat. I 3, 28 Quint. III 11, 21.

13 quod quibudam solacio etc: Unlike some people, says Mes-
salla, who complacently rest satisfied on observing that the decline
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of eloquence is not confined to the Romans alone, but applies with equal truth to the Greeks, I am for this very reason the more anxious to ascertain the causes that underlie so curious a phenomenon. The decadence of Greek oratory is generally dated from the time of Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 345 — c. 283). Cf. Quint. X 1, 80 is primum inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur (viz. Cic. Brut. 9, 38) . . . ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator and Jebb, Att. Orat. II 433 ff.

14 quia ‘inas much as.’ Cf. Nipp. Ann. XII 17 XIV 22. — etiam Graecis . . . ut longius absit: The slight inaccuracy is occasioned by the coalescence of two distinct ideas into one, namely (1) Greek eloquence also declined; (2) Its decline was more rapid than that of Roman oratory. On similar incongruities, unquestionably due to the author himself, and not to a corruption in our text, see Vahlen, Prooem. 1878—9 John ad loc. and note c. 3 17.

Gratias, which is preferred by some editors, is rare in prose and habitually avoided by Tacitus.

15 Sacerdos iste Nicetes: There seem to have been two Greek rhetoricians of this name (Cf. Mommsen’s Index to Keil’s Pliny). The elder and by far the more famous flourished in the reign of Tiberius. Cf. Sen. Suas. III 7 Tiberius ipse Theodoreus offende-batur Nicetis ingenio 6 memini una nos ab auditione Nicetis ad Messallam venisse Contr. IX 2 nec Vibio nec aliui contigisse scio quam apud Graecos Niceti, apud Romanos Latroni, ut a discipulis non audiri desiderarent sed contenti essent audire. The impetuous delivery here ridiculed by Messalla, is confirmed by Sen. I. c. Nicetis suo impetu valde Graecis placuerat and by Philostr. Vit. I 19 ἐπόβακχος γὰρ διθυραμβίως τὰς δ’ ἱννοίας ἠδιασ τε καὶ παραδόξως ἰκτίδωτον. He must have been extremely advanced in age in 75 A. D., the dramatic date of the Dialogus, and can, therefore, not be identical with the teacher of the younger Pliny, who was at this time only 13 years old. Cf. Ep. VI 6, 3 prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tune frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem ventitalbat. Reuter, De Quint. libro de caus. corr. elog. p. 68 identifies this younger rhetorician with the one mentioned by Tacitus, but it is intrinsically improbable that the younger namesake was distinguished by the same characteristic delivery predicated of the elder Nicetes by Seneca and Philostratus. The early date (32 B.C.)
assigned to him by Hieronymus is unquestionably erroneous. — quis
alius: On this favorite expression of Tacitus, see c. 59. — Ephesum
... Mytilenæ: Mytilenae, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, was
the more famous school of the two. Cp. in general, Blass, Griech.
Beredsamkeit ... bis auf August. p. 68.

16 concen: 'Concordant acclamations.' 'Concentus' and 'clam-
orum,' of applause in a theatre, also in Plin. Paneg. 2 paulo ante
conventus ... quibusque aliquando clamoribus.— scholasticorum:
'hearers or pupils.' In its usual sense = rhetor. Cf. c. 26 31 42 7.
On the semasiological history of the word, cp. Valmaggi, Rivista di
filol. XX p. 504–9.— quatit: 'shakes to its foundation.' For a
similar figurative use, cf. esp. Val. Flacc. I 743 quattuor truces
oracula Colchos II 122 motis quatit oppida linguæ V 273 omnem-
quae quatit rumoribus Arcton. To what extremes such vociferous
approval sometimes went, may be seen from Libanius I p. 199.
Cf. also Mayor, Iuv. III 9 (vol. I p. 177 ext.). On the popularity
of these later sophists and rhetoricians, cp. Friedländer III 461 ff.
V 335–337 (Engl. Transl. I 394). Observe the chiastic collocation
in this closing paragraph (a — a : b — b :: b — b — b : a — a).

'Nos ... recessimus' would flatly contradict Aper's unequivocal state-
ment regarding Messalla's attitude. Messalla repudiates the name of ora-
tor, however much others may insist that he is entitled to it (cf. c. 28 ext.
41 20 II. IV 42). Nor does he abandon this position in c. 32 24 cur ...,
recessimus, 'why we of the present day, etc.' or in c. 31 8 f. in judicis
fere de aequitate ... disserimus, 'in courts of law questions of justice,
etc. are discussed.' Why this latter utterance, in particular, should be
unsuitable to any one but a professional pleader, as Andreæn and John
contend, is not intelligible to me. The statements evidently express only
a general idea.

16. 1 quæstionem movisti: Cf. Brut. 87, 297 rem commovisti
nova disputatiane dignam. See c. 17 tam magnae quæstionis
pondus.

3 cura ... meditacio: Perhaps to be taken as hendiadys 'care-
ful reflection,' as indicated by the singular predicate. Cf. c. 30 9
infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio Ann. IV 61 scilicet impetu
magis quam cura vigebat; utque ait dormiti et labor in
posterum valescit et c. 33 19. — A similar collocation is also
found in Greek e. g. Dem. 18, 308 μελέτη καὶ ἐρμήλεια. On the
6 _ante impetravero_: The pleonastic phrase ‘ante praedixero’ (c. 18 7, where see note) is erroneously cited as a parallel by Andrene ad loc.—_hunc nostrum_: So again l. 12. See note c. 4 1.

8 _pro duobus_ etc.: A palpable imitation of Cic. de orat. II 7, 27 ‘Ego vero’ inquit Crassus! . . . nisi _prius a nobis impetravero_ . . . ‘ego’ inquit Iulius ‘pro utroque respondeo’ II 89, 362 ‘nos vero’ inquit Catulus ‘et enim pro me hoc et pro meo fratre respondeo’ Brut. 32, 122 ‘nobis vero’ inquit Atticus ‘vehementer quidem, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam’ de leg. I 11, 32 ‘nos vero nihil, ut pro utroque respondeam.’—_omisisse_ . . . _reliquesse_: This subtle distinction is again borrowed from Cicero: de orat. II 29, 126 ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explores neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse. Cf. also Cat. III 8, 18 de off. III 2, 9.

11 _paolo ante dixisti_: Cf. c. 15 10.—_manifestus est acceingi_ = _δήλως ἵνα παρασκευάζωθαι_. The epexegetic inf. with _manifestus_ is found only here, Ann. II 57 dissentire manifestus Stat. Theb. X 759 and in the Digests. With other adj. in Tac. e. g. c. 10 27 _obnoxium_ sit . . . offendere Ag. 8 _peritus_ obsequi H. IV 39 _facilis_ corrumpi Ann. IV 52 _properus_ claresceere 57 _certus_ _procul_ urbé degere. This Grecism is rare in prose; among the poets, Horace furnishes the most examples. Cp. Dr. _H. S._ II p. 370 ff. _Stil_ p. 63 f. Kühner II 504 ff.

Ch. 16, 14–23 ext. _Before Messalla enters upon the discussion of the decline of contemporary eloquence, Aper interposes with a speech in which he first endeavors to show that the very term ‘ancient’ is quite inapplicable to the great orators of the Roman Republic, the interval of years between the death of Cicero and the speaker’s own day not exceeding the limit of a man’s lifetime_ (—c. 17 ext.). _He then proceeds to point out that there are no absolute standards of excellence, but that each age creates its own oratorical types, which are determined by the particular tastes and the conditions of culture prevailing at a given period_ (—c. 18 ext.). _The style and character of the speeches antedating the new era inaugurated by Cassius Severus, while adequately reflecting contemporary civilisation, can no longer satisfy an age in which the appreciation of poetic embellishment and sententious diction have become keener, and positive knowledge more widely disseminated_ (—c. 20 ext.); _hence the oratorical achieve-
ments of Cicero and his contemporaries, with their dreary monotony and lack of brilliancy, are no more fit subjects for admiration than the uncouth and primitive efforts of their own predecessors (— c. 23 6). Aper closes his arraignment of the orators of the Republic with a graceful compliment to his hearers, whom he glowingly pictures as ideal representatives of the modern style of eloquence, for which he bespeaks the favorable verdict of posterity.

14 non enim = o yép. 'Yes, you are perfectly right in thinking so, for I shall not etc.' On this use of 'enim' cp. note to I 16 41 9.

— inauditum et indefensum: The same collocation in Tac. H. I 6 II 10 Ann. II 77 IV 11 XII 22. Inauditus in this legal sense is post-Aug. and occurs first in Tacitus. Cicero says 'indictus' or 'incognitus,' e. g. de nat. deor. II 29, 73 de leg. I 15, 42.

16 interrogabo: This is perhaps unjustly cited as an instance of the idiomatic use of the future for the present. See note c. 21 1.

— quam ... determinetis: A mere amplification of 'quos vocetis antiquos.' Such repetitions, designed to bring out the thought more clearly, are characteristic of Tacitean style. Cf. e. g. c. 24 10 more veteres et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato 38 5 nemo ... sumebat 40 20 donec erravit, donec ... confecit H. I 62 laetum augurium ... ut hau dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur I 83 diversis ... impellerentur II 25 cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent III 2 iuvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere Ann. V 9 vanescente plebis ira ac plerisque ... lenitis XI 2 corruptionem militum quos pecunia et stupro in omne flagitium obstrictos arguabet XV 49 quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu concitum sit 56 interrogantur quisnam is sermo, qua de re fuisse. Cp. Gericke, De abund. genere dic. Tac. p. 19 f. With the thought itself, cf. Quint. VIII 5, 33 at est quoddam genus quo veteres non utebantur. ad quam usque nos vocatis vetustatem? nam si illam extremam, multa Demosthenes quae ante eum nemo. quomodo potest probare Ciceronem qui nihil putet ex Catone Grachisque mutandum? sed ante hos simplicior adhuc ratio loquendi est, and Hor. Ep. II 1, 35 ff.

17 audio antiquos = audio de antiquis. Usually in the passive (see note 7 18), with active as here H. I 84 illas ... voces ... audiat III 68 nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant Ann. IV 39. 54 XIV 1. — 'Antiquos' and 'veteres' are used as synonyms by
Tacitus and other writers (see note c. 15 i) and hence "quosdam" and "olim natos" were here added in order to define "antiquos" more closely, "veteres" alone not being sufficient for this purpose. Cp. Peter ad loc. On the relative meaning of these terms, see also Cic. Brut. 10, 39 At ii quidem, ut populi Romani aetas est, senes, ut Atheniensium saecula numerantur, adulescentes debent videri 41 Themistocles ut apud nos, perantiquus, ut apud Athenienses, non ita sune retus, and on their application to the writers of the pre-Augustan period, cf. Quint. X 1, 40 with Mayor's (and Peterson's) note p. 96.

19 Ulixes ac Nestor: The eloquence of Nestor was proverbial throughout antiquity, his oratorical reputation being based upon the famous line in the Iliad, B 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλῶσσης μέλιτος γλυκών ἰδν αὐτῷ (transl. by Auct. ad Heren. IV 33, 44 Cic. de sen. 10, 31). Cf. also Theogn. 714 Γλῶσσαν ἵκων ἀγαθην Νέστορος ἀντιθέον. Sen. Ep. 40, 2. Plin. Ep. IV 3, 3 Laus Pis. 64 Inclita Nestorei cedit tibi gratia melli Tertull. de anim. 31 quem forsitan Nestorem credidissenus ob mella fucundiae Auon. Prof. 16, 22, 22 Et melilitae nectare vocis | Dulcia fatu verba canentem Nestora regem. See Otto, Die Sprichw. etc. bei d. Röm. p. 242. — On the eloquence of Odysseus, cf. Iliad Γ 222 καὶ ἴσω νοφάδεσσον ἰουκότα χιμερίσων Ov. Met. X, III 92 fucundus Ulixes. Cicero in the Brutus l. c., also mentions Odysseus and Nestor together as the oldest representatives of Greek eloquence. 'Neque enim iam Troici temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori . . . nisi iam tum esset honos eloquentiae. — mille fere et trecentis annis . . . antecedit: The siege of Troy, according to the calculation of Eratosthenes, which was the one generally accepted in antiquity, lasted from 1193–1184. Adding 75 to the 1193, which year Aper selects for the reasons given below, we get 1268, or in round numbers 1300 years as the interval between the really ancient Homeric orators and those of the speaker's own age. — fere in Tacitus occurs only here, c. 20 2 31 7 39 6 and H. IV 60, being entirely replaced by 'ferme' in the later works.

20 Demosthenes etc.: Demosthenes was born 384 B. C. and died on the 10th day of Pyanepion (= Oct. 12) 322. Hyperides, the date of whose birth is unknown, was put to death by Antipater, just one week previous. Philip of Macedon was born in 382, ascended the throne in 359, and was assassinated by Pausanias in 336. Alexander was born July 21, 356, and died May, 323.

22 huic utrique superstites essent: Aper, in accordance with the casuistical course of reasoning which characterises his argument throughout, purposely uses this indefinite expression in order to create the impression upon the casual listener, that the interval between the deaths of Demosth. or Hyper. and Alexander was much greater than it actually was. See also next note. On the use of 'utrique,' see note c. 2 6.

'Huic' is an evident and easy emendation of Vahlen (Prooem. 1878–9 p. 12), for it is ridiculously self-evident to say that Dem. and Hyperides survived not only Alexander but also Philip, who died 13 years before his great successor.

23 non multo plures quam CCC annos: Aper intentionally reduces the actual number of years that had elapsed between the age of the great Attic orators and his own time to as low a figure as a liberal interpretation of 'utrique . . . essent' on the one hand and 'nostram aetatem' on the other will allow, for by this sophistical calculation he secures a chronological interval sufficiently small for his present purpose.

Lipsius and his modern followers have either overlooked or ignored this evident purpose of Aper, not to mention that, even if we date strictly from the year 322 B.C. to 75 A.D., the sum total will be only 397, which is, of course, incompatible with 'non multo plures,' etc. Cp. John, Fleck. Jahrb. 1886 p. 431 f. and Wolff ad loc.

24 quod spatium . . . est: The entire passage is borrowed directly from Cicero's dialogue Hortensius, as is clear from the following passage in Iamblich. Protrept. c. 8, for Cicero and the late Greek author are alike indebted to a common third source, namely Aristotle's Προτρέπτικος: Τί δ' ἔστι μακρὸν ἢ τί πολυχρόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἄλλα διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσθένειας σιμαί καὶ βίον βραχύτητα καὶ τούτο φαίνεται πολύ τι. See Proc. Am. Phil. Ass. XXII (1891) p. 46 f. and Proleg. pp. xcii f. Similar thoughts are quite common in Seneca e.g. Ad Marc. de consol. 21, 2 f. Ep. 74, 10 quicquid nobis dedit (sc. providentia) breve est et exiguum si comparas mundi totius aevō 77, 20 nulla vita est non brevis nam si ad naturam rerum resperexeris etiam Nestoris et Statiliæ brevis est 99, 10 propone temporis profundì vastitatem et
universum complectere. deinde hoc quod aetatem vocamus humanam comparas inmense : videbis quam exiguum sit quod optamus 31 omnes quantum ad brevitatem aevi si universe comparas et iuvenes et senes, in aequo sumus, and Justin Martyr Cohort. 12 adduced by Plasberg, De Ciceronis Hortensio Berl. Diss. 1892 p. 44.

25 *si referas... videatur:* The present subj. in both protasis and apodosis is found in Tacitus only here c. 26 2 and Ag. 46 and Ann. III 54 *si velis... timeas.*

26 *naturam saeculorum:* i.e. the astronomical duration of 'saecula,' which is further elucidated by the 'nam' clause.

*If we read 'siderum' with Usener, the explanatory 'nam' clause would lack a proper antecedent, for 'natura siderum' cannot signify 'movement of the stars,' which is the only meaning permitted by the context.*

*respectum:* For the pleonasm 'referas... respectum' cf. note 11 8. *Respectus* in the sense of 'in reference to' is a 'vox Liviana.'

Respectu, though an easy emendation and accepted by many editors, violates the stylistic usage of the Dialogus, which does not admit the collocation of a prepositional phrase and a simple case, unless as in c. 21 22 and 31 ext. a difference in meaning is involved. This peculiar incongruity, highly characteristic of Tacitean style, is practically confined to his larger works. In the minor writings only Ag. 1. 10. 31 G. 2. 7. 17. 29. 32. Cp. E. Kuchera, Die tacid. Inconcinuidat p. 10 Dr. Stil p. 43.

27 *aevi:* Observe the variety of expressions for time: aetas, tempus, saecula, aevum. Cf. Quint. XI 1, 10 ab hominibus sui temporis... ultimae senectutis aevum saeculorum.—*in proximo:* Another slight inaccuracy, for 'in proximo' must be taken with 'Demosthenis aetatem,' though it belongs grammatically to 'spatium.' See note c. 15 14.

28 *Cicero in Hortensio scribit* etc.: Servius ad Aen. I 269 III 284 also quotes the *Hortensius* for this identical piece of information. Concerning the 'magnus annus' often referred to by the ancients from Plato downward (Tim. 39 D), see Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 30, 102 Censorin. de d. n. 18, 11 and Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII p. 390 ff. Plasberg l. c. p. 63 f.

29 *caeli siderumque:* *Siderum* is added to *caeli* as the more specific term, in accordance with the usage pointed out c. 9 1. So Ag. 12 infra caelum ac sidera.—*cum maxime=viv γε μάλιστα,* 'at this particular time,' occurs more frequently in Tacitus than in
other writers. Cf. c. 37 7 H. I 29. 84 III 4 IV 55. 58. 65 Ann. III 59 IV 27. A few instances are also found in Cicero and Livy. See Hand, Tursell. III 599 ff. and Wilkins, Cic. de orat. I 18, 84.

30 rursus: According to Woelflin, Philol. XXV p. 102 rursus is the only permissible form in the Dialogus. In the first part of the Annals, 'rursum' largely preponderates, while in the last six books both forms are used in about equal proportion. It may be doubted, however, whether this discrimination was consciously made by the writer. For our MSS. are very untrustworthy guides to follow in such matters, and the long list of examples cited by Neue II 748–50 seems rather to establish the presumption that both 'rursus' and 'rursum' were used promiscuously and without consistency, although euphonic reasons in prose (cp. E. Wolff, Die Sprache des T. p. 10), or metrical exigency in poetry may sometimes have decided the choice of the particular form. The same applies to the use of 'adversus, -um' (cf. c. 4 5) and other similar adverbs, on which see Neue II p. 743 ff. — isque annus . . . complectitur: According to the most recent modern calculations, the phenomenon in question takes place in periods of 25816 solar years.

32 incipit . . . extitisse: Only apparently tautological, for incipit is here practically equivalent to 'sequitur,' in which sense the verb is used in Seneca: e. g. de ira I 10, 3 si nihil potest sine adfectu et incipit par illi similisque esse de otio 8, 3 incipit omnibus esse otium necessarium. Ps. Quint. Decl. 26, 5. 166, 5. 213, 8.

33 quo nos sc. 'extimimus.' A common ellipsis in Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 23 G. 36 H. I 37 II 76. Cp. G. Clemm, p. 102 and note c. 7 4.

17. 1 Sed transeo: 'But this may suffice by way of introduction. I now pass on to show the injustice of the appellation 'antiqui,' when applied to the great Roman orators themselves.' Sed is essential to the context, and ought not, therefore, to have been bracketed by Baehrens.—Memenium, ut puto, Agrippam: Cf. Liv. II 32 placuit oratorem ad plebem mitti Memenium Agrippam (260 R. C.) . . . prisco illo dicendi et horrordo modo nihil aliud quam hoc (the celebrated fable of the rebellious members of the body) narrasse fertur . . . flexisse eum hominum mentes . . . Agrippam facundum virum. Cf. also Dionys. Arch. VI 83 ff.

2 potest videri antiquus: Aper having no further use for the rigid interpretation of 'antiquus' is now not averse to applying
the term to Agrippa, although he lived some seventy years after Demosthenes and Hyperides. This in itself is sufficient to betray the casuistical character of his previous contention. Cf. also c. 18 4, where he even includes Serv. Galba and C. Carbo among those who may properly be styled 'antiqui.'

To the argument in favor of the easy emendation 'voletis,' adduced c. 1 6, we may add that 'soletis' is also not in keeping with 'ut puto,' which does not express a genuine doubt, but is used with evident irony. 'For I don't suppose that, notwithstanding your blind partiality for the ancients, you would go so far as to prefer even Menenius Agrippa to the eloquent speakers of our day!'

3 Caesarem etc: C. Julius Caesar (b. c. July 13. 100 — March 15. 44), M. Caecilius Rufus (c. 88 — 48), C. Licinius Macer Calvus (March 28. 82 — c. 47), M. Junius Brutus (c. 79 — 42), C. Asinius Pollio (76 b. c. — 5 A. D.), M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (c. 64 b. c. — c. 8 A. D.). On the oratorical characteristics of these men, see below.

5 quid = 'eum,' in indirect questions is common in poetry, especially in pre-classic writers, but, with the exception of Livy, very rare in prose. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Amphit. 377 loquere quid venisti (numerous other instances are collected by F. W. Holtze, Synt. prisc. script. latin. p. 337 ff.) Ovid Met. XI 622 quid veniat . . . scitatur Caes. B. G. I 47 concludam, quid . . . venirent Liv. XXXI 39 quid venisset, mutatum XXXIV 61 XL 15. (Cp. Kullnast, Liv. Synt. p. 18 ff.) Val. Max. I 5, 3 interrogavit quid ita eo vultu esset I 7, 5 (Dr. H. S. II 482 f.). Peter's examples from Horace (partly cited incorrectly) are irrelevant, as they pertain to direct questions, in which quid = eum is frequent in all periods. — ipso not 'ipse' because Cicero is especially singled out from the rest. — Consistent usage in the Dialogues leaves no doubt as to the inadmissibility of the collocation 'ant. temp. potius.' Cf. e. g. c. 1 3. 15 6 2 12 7 13 7 22 15 29 4 34 13.

6 Hirtio nempe et Pansa coss.: They fell together at the battle of Mutina, n. c. 3/11. Cf. Ov. Trist. IV 10, 5 editus hinc ego sum, nec non ut tempora noris | Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari (= Ps. Tib. III 5, 17).

7 Tiro libertus eius: M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero's Boswell, was manumitted in 54 b. c. and died, according to Hieronymus, nearly a hundred years old. He became Cicero's literary executor, and
wrote a voluminous and eulogistic biography of his patron, the fourth book, as we learn from Asconius p. 49 Or., treating of the Clodian episode. Cp. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 191. Plutarch, though he cites Tiro but twice (Cic. c. 41. 49) made very extensive use of this work. — scripsit: 'has recorded.' The perfect expresses the authoritative character of this information. The exclusive use of the present tense, in citations from extant writers is a modern idiom. Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 2 tradit Cluvius ... sed quae Cluvius ceterique quoque auctores prodidere XV 54 ut plerique tradidero. So also in Greek e.g. Plat. Men. 76 D ἦ Ποσάκιος Lach. 291 b Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ ἦ. The present e.g. Prot. 339 a. — Decembres: Cicero was assassinated in the year 43 B. C., but the day and the month (Dec. 7) are known only from this passage. That it was the month of December, for this is omitted in our MSS. and was inserted into the text by Lipsius, is proved by the date of the formation of the second triumvirate which proscribed the orator, Nov. 27, 43.

9 Q. Pedius ... sufficit: This occurred Aug. 19, 43, and from this day, Tac. Ann. I 9 Suet. Octav. 100 and Cass. Dio LVI 30 date the reign of Augustus. Cp. Furneaux, Ann. Vol. I 64 ff. and the authorities there cited. Q. Pedius, a nephew of C. Julius Caesar, was praetor 48; was sent in 45 as legatus against the Pompeian forces in Spain, receiving the honors of a triumph in the same year. On his election to the consulship, he passed the so-called lex Pedia, by which the assassins of Caesar were punished with 'aquare et ignis interdictio.' He was in charge of Rome when the news of the formation of the second triumvirate and the proscriptions reached him. He with great difficulty prevented an open insurrection, but overcome with fatigue expired suddenly on the following night.

10 Statue sex et quinquaginta, etc:

| Augustus       | Aug. 19. 43 b. c. to Aug. 19. 14 a. d. 56 |
| Tiberius       | 14 a. d. 'Spring 37 22 1/2 |
| Gaius Caligula | 37 '40 3 1/2 |
| Claudius       | Jan. 24. 41 'Oct. 13 54 13 1/2 |
| Nero           | 64 'June 6. 68 13 1/2 |
| Galba, Otho, Vitellius | 68 'Dec. 20. 60 1 1/2 |
| Vespasian      | Jan. 1. 70 'Date of Dial. 75 (4) 6 (5) |

Total 117 (6) 1

It has long ago been noticed that this addition does not agree with the statement of Aper 'centum et viginti anni ab interitu
Ciceronis in hune diem colliguntur.’ As the dates of the completed reigns are indisputably historical (cp. Violet, Leips. Stud. V p. 172. 186 f. 219. 229), the error was supposed to lurk in the date of Vespasian’s still incompletely reign. The various attempts at emendation are enumerated on p. 21. They are all intrinsically or palaeographically improbable, and have consequently met with no favor save in the eyes of their respective authors. Nor does the interpretation of sextam ‘sixthly’ proposed by Steiner p. 17 note 33 and revived by Kleiber p. 45–48 merit serious attention, as Jansen and others have shown. The great majority of critics have accordingly taken ‘centum et viginti’ as a round number. Cp. Eckstein, Proleg. p. 36 Jansen p. 11–13 Violet p. 230 John, Correspbl. p. 25 ff. Peter ad loc. This supposition is, however, also open to grave objections (1) If Aper was satisfied with a round number, the carefully elaborate enumeration was wholly out of place. (2) It is not probable that, if ‘centum et viginti anni’ was intended as a round number, the author would have employed still another round number, side by side, in reference to this very passage, as he does in c. 25 ext. centum et viginti annos ab interitu Cic. etc. in hune diem effici ratio temporum collegerit and c. 26 4 quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisse. I am convinced that the alleged difficulty is imaginary, being based upon the erroneous assumption that the words ‘centum et viginti etc.’ solely express the sum total of a preceding enumeration, for this is so far from being the case, that the very opposite holds good. In other words, the sentence ‘centum . . . aetas’ is in reality the pivotal point upon which Aper’s entire argumentation rests, the enumeration of reigns from Augustus to Vespasian being brought in solely for the purpose of verification. This interpretation would doubtless have been suggested long ago, had not the very existence of the Roman belief that 120 years constituted the limits of a man’s lifetime been overlooked. The indisputable evidence upon this point, so far as it has come under my observation, is furnished by the following passages: Treb. Poll. Vita Claud. 2 Doctissimi mathematicorum centum et viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant neque amplius cuquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes, Mosen solum dei, ut Iudaearum libri locuntur, familiarem CXXV * annos vixisse, qui

* The context no less than the passage to Deuteronomy expressly alluded to (34, 7) proves that 125 is a mere scribal error for 120. Cp. also Gen. 6, 3.
cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret responsum ei ab incerto
erunt numine neminem plus esse victurum Serv. ad Verg. Aen.
IV 653 (from Varro) Tribus humana vita continetur; natura cui
ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est;
fato ... fortuna Cic. de sen. 19, 69 fuit enim, ut scriptum video,
Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnaverat annos,
centum viginti vixerat Plin. N. H. VII 48, 156 Arganthonium
LXXX annos regnasse prope certum est. putant quadragesimo
coeptisse Ps. Plut. Placit. V 30, 6 ἐν Βρετανίᾳ δικαίων εἰκοσιού
ἐτῶν γηράων. The same belief is implied in Censor. de d. n. 17
(cited from Varro’s Antiquitates, Bk. XVIII) ut traderent historici
de Romuli urbis condendae auguriis ac duodecim vulturis, quoniam
CXX annos incolumis praeterisset, populum Romanum ad MCC
perventurum Flav. Vop. Vita Floriani 15 (2) 2 Responsor est
ab haruspicibus quandoque ... imperatorem Romanum futurum
qui ... faciat, ipse victurum annis centum viginti. We may finally
compare Tac. Ag. 44 excessit LVI anno ... medio in spatio
integrae aetatis ereptus, which seems to point to the same belief.
With the acceptance of this interpretation all difficulties vanish,
and we can now also see the relevancy of the following paragraph,
which by the view hitherto held lacked all organic connection with
the preceding. A paraphrase will make this clear: Cicero, says
Aper, is unjustly reckoned among ‘antiqui,’ for, as an enumeration
of the duration of the reigns of the emperors from Augustus to Vespa-
rianos, the total number of years that have passed since the death
of the orator are comprised within a period of 120 years, which,
according to a prevalent belief, marks the limit of a man’s lifetime.
Nor is this belief a mere superstition unsupported by actual
experience, for I myself saw a man in Britain (cf. Plut. l. c.), etc.,
and instances of similar longevity have only recently come under
your own observation, ne dividatis etc.—statue ... adice: The
paratacticuse use of a principal clause (here an imperative) in
place of a conditional clause with si is extremely common not
only in the more colloquial language of the comic poets, the Satires
and Epistles of Horace, the Letters of Cicero and the like, but even
in the most careful prose writers. E. g. Plaut. Merc. 759 crus
petito; dabitur Ter. Adel. 123 aut desine aut cedo ...: te plura
in hac re peccare ostendam Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 13, 29 tolle hanc
opinionem, luctum sustuleris Orat. 48, 159 consule veritatem, repre-
hendet Brut. 17, 68 muta . . . et adde numeros et . . . ipsa verba compone . . . : iam neminem antepones. Cp. the many illustrations given by Kühner II p. 757–764 (esp. p. 760 f.) Dr. H. S. II 213–221 (esp. p. 218 f.). On parataxis for hypotaxis in Tacitus, see Dr. Stil § 237, who cites only a few instances of a principal clause in place of a hypothetical one: Ann. XIV 44 sane consilium occultuit (i.e. 'etiamsi,' etc.) telum inter ignaros paravit XV 5 omitteret potius obsidionem aut se quoque . . . positurum, for nisi omitteret. The other examples (H. IV 58 Ann. XIII 21) appear to me less relevant. — max, 'subsequently.' In this sense max, uncommonly frequent in Tacitus (cf. Lex. Tac. p. 873 f.), seems to occur first in the elder Pliny e.g. N. H. XVIII 35, 78, 341. Cf. also Suet. Octav. 47 Nero 6 a quo mox princepe. The word is sometimes placed between attributive and substantive, but in other cases it is never post-positive in Tacitus. Cp. Heraeus, Tac. H. I 72.

12 Claudii et Neronis: The two Claudian Caesars, who by a peculiar coincidence reigned the same number of years, are here closely combined; the two Julian emperors are also grouped and separated from Augustus, as indicated by ac (see following note) and the introduction of another verb (adice). Precisely the same arrangement is found in Tac. Ann. I 1 temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuerue decora ingenia . . . Tiberii Gaiae et Claudii ac Neronis res H. II 76 non adversus Divi Augusti mentem nec adversus . . . Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis. It is in the highest degree improbable that the same and by no means obvious order of grouping should have occurred to two authors independently of each other, and I cannot but recognise in this remarkable parallelism one of the many clear indications of the Tacitean authorship of the Dialogus. — ac . . . atque . . . ac: Observe the formal symmetry of collocation. 'ac, atque' joining the various groups, while 'et' combines the words within these groups. Such polysyndeta with 'ac, atque' are rare. Cato is said to have employed them frequently (Fronto, Ep. ad M. Caes. II 16 nam uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi atque delegavi. Hoc etiam 'atque' unde putes. Ex ipso furor). A very cacophonous instance is cited by Dr. H. S. II 55 from Catull. LXVIII 15 2 haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia. In Tacitus, cf. e. 39 10 and Ag. 31 ager atque annus . . . corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias.
13 longum et unum: The reigns of these three emperors exceeded one year but lasted less than two (June 6.68—Dec. 20.69), hence styled 'that one memorably long year'; memorable, because so many stirring events occurred within so short a period. Observe that 'unus' in Tac. does not precede, except when joined to a numeral, so always in the phrase 'unus ... alter,' or to 'idem' (e. g. c. 22 26 G. 24). Cf. c. 34 31 with note and 41 16.

14 stationem: 'sixth year of the reign of Vespasian.' In this sense, the word is not used elsewhere. See Dict., Kleiber, Jansen II. cc. No valid reason, however, has been or can be adduced against the admissibility of this interpretation, for it alone brings out the intended meaning of the passage without arbitrary alterations of the text. The Dialogus — and Aper's speeches in particular — furnish numerous instances of words used in peculiar significations. Cf. e. g. c. 9 28 genium propitiare 12 9 sanguinans 13 1 contubernium 17 29 adgnoscore 18 12 elaboratus (of persons) 19 10 spatia 19 15 odoratus 20 cortina 28 15 educabatur 31 22 collectum genus dicendi.

16 in hunc diem: 'to the present day.' So constantly e. g. c. 24 ext. Ag. 30 H. I 30 IV 64 Ann. XII 42. The interpretation of Andresen and others 'down to this very day' is based upon the assumption, discussed at length in a previous note, that 'centum et viginti' represents the exact sum total of a preceding enumeration, but this implies an error which has been shown not to exist, and compels us to place the debate in the year 77, a date rendered impossible by c. 37 7, where see note. Cp. also Proleg. xxiv n. 23.

17 ipse ego: Ego is made purposely emphatic by position, in order to add strong confirmation to what might seem an exaggerated statement. In c. 15 17, such emphasis would have been of too direct and personal a nature, hence 'vos ipsi.' On the position of 'ipsi,' when joined to the oblique cases of the personal pronoun, see note c. 3 12. — fatetetur: Usually explained as a consecutive subj. 'so old was he that he was able to say,' but is perhaps better taken as a subj. of characteristic. — On the alleged longevity of the Britons, see Plut. l. c. ἐν Βρετανίᾳ ἔκαστον ἕκοσιν ἑτῶν γερῶν. — The invasions of Britain by Julius Caesar took place in 55 and 54 n. c. 'Arcere litoribus' and Caesar's own narrative (B. G. IV 20—36 V 4—23) leave no doubt that the earlier of these is here meant. — Britanniae . . . adgressi sunt: The subject 'Britanni'
must be supplied from the preceding ‘Britanniae’ by a construction κατὰ στέφειν, common in both Greek (op. Mayor, Iuv. XIV 241) and Latin, and particularly frequent in Livy. Cf. e. g. Liv. XXXII 18 Elatio clausuit portas nec nisi vi cogerentur, recepturi moenibus videbantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum XXXVII 8 In Gallograeciam miserat, bellicosiores erant XLIV 30, 7 ad Bassaniam urbem quinque milia... ducit: socii erant Romanorum and analogously Cic. Acad. Pr. II 32, 103 ab Academis, a quibus dictum sit Caes. B.C. I 36 Domitius navibus Massiliam pervenit atque ab iis recepsit Suet. Cal. 51 auditae rebellione Germaniae... si victores (sc. Germani) occuparent. Cp. Drakenborch, Livy XXXIX 14, 9 Kühnert, Liv. Synt. p. 61 ff. Madvig, Cic. de fin. V 6, 16 (p. 629b) Kühner II 16 ff.


21 pertraxisset = traxisset. Cp. note c. 7 17. — ipsum: i.e. cui armatus restiterat (Andresen).

‘Aequae idem’ has justly been preferred to the many other emendations proposed for the untenable ‘et quidem’ of the MSS. John objects to this reading on the ground that ‘idem’ by the side of ‘et — et’ and ‘quoque’ would be intolerably tautological. To me this fullness of expression seems on the contrary admirably suited to emphasise the remarkable fact pointed out by the speaker. ‘Ecquid idem,’ though sometimes used as an interrogative, implying an affirmative answer, as John has shown, would state what Aper regards as a conclusive proof altogether too mildly.
22 potuit: The indicative of posse and debere in unreal conditional clauses, is found in all periods of the language. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 721 ff. Kühner II p. 930. In Tacitus: Ag. 31 nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuerunt. H. III 9 quodsi adfuisse fides... potueru IV 19 poterant, si... clausissent. 34 si... maturasset... potuit. See Nipp. Ann. I 42.—actio-
nibus: Lex. Tac. s. v. wrongly interprets the word to mean 'causae
prvatae oratorurn.' The context shows, however, that 'actiones'
signifies simply 'orationes,' as again in c. 32 13 and frequently in
Quintilian e.g. X 1, 21. 22 (see Bonnell, Lex.) and Plin. Ep. II
5, 1 IX 13, 23. The word in this sense, like actor = orator (c. 26 7)
is post-Augustan, for the designation 'prima actio in Verrem,'
cited by Peterson l. c., is certainly not due to Cicero.

23 proximo... congiario: The name originally designated a
vessel that held a congius (about 3 qts.). It was subsequently
applied to largesses given to the people (cf. Quint. VI 3, 52 congia-
rium commune liberalitatis atque mensurae), or even to the soldiers,
though these gifts generally went by the name of 'donativa' (cf.
Smith, Dict. Ant. I 528 f.—The 'proximum' congiarium here
referred to is probably that distributed by Titus in the year 72 A.D.
Cp. the inscription of a coin in Eckhel, Doctr. Num. VI 353 f.
T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PONT. TR. POT. COS. II. and on the obverse
CONGIAR. PRIMVM P. R. DAT. —plerosque: 'a number of.' Cf. note
c. 2 10.

24 Divó quoque: The epithet 'Divo' is here used as a proper

25 narrabant: The indicative is noteworthy only because the
subj. was used in a very analogous clause in a few lines previous.
Uniformity could be easily restored by writing 'fatebatur' with
Baehrens or 'narrarent' here, but neither emendation seems neces-

'Nam... duravit.' This parenthetical clause is open to the gravest
objections, both internal and external. (1) 'Corvinus in medium usque... duravit' involves a gross chronological error which we cannot for an instant
attribute to the author, as Andersen is inclined to do, for Tacitus shows
himself fully conversant with the biographical data of Corvinus (cp. John,
Corresp. I p. 8 ff.). The middle of Augustus' reign, which according to
c. 17 to began in 43 B. c., was reached in 14 B. c., but Corvinus was still
before the public as late as 2 A. D. (cf. Suet. Octav. 68), and he died six
years later, three years after Asinius, who according to our text is made to survive him! Neither Clinton's suggestion to take 'durare' in the sense of 'florere,' a meaning not found elsewhere, nor Borgheal's transposition of the proper names, removes the historical error involved in 'in medium usque,' etc.; and even granting that it did, it would still remain highly doubtful whether a difference of only three years between the deaths of Asinius and Messalla could have been properly distinguished by 'in medium' and 'ad extremum.' Nipperdey proposed to read 'extremum' for 'medium,' but this is a most violent change, which, at the same time, leaves the origin of the alleged corruption unexplained. (2) It is a suspicious circumstance to find 'durare' construed with two different prepositions within the same sentence, and to observe at the same time that 'in . . . usque' is never used in Tacitus in a temporal sense and but rarely so elsewhere (cp. Woelflin, Philol. XXVI 139 Thielmann, Archiv VI 480–507 VII 105 ff.). (3) The information, even granting it to be correct, is quite superfluous, because the words 'ex . . . potuisse' possess all the requisite precision to enable Aper's hearers to appreciate the point which he desires to establish. The entire clause is due to a marginal gloss of some ancient reader, perhaps suggested by the passage in c. 38 i. With this objectionable parenthesis out of the way, the ellipsis before 'ne dividatis,' which has been repeatedly misinterpreted, is now also more natural and easy. Cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII. p. 338 f.

27 ne dividatis: 'This I want to impress upon you, lest.' Cf. the similar ellipsis in Cic. de orat. II 12, 51 'Atqui ne nostros conternnas,' inquit Antonius de sen. 16, 55 senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitii videar vindicare de fin. II 24, 77 eae verae videntur opiniones quae honestae . . . ne id non pudeat sentire quod pudeat dicere Ver. II 4, 23, 52 scuta . . . homines inviti dant . . . ne quem putetis ad fam. I 9, 23 sunt orationes quaedam . . . neque ita multae; ne pertimescas. Quint. X 1, 45 facile est autem studiois . . . indulgere ne quisquam queratur.

The insertion of 'itaque' or 'igitur' rests upon the non-recognition of this brachylogy.

28 antiquos ac veteres . . . potuerunt etc.: The entire statement is somewhat strained in expression, but quite in conformity with Aper's style. The speaker's main object was to show that Cicero and his contemporaries were not entitled to the name 'antiqui,' because they are not removed from the orators of the present time by more than an ordinary lifetime. In accordance with this view, he regards the possibility that both Cicero and the modern orators might have been heard by the same audiences, as the chronological connecting-link between them. This idea is slightly obscured by
the fact that these modern orators are not expressly mentioned as the men with whom this close union is established. But this was not essential, because Aper’s hearers clearly understand that the propriety of the term ‘antiquos ac veteres’ was not called into question, unless applied to Cicero and his immediate contemporaries, and so similarly, it is to them only that ‘ex horum oratorum fama’ in the succeeding chapter can be made to refer.

For this reason, the emendation of ‘recentes’ for ‘veteres’ must be rejected, quite apart from the circumstance that it is objectionable on other grounds, for (1) ‘recentes’ would require the additional change of ‘ac’ into ‘aut’; (2) the modern orators are not so designated in the Dialogus, being called either ‘horum (nostrorum) temporum diserti’ (c. 1 5 14 15 38 4) ‘novi rhetores’ (c. 14 24) or ‘nostri’ (c. 20 21 23 26 27). Cp. John’s excellent and convincing note to this passage.

29 adgnoscere: In c. 3 9 and 7 10 it signified ‘to recognise by the sense of sight.’ Here the word is used of sense-perception generally, or, more particularly, with reference to the sense of hearing. No other instance of this latter meaning seems to occur.

—coniungere et copulare: The same verbs are combined in Cic. de orat. I 51, 222 coniungi (so Dr. J. S. Reid, iungi — MSS. edd.) copularique. ‘Adgnoscere’ stands in causul relation to ‘coniungere,’ hence joined by ‘ac’; the synonyms coni. and cop. by ‘et.’ So similarly c. 32 5 scientia nos ornat atque... eminet et excellit. Cp. note c. 4 3.

18. 1 praedixi: ‘premised.’ In this sense chiefly post-Augustan and remarkably frequent in Velleius. Kleiber p. 63, who cites many examples, is, however, wrong in supposing that this meaning was introduced by Velleius, for we find it repeatedly in Terence e. g. And. IV 4, 54 hoc primum praedico tibi. In Cicero it is used as a synonym of ‘vaticinari’ or of ‘praecipere.’ —fama gloriaque laus: These synonyms are very frequently grouped together. Cf. e. g. Cic. Verr. I 17, 51 pro Arch. 11, 26 de fin. Ill 17, 57 where ‘gloria’ is distinguished from ‘bona fama.’ Sall. Jug. 4. 48 Plin. Pan. 10 Ep. IV 12, 6 VI 29, 3 VII 20, 4 and Tac. c. 7 11 fama et laus... gloria G. 37 H. IV 6 Ann. XII 28 honos... famae... gloria.

2 adquiritur: Cp. Tac. H. II 76 cui summum decus adquiritur. —in medio sitam: ἐν μέσῳ κῆπω, i. e. the glory that Cicero and his contemporaries shed upon their age belongs equally to the present, because of the close temporal proximity between the two
epochs. — The figure itself is extremely frequent. Cf. e. g. Ter. Phorm. Prol. 17 Cic. Div. in Caec. 11, 33 de orat. I 3, 12 Hor. Sat. I 2, 108 Ep. I 12, 7 Sen. De consol. ad Polyb. 17, 2 (wrongly cited by Peter) Tac. H. II 5, 37. Sitam for ‘positam,’ which is the verb generally used in this phrase, is very rare. It occurs, however, in Cic. Tusc. V 33, 94 in medio sitas esse (sc. voluptates) dicunt. Cf. also Tac. H. IV 74 octera in communi sita sunt.

3 Servio Galbas: Servius Sulpicius Galba was born about 189 B.C. and was an older contemporary of Lælius and the younger Afric anus. Elected Praetor in 151, he received Spain for his province. His campaign is made memorable by his massacre of the Lusitanians, one of the most scandalous acts of treachery and cold-blooded cruelty recorded in history. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. III 8. Though accused in consequence and attacked by the aged Cato, he secured his acquittal through bribery and by an appeal to the sympathy of the people by bringing his children into court. He was elected consul in 144, and survived the year 138. Of his eloquence Cicero always speaks in terms of highest praise, although he was not blind to his many stylistic shortcomings. Cf. de orat. I 10, 40 Ser. Galbae memoria teneo divinum hominem in dicendo Brut. 26, 98 summo illo oratore S. G. Brut. 21, 82 Inter hos aetate paullum his antecedens (sc. Lælius and Scipio) sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquenlia praestitit, et uimurum est princeps ex Latinis illa oratorum propria et quasi legitima opera tractavit... sed nescio quomodo Ruius quem constat eloquentia praestitisse, exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem quam aut Læli aut Scipionis aut etiam ipsius Catonis; itaque exaruerunt, vix iam ut appareant de orat. III 8, 28 asperitatem Galba Suet. Galb. 3 temporum suorum eloquentissimus.— C. Carboni: Gaius Papirius Carbo, trib. pleb. 131 B.C. praet. 125 cons. 120, a man of great talents but worthless character, was the friend and companion of C. Gracchus, whose murderer, L. Opimius, he subsequently, however, when consul, eulogised. The young Crassus successfully prosecuted him, but he forestalled impending conviction by committing suicide. Cp. e. 34 32 Cic. Brut. 27, 103 ad fam. IX 21, 3 de orat. II 25, 106, where see Wilkins, Introd. p. 8 Piderit, Einleit. p. 20. Cicero praises his eloquence in the Brut. l. c. nam et Carbonis et Gracchì habemus orationes nondum satis splendidias verbis 105 Carbo est in multis iudiciis causisque cognitus, hunc... L. Gellius...
canorum oratorem et volubilem et satis a crem . . . et vehementem et valde dulcem et perfactum fuisse dicebat. Cp. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 136, 4. _aut_, does not here introduce an alternative, but is practically equivalent to a copulative conjunction. Cf. c. 11 13 comitatus et egressus aut frequentiam 40 3 ne a Publico quidem Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent _Cic. Orat._ 1, 4 in poetis non Homero soli locus est aut Archilocho aut Sophocli aut Pindaro sed horum vel secundis vel etiam infra secundos.

Recent editors, with the laudable exception of Wolff, insert _C. Laelio aut_ on the basis of Messalla's answer in c. 25 32 quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos aliis antiquiorum Aper agitare non detinit. But this would consistently require the insertion of _C. Carbonem_ in the later passage, a suggestion actually made by Classen, thus furnishing a unique instance of what may be called a reciprocal corruption! Vahlen, _Prooem._ 1878-9 p. 5 f. has, moreover, drawn attention to two passages which show an analogous negligence, if such it be. Cf. c. 21 f. with c. 26 24 f., where Messalla does not conform in his answer to Aper's line of argument, and again c. 25 15, where Asinius is added to the detractors of Cicero, although omitted by Aper, c. 18 22.

4 _merito antiquos vocaverimus:_ This marks the complete abandonment of Aper's interpretation of 'antiquus' advocated with an apparent show of sincere conviction in c. 16 18 ff. His final retreat had already been prepared by c. 17 2, where see note. — _quosque aliios_, by a common attraction for aliis quos. Cf. c. 21 4 H. I 53 et Treveri ac Lingones quasque alias civitates . . . perculerat . . miscentur Ann. II 74 consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii . . . aderant, quisnam Suriæ praefeceretur. — _horridi et impoliti_ etc.: The intentional accumulation of opprobrious epithets serves the purpose of emphasizing the low opinion which the speaker has of these early orators. These rhetorical synonyms are often variously combined in Cicero and Quint. e. g. de orat. I 8, 32. 49, 214 III 14, 51. 48, 185 Orat. 5, 20. 6, 20. 11, 36 Brut. 21, 83. 28, 107. 31, 117. 85, 294 Quint. IX 4, 17 X 2, 17 (see Bonnell Lex.), Cp. the commentators ll. cc. and Causeret l. c. p. 175. Still other synonyms are 'asper, tristis, severus, ieiunus' opposed to 'ornatus, elegans, politus, nitidus, limatus, laetus.' _informis_, also Tac. Ann. XII 35.

6 _Calvus_ the friend of Catullus (C. I. III) and himself a poet of great distinction was the leading representative of those who in open opposition to Cicero's eclectic style of oratory took the Atti-
cists, primarily Lysias and Hyperides, as their models. Cf. Cic. Brut. 17, 67. In the verdict of posterity, Cicero won a complete triumph, although there were some in Quintilian’s day who preferred his rival to all others. In the elaboration and polish of his diction, Calvus was painstaking to a fault, so that his style lacked spontaneity and force. Cf. Sen. Contr. VII 4, 6 compositio quoque eius in actionibus ad *exemplum Demosthenis* riget Quint. X 1, 115 Inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus, inveni qui Ciceroni eredent eum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse, sed est et sancta et gravity oratio et castigata et frequenter vehemens quoque. *Imitator autem est Atticorum* and Cic. Brut. 82, 283 adcuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitus adferret genus quod, quamquam scierent eleganterque tractabant, *nimium tamen inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans metuensque, ne vitium soligeret.* etiam verum sanguinem deperdebant . . . 284 *Atticum* se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat. For other details concerning Calvus, cf. c. 21 12 25 17 and Teuffel* Röm. Lit. § 213, 5–7 Schanz *Röm. Lit.* I p. 192 Blass Griech. Bereds. bis auf. Aug. p. 134 ff. Sandys’ Orat. *Introd.* p. xlv–xlviii Peterson, Quint. l.c. — *Caecilius*: *M. Caecilius Rufus* (on the form Caecilius, see Sandys, Cic. Orat. 69, 230) born c. 88 trib. pleb. 52 curule aedile 50 praetor 48, a man of profligate habits and unprincipled character. Cf. Quint. X 1, 115 Vell. Patere. II 68. He was defended by Cicero against a charge of murder in a speech still extant. Having conspired with Milo to stir up a rebellion, he was killed by Caesar’s soldiers near Thurii 48 n. c. Cf. Caes. B. C. III 20 ff. His eloquence is praised by Cicero in Brut. 79, 273. The style of Caecilius is characterised as harsh by Quint. X 2, 25 (see also c. 25 18) and as not free from archaisms. (c. 21, 15–20. Cm. Teuffel § 209, 5–7. His letters to Cicero, filling Bk. VII of the Epp. ad Fam. naturally do not furnish any criteria for verifying these criticisms. So much seems, however, clear from the stylistic characteristics of Caecilius and Calvus cited above, that the uncouth diction of Galba, Carbo, etc., can never have been to them an object of imitation, and when this is asserted even of Cicero, the statement becomes so palpably false that it is difficult to believe that it can have been put into Aper’s mouth by Tacitus. Cicero’s earlier orations unquestionably lacked the finish and purity of his mature works, and he himself confessed to have profited greatly from the study of his predecessors (cf. Quint. X 1, 41 cum
se Cicero ab illis quoque vetustissimis auctoribus, ingeniosis quidem sed arte carentibus plurimum fateatur adiutum Sen. ap. Gell. XII 2, 6 apud ipsum quoque Ciceronem invenies etiam in prosa oratione quaedam ex quibus intellegas non perdidisse operam quod Ennius legit), but the high admiration which he in all his rhetorical writings, but notably in the Brutus (e. g. 18, 61–16, 66. 86, 295 ff.) expresses for the oratorical excellences of the ancients, at no time blinded him to their very glaring stylistic deficiencies (e. g. Brut. 17, 68. 18, 69 de orat. III 10, 39),—in itself a fact which precludes conscious imitation.

This idea of 'admiration' for the ancients, pervading the entire treatise, furnishes the key to the solution of the difficulty just pointed out. Tacitus, I feel convinced, wrote 'miratus' in place of the absurd 'imitatus.' The two words are frequently confounded in our MSS. e. g. Ovid, Her. II 77 Quint. X 2, 7 Luc. Pharn. IX 807 Mart. I 39, 5 Serv. ad Aen. VIII 517. Aper pretends not to be able to understand how such orators as Galba, Carbo, Cato, Scipio, Laelius, etc., could ever have elicited admiration, being all so deplorably deficient in that polished and sententious diction which from his point of view constituted the essential and prerequisite characteristic of the true orator. Cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII 338–42.

7 fortius iam et audentius: On the position of 'iam' between the two words which it modifies, see note c. 12 19. —The comparative of audens occurs Verg. Aen. VI 95 Quint. XII 10, 23 Plin. Ep. IX 33, 4 Tac. H. II 2; of audenter only in Quint. VIII 3, 27 (by conjecture), but in Tacitus in five other passages: H. I 79 II 78 Ann. IV 47. 68 XIII 40. In c. 14 12 the proper reading is 'ardentior,' where see note. —ante praedixer: A common pleonasm. Cf. c. 28 12 prius . . . praedixer Ann. XI 7 ante providerit XIII 17, XV 4 Cic. Phil. VI 3, 5 ante praedico Caes. B. G. V 33, 1 ante providisset Bell. Hisp. 4 ante praemisit Liv. XL 4, 13 ante praecogitatum (see Drakenborch, Index s. v. ante) Quint. II 4, 28 ante praeeparatis Plin. Ep. ad Trai. 67, 2 ante praedixi.

8 mutari cum temporibus: On the thought, repeated in an amplified form in c. 19 7, cf. Cic. de orat. III 9, 34 quosdi in nobis, qui adsumus, tantae dissimilitudines sunt, tam certae res cuiusque proprie et in ea varietate fere melius a deteriori facultate magis quam genere distinguatur . . . quid censetis, si omnes qui ubique sunt aut fuerunt oratores, amplecti voluerimus, nonne fore, ut, quot oratores, totidem paene reperiantur genera dicendi? Ex qua mea disputatione forsitan occurrat illud, si paene innumerabiles sint
NOTES.

quasi formae figuraeque dicendi, specie dispare, genere laudabiles, non posse ea quae inter se discrepant, eisdem praecipitis atque una institutione formari. — As the following shows, formas ... genera refer to the various ‘types’ of oratory, usually divided into the three classes of the subtile ἵρχων, grande ἄδρον, medium ἄδηρον (cf. Sandys’ note to Orat. 5, 20 Causeret p. 151 and Volkmann, Rhetor. p. 532–562) which in the judgment of Quint. (XII, 10, 66) ought to have been still further subdivided: Sed neque his tribus quasi formis inclusa eloquentia est. nam ut inter gracile validumque tertium aliquid constitutum est, ita horum inter se intervalla sunt atque inter haec ipsa mixtum quiddam ex duobus medium est eorum. nam et subtili plenius aliquid atque subtilius et vehementi remissius atque vehementius inuentur, ut illud lene aut adscendit ad fortiora aut ad tenuiora submittur. ac sic prope innumerabiles species reperientur quae utique aliquid momento inter se differant.

— Catoni: M. Porcius Cato Censorius, born 234 cons. 195 cens. 184 died 149, was, according to Cicero, the oldest Roman orator worthy the name. Cf. Brut. 16, 61 nec vero habeo quemquam antiquiorem cuius quidem scripta proferenda putem nisi quem Appi Caeci oratio haec ipsa de Pyrrho et nonnullae mortuorum laudationes forte delectant 17, 68 antiquior et huius sermo et quaedam horridiora verba: ita enim tum loquebantur. Orat. 45, 152, and, in general, Teuffel § 118 ff. — seni, here used in reference to the time in which he lived, not to his advanced years. So similarly ‘antiqui Catonis’ in an epigram cited by Quint. VIII 3, 29. The commentators also compare Cic. Brut. 10, 39 quoted in note c. 16 17 but have overlooked Stat. Silv. IV 9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes († 37 years of age) I 2, 253 Callimachus s. V 3, 151 Ascaeos Siculusque Hor. Sat. II 1, 34 Ep. II 1, 56. — C. Gracchus: C. Sempronius Gracchus, born 154/3 trib. pleb. 123–121, in which latter year he was assassinated. On his eloquence, cf. Cic. Brut. 33, 125 ff. Noli ... putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fusse ... eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem. Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere tuto gravis: manus extrema non accessit operibus eius; praeclare incolata multa, perfecta non plane. Plut. C. Gracch. 3 ἱρχων τῷ λέγειν ός ἄλλος οὐδείς. Cp. Teuffel § 135, 4 f. and note c. 26 2. — plenus and uberi also combined in Tac. Ann. XII 60.

10 Crassus: L. Licinius Crassus, born B. C. 119 cons. 95 cens. 92 died 91, one of the principal interlocutors in the De Oratore, in
which Cicero's criticism of his eloquence is that of fulsome eulogy throughout. But his style, unlike that of Gracchus, did not appeal to the taste of a later age and hence we must rely almost wholly upon what his great admirer tells us. Cf. the detailed characteristic in the Brutus 38, 143 ff. erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et *urbanitatis* oratorius non scurrilis lepos; Latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia *diligens elegantia* 158 *perornatus* et perbrevis. Cp. Teuffel § 152, 3–5 Wilkins, Cic. de orat. *Introd.* p. 8–13 and note c. 26 3. — *distinctior*, virtually synonymous with 'ornatus.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 12, 50 orationem et ornatum et . . . expolitione distinctam III 25, 96 de nat. deor. II 37 ext. distinctum et ornatum caelum astra. In a different sense in Quint. XI 3, 35 oratio distincta id est, ut qui dicit, et incipiat ubi oportet et desinat.

11 *urbanior*; Here of refined wit and with special reference to Crassus, who possessed this accomplishment in a very high degree. See Brut. I c. On the wit of Cicero, see note c. 23 init., where the criticism of Aper is less complimentary. — *altior* 'impassioned' a characteristic feature of the oratory of Gracchus, and of Antonius, less so of Crassus. Cf. Brut. 43, 158 non multa iactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis, nulla inambulatio, non crebra supplosio pedis, vehemens et interdum irata et plena iusti doloris oratio. — Both Antonius and Hortensius are studiously ignored, not only here but throughout the Dialogus, although their oratory had much that would in particular have commended itself to Aper. One reason for this certainly remarkable omission may perhaps be found in the circumstance that Antonius never published his speeches, while those of Hortensius are said to have lost their vitality by being transferred to the written page. Cf. Cic. Orat. 38, 132 Crassi perpaqua sunt nec ea iudicia, nihil Antoni . . . dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius pro Cluent. 50, 140 Quint. III 1, 19 hoc solum opus (de dicendi ratione) eius atque id ipsum imperfectum manet XI 3, 8 actione valuisse plurimum (sc. Hortensium) . . . fides est quod eius scripta tantum intra famam sunt . . . ut apparent placuisse aliquid eo dicente quod legentes non invenimus. — *mitior*, virtually synonymous with 'comis, lenis, dulcis, placidus, summissus,' and opposed to 'vehemens, asper, incensus, concitatus, intentus, fervidus.' Cf. Quint. XI 1, 31 eloquentiae genus mite Cic. Brut. 83, 288 Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior.
Quintilian styles the same Corvinus twice \textit{initius} (I 7, 35 X 1, 113) which Michaels proposed to substitute for \textit{mitis}, but in view of the promiscuous use of these rhetorical epithets, this is not absolutely necessary.

12\textit{elaboratus}, of persons, is apparently found only here and in late Latin e.g. Macr. Sat. III 13, 5 \textit{cum incederet elaboratus ad speciem}. — Cf. Sen. Contr. II 12, 8 fuit Messalla exactissimi ingeniui quidem in omni studiorum parte, Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus and note c. 21 37. — \textit{disertissimus} sc. fuerit. The ellipsis of a subjunctive of \textit{esse} in indirect questions is common, but the perf. subj. is very rarely omitted. Cf. Verg. Aen. I 517 speculantur amici, | quae fortuna viri, where we may, however, also supply \textit{sit}. Cic. de div. II 68, 141 quapro autem cur Alexandro tam inlustre somnium Tac. Ann. XI 35 tum quidquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis (sc. fuerit) in pretium probri cessisse XV 49 nec tamen facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor (sc. fuerit) cuius instinctu concitum sit. Cp. in general, C. Wetzell, \textit{De usu verbi subst.} Tac. p. 48 ff. Dr. H. S. I 204 ff. \textit{Stil} p. 18.

13\textit{interim}: ‘for the present.’ — \textit{probasce contentus}: \textit{contentus} with infinitive is first found in Ovid (e.g. Met. I 461 II 638), whence it passed into prose, being especially common in Velleius, the two Senecas and Quintilian. In Tacitus again, e. 23 6 26 28 and H. I 36 non contenti \ldots circundedisse (omitted by Dr. H. S. II 379). Similar examples in Tac. of the so called perfectum logicum are c. 31 24 dedisse \ldots proficiet Ag. 3 pigebit \ldots compo-suisset G. 43 nominasse sufficiet H. IV 73 utilius sit \ldots audisse \ldots dixisse. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 256. — \textit{non esse unum eloquentiae vultum}: Cf. Quint. XII 10, 69 plures \ldots eloquentiae facies. On the thought, repeated with approval by Messalla (c. 25 9), cf. Cic. de orat. III 9, 34 (cited c. 18 8). — \textit{deprehendi}: ‘are found.’ So c. 30 20 32 14 In c. 3 3 \textquotesingle came upon.’ In post-Aug. authors, the word is commonly used figuratively in the sense of ‘intelligere,’ once in Cic. pro Cael. 6 ext. Especially frequent in Quintilian. In Tacitus c. 18 23 34 17 H. IV 86. See Bonnell, Lex. Quint. and Kleiber p. 58.

15\textit{neoc statim deterius esse quod diversum est}: For a similar sentiment, cf. Cic. de orat. II 23, 94 Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus \ldots et si inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen omnes sunt in eodem veritatis initiaudae genere versati. Brut. 56, 204 atque in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est,
posse esse summos qui inter se sunt dissimiles and esp. de orat. III 7, 25 — 9, 36, where the truth of the thesis 'natura nulla est ... quae non habeat in suo genere res complures dissimiles inter se quae tamen consimili laude dignentur' is established by illustrations from art, poetry and oratory. Quint. X 5, 7 si uno genere bene diceretur, fas erat existimari praeclusam nobis a prioribus viam. Nunc vero innumerabiles sunt modi plurimaeque eodem viae ducunt VIII 5, 34 ne, dum volumus esse meliores veteribus, simus tantum dissimiles. The same alliterative collocation of 'deterius' and 'diversus' occurs Tac. Ann. XV 10 in diversa ac deteriora transibat. — statim: 'straightway,' i. e. nor does it follow necessarily. Apparently colloquial usage. Cf. Quint. I 4, 24 nec statim diligentem putabo et his inferential use of 'protinus' e. g. VIII 2, 4 non quidquid non erit proprium, protinus et improprii vitio laborabit.

16 vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude etc: The golden age has always been placed in the past and the idea that 'blessings brighten as they take their flight' has accordingly very frequently found epigrammatic expression, though not without decided protests, especially common in post-Aug. writers. In addition to the passages already cited to c. 12 12 and 15 2, cf. Menander (?) ap. Stob. 125, 3 δείνοι γάρ άνδρι πάντες έσην εύκλεξι | Ζώντι φθονόσα, καθαυόντα δ' αίνίσσα, imitated by Hor. C. III 24, 31 virtutem incolumem odimus | sublatam ex oculus quae risum invidi. Plut. Per. 39 oί ζώτος βαρνύμην την δύναμιν, ος αμαρνόσαν ατοίκ, εθώς έι ποδάν γενομένοι ... άνωρολογόντε μετρλότερον έν δοξη και σεμνότερον έν πράστη μη φύσιν τρότον. Cic. Lael. 1, 4 in hominem veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur ... gravitatis Vell. Pat. II 92, 4 praesentia invidia, prae- terita veneratione prosequimur Sen. ad Marc. 16, 9 est quidem haec natura mortalium, ut nihil magis placeat quam quod amissum est, iniquiores sumus adversus relictam ereptorum desiderio de benef. I 10, 1 sic finiamus, ne in nostro saeculo culpa subsidat. Hoc maiores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc posteri nostri querentur, eversos mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas et omne nefas labi. VI 32, 4 Ep. 97, 1 erras, mi Lucili, si e- stimas nostri saeculi esse vitium luxuriam et negligentiam boni moris et alia quae obiecit suus quisque temporibus: hominem ista sunt non temporum. nulla aetas vacavit a culpa. et si aestimare

17 *in fastidio*: These prepositional phrases are common in Tacitus e. g. in laude. c. 19 16 Ann. XIII 18 in honore. c. 32 31 mihi in consuetudine est, Ann. IV 6 leges . . . bono in usu (erant). *‘in fastidio’* also occurs in Plin. N. H. XII 32, 58, 134 lignum in fastidio est. —*num dubitamus inventus*: The acc. with inf. after *‘non dubito, non dubium’* and the like is frequent in Tacitus. Cf. H. II 46 Ann. II 26. 36. 43 III 29. 67 IV 70 VI 19. 23 XII 61 XIV 43 XV 73. It is first found in some of the correspondents of Cicero, who himself consistently avoided the construction. Cf. Pollio, ad fam. X 31, 5 Trebonius XII 16, 2 and Q. Cicero, XVI 21, 2. It is never used by Caesar or Sallust, but beginning with Nepos and Livy instances multiply, and in the Silver Age, it was a generally accepted idiom. Cp. besides Dr. *H. S.* II 390 *Stil* p. 61 R. V. III p. 460 f., the discussion of Schmalz, *Sprachgebr. des Asin.* Pollio p. 88 *Antib.* I 432.

The MSS. have *‘pro Catone’.* But *‘pro’* with the comparative is not found elsewhere. It has therefore been proposed to read *‘praec C . . . magis’* *pro* being the false solution of a compendium (pr.). This construction occurs once in Plaut. Epid. III 4, 85 atque me minoris facio praec illo and then only in very late Latin e. g. Gell. I 3, 5 Fronto p. 96, 4 N. Amm. Marc. XXVI 2, 5. See Woelflin, *Archiv VII* 124. 129 f. Schmalz, *Antib.* II 312. More or less analogous pleonasm, both in Greek and Latin, are not rare e. g. Soph. Ant. 182 Xen. Mem. II 5, 4 Plat. Phaed. 90a Symp. 179a, (Kühner *Gr. Gram.* II § 429*)* Ter. Heceyr. IV 1, 17 Verg. Aen. I 347. The emendation *‘praec Catone’* might, therefore, be plausibly defended. The observation, however, that Tacitean usage in the grouping of proper names demands either *‘Catone . . . Appium’* or *‘Porcio Catone . . . Appium Caecum,’* leaves no doubt in my mind that *‘pro’* is simply the abbreviation of Porcio,’ a reading found in the edit. Bipont. and independently conjectured by Helmreich. The rule that T. gives two names only at the first
mention of an individual, or to avoid confusion (see Macke Die Eigennamen bei Tac.) does not hold good for the Dial. Cf. c. 18 Graccho... Crasso but c. 26 C. G. ... L. C. c. 21 to C. Caesari 23 s f. Auffdii Bassi aut Servii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis. Neither S. nor V. had been mentioned previously. 34 ext. where see note 40 3 P. ... Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cr. Pompeio. Here L., omitted in the MSS., has been received into the text by all editors, for no other reason than for the sake of symmetry. This design and no other is at the basis of all the collocations of proper names in the Dialogus.

18 **Appium Caecum:** Appius Claudius Caecus, cens. 312–308 B.C. cons. 307 and 296, statesman, poet and orator, the builder of the earliest aqueduct and the Appian way. Roman literature, jurisprudence and grammar (‘R litteram invenit ut pro Valesiis Valerii essent,’ cp. Teuffel, § 90, 2) may be said to begin with him. His famous speech against Pyrrhus (B.C. 280) was long extant and constituted the earliest specimen of literary Latin prose. The present comparison with Cato was perhaps suggested by Cic. Brut. 16, 61 cited c. 18 8.

19 **obtrectatores:** On the defamers of Cicero, see note c. 12 23.— **inflatus etc.:** The very similar language of Quint. XII 10, 12 ff. seems to show that many of the opprobrious epithets here accumulated actually occurred in the very correspondence, expressly cited immediately below, both Tacitus and Quintilian having probably taken them at second hand from Mucianus’ Epistolae.’ Cf. Proleg. xcvii ff. ‘Quem (sc. Ciceronem) tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum (corresponding to *parum Atticum*) et redundantem (= nec satis pressus) et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum (cf. c. 23 7) et in compositione fractum, exsultantem ac paene, quod procul absit, viro mollorem (= enervem) 14 praecipue vero presserunt eum qui videri Atticorum imitatores concepiarent 16 antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Atticos atque Asianos fuit, cum hi pressi et integri, contra inflati illi et inanes haberentur in his nihil superfueret. Cicero freely confessed to have been given to rhetorical exuberance of diction, especially in his earlier days. Cf. Brut. 91, 316 Is (Molo) dedit operam... ut nimis redundantes nos et superficientes juvenili quadem dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimenter et quasi extra ripas diffulentes coerceret. Orat. 29, 104 (speaking of Dem.) semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderant, where see Piderit. — **exsultans:** Metaphor taken from a fiery horse. Cf. Cic. Acad.
Prior. 35, 112 campus in quo exsultare possit orator, where Reid cites many other examples.

'Atticus' is the evident emendation of Lipsius for 'antiquus,' as is clear from the context, for Aper is repeating some hostile criticisms on Cicero, among which no such absurd charge as 'parum antiquus' would imply, could ever have been made; it is confirmed by Quint. XII 10, 12. 14. 16 ff., and by everything that we can ascertain concerning the great struggle between Cicero and the Atticists headed by Calvus; the emendation is finally externally supported by the demonstrable interchange of 'antiquus' and 'Atticus' in other MSS. See the variants quoted p. 22.

21 legistis . . . Calvi et Bruti . . . epistulas: None of these letters have come down to us, and they may have belonged to that class which, together with their answers, Cicero himself did not expect to see published. Cf. ad fam. XV 21, 4 primum ego illas Calvo litteras misi non plus quam has quas nunc legis existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus quod eos solos quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lectorus putamus. But Tiro, his literary executor, like a modern Froude, did not share these scruples. Quintilian has two unmistakable references to this very correspondence: IX 4, 1 de compositione non equidem post M. Tullium scribere anderem . . . nisi et eiusdem actatis homines scriptis ad ipsum etiam litteris reprehendere id collocandi genus ausi fuissent XII 1, 22 nec Cicero Bruto Calvogae qui certe compositionem illius etiam apud ipsum reprehendunt. The remark of Cicero, quoted by Plut. Civ. 24, was in my judgment also taken from the same source: πρός τινα τῶν ἐταίρων Ἰθέκην ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψει Ἰπαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη (cf. Quint. X 1, 24 XII 1, 22), for in the Orat. 30, 104, Cicero speaking quite generally only says that D. did not satisfy his exacting taste.

23 Calvum . . . Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum: Cf. Quint. l. c. haec manus (sc. Atticorum imitatores) quasi quibusdam sacris initiata ut alienigenam et parum superstitionem devinctumque illis legibus insequebantur, unde nunc quoque aridi et exsucci et exsangues . . . quibus . . . multa et pluribus locis Cicero ipse respondit Auct. ad Heren. IV 11. 16 qui non possunt in illa facetissima verborum attenuatione commode versari, veniunt ad aridum et exsangue genus orationis quod non alienum est exile nominari. — exsanguis, ἄφθοχος aridus, ἐγρός. Cicero often insists upon 'strength' as an essential quality in an orator. Cf. Brut. 9. 36. 82. 283 (in reference to Calvus) de orat. I 13, 56. — Other synonyms are ener-
vatus (pro Sest. 10, 24 enervati atque exsangues), exilis, ieiunus
(Sen. Ep. 76, 3 non... ieiuna et arida volo), concisum, minutum
(de orat. II 38, 159 III 18, 66), siccus (Quint. XI 1, 32), opposed
to vis, virilis, lacerti, nervi, succus. See below.

The passages just cited, and the remarkable general agreement between
Tactical and Quintilian, pointing unmistakably to a common source, ought
to leave no doubt that 'exsanguem et aridum' represents the genuine reading.
The examples usually adduced from Quintilian in support of 'atriitus,'
e.g. X 1, 27 atrita cotidiano actu forensi ingens 4, 4 sit ergo aliquando
quod placet... ut opus pollat, non exterata, seem to have little, if anything,
in common with the passage under notice, and are in any case not
sufficient to offset the convincing evidence in favor of the repeatedly-occurring
collocation in the text. Cp. also Peter ad loc.

24 otiosum: 'tedious, dull, monotonous,' c. 22 12 otiosus circa
excessus 'wordy.' Often synonymous with 'supinus, lentus, tardus.'
Petersian, to Quint. X 1, 27, renders the word in both passages by
'wearisome, spiritless,' but it is not likely that Cicero and Brutus
accused each other of the identical fault. See below. 'Otiosum'
is used in particular reference, it would seem, to the philosophic
discursiveness of Brutus, while in c. 22 it pertains to Cicero's lack
9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes and Quint. X 2, 17 tristes ac ieiuni
Pollionem aemulantur, otiosi ac supini, si quid modo longius circum-
duxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse.— diunctum:
'disjointed.' Sandys in his excellent account of Brutus in Cie.
Orat. p. LVIII thinks this epithet refers to 'the absence of a flowing
and harmonious rhythm.' I am rather inclined to understand it
of the epigrammatic and laconic style which Brutus, according to
Plut. Brut. 2, affected in his Greek writings, for of his Latin
diction the biographer expresses no opinion, being no competent critic
(Cf. Life of Dem. 2): 'Ρωμαίοι μὲν οὖν ήσκησα πρὸς τὰς διεξόδους καὶ
toις ἀγώνας εκανός ὁ Βρούτος Ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπόφθεγματικὴν καὶ
Λακωνικὴν ἐπιτηδεῖαν βραχυλογίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐναχοῦ παράσημος
ἔστιν.' This view seems confirmed by the use of 'fractum,' which,
like 'dissolutus, dissipatus,' would be synonymous with 'diunctum.'
All is perfectly clear, if we refer Cicero's strictures, more
particularly to the matter, those of Brutus to the style. Cp. note
c. 26 3 f. diunctum and aridus, like 'elaboratus' (l. 12), are not
yet used by Cicero of persons.— rursusque = 'On the other hand,'
â€œis common in Tac. e.g. Ag. 29 H. III 52 IV 14 V 4 Ann. I
25 male audisse: ‘κακῶς ἄκουε’ (Herod. VII 16, 1 Lysias VIII 3 Lucian, Fugit. 29). Cf. Ter. Hec. 600 (earliest Latin instance) Cic. de orat. II 68, 277 III 75, 305 Tusc. Disp. V 40, 116 Sen. Cont. VII 3 (18) 9 Cicero male audiebat tamquam nee Pompeio certus amicus. By a somewhat remarkable coincidence this phrase is again found in Quint. XII 10, 13 in the very passage in which these criticisms on Cicero are also discussed: ille tamen, qui ieünus a quibusdam et aridus habetur, non aliter ab ipsis inimicis male audire quam nimii floribus et ingenii adfluenta potuit. — For this classical idiom in English, Wilkins quotes Milton, Areopag. p. 24 (Hales): ‘What more national corruption, for which Britain hears ill abroad, than household gluttony.’ It occurs, however, much earlier e.g. Ben Jonson, Love Restored: ‘I will no more of these superfluous excesses. They are these make me hear so ill both in town and country.’ Spenser, F. Q. I 5, 23: ‘If old Aveugles sonnes so evil hear.’ — solutum: ‘without the proper rhythmic cadence,’ synonymous with ‘dissolutus, fusus, immoderatus, dissipatus, vagus, fluctuans,’ and opp. to ‘numerous, numero adstrictus, coactus, vincitus.’ Cp. Causeret, l. c. p. 130 ff. Sandys, Orat. l. c. and note to 13 42.

26 enervem: Probably the very word used by Calvus for the more usual ‘enervatus.’ Cf. Sen. Contr. I Praef. 9 Quint. IX 4, 142 asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatum et enervem.

27 fractum atque elumbem: Synonymous with ‘solutum’ and ‘enervem.’ Cf. Sen. Vit. beat. 13, 4 videtur enervis, fractus. ‘elumbis’ is ἕσπερον. — Notice the carefully observed oratio bimembra throughout this paragraph, ‘et’ and ‘atque’ being also symmetrically varied.


2 Cassium Severum: Cassius Severus was born, of low origin, about 44 B.C. He was ‘relegated’ to Crete by Augustus about 8 A.D for defaming Roman nobles in his writings. On continuing
his libellous attacks, he was banished to the desert island of Seriphos by Tiberius, where he died in most abject poverty in 32 A.D. Cf. Tac. Ann. I 72 IV 21. The frequent allusions to him in Seneca Rhetor, Tacitus, and Quintilian bear ample testimony to the enduring impression which his eloquence made, and justify, in a partial measure, the great importance which Aper and even Messalla (c. 26, where see notes) attach to him. Cp. Teuffel, § 267, 11 and esp. P. Robert, De Cassi Severi eloquentia, Paris 1890, pp. 83. Cassius Severus occupies the same position in the development of Roman eloquence that Demetrius Phalereus does among the Greeks. Cp. note c. 14 14.

The opening paragraph of this chapter is beset with very great difficulties, owing to a corruption and lacuna in the text, which scholars have with but indifferent success attempted to solve (see p. 23). The insertion of ‘Severum’ after Cassium is an evident emendation, for the orator is everywhere cited with his full name, with but three exceptions in Quint. (VI 1, 43 X I, 22 XII, 10, 11), where the context, however, precludes the possibility of a misunderstanding. ‘Qui usque’ points unmistakenably to a lacuna. Vahlen’s and John’s restorations give, it must be admitted, a very satisfactory sense, and at the same time account for the origin of the corruption, but the emendation of the former, as John points out, involves the necessity of referring ‘qui’ to the distant antecedent ‘admiratores’—in my judgment a fatal objection. To obviate this difficulty, it has been suggested to take ‘hunc’ as the personal pronoun referring to Cassius Severus, but this seems improbable, because the relative ‘qui’ clause would in that case be out of place. John, therefore, substitutes ‘ut’ for ‘qui,’ which is too bold a change. The possibility of a proper interpretation of ‘reum faciunt,’ which bears all the marks of genuineness, appears to have been lost with the missing words in the lacuna. Michaelis, followed by Peter, Wolff and Andreen, takes ‘quatenus . . . solent’ as a parenthesis, and omits ‘qui usque ad’ and ‘quem reum faciunt,’ an emendation without a shadow of intrinsic probability. The difficulties seem to me to be insuperable, without the accession of new MS. material. Cp. on the whole question Vahlen, Proem. Berl. 1878–9, p. 13 f., and the detailed discussion of John, Correspond. p. 27 f.

4 flexisse = deflexisse. Cf. note c. 1 17.

Directa admits of no satisfactory explanation. In the present context, it could only designate a mode of speaking that makes straight for the point at issue, indulging in no irrelevant episodes; but this is precisely the characteristic feature of the modern style of eloquence, as Aper proceeds to point out. Cf. below l. 9 impeditisissimorum . . . eximieret as expectandum . . . testantur, a fact which both Messalla and Secundus admit and deplore in their replies. Cf. c. 32 17 ff. 38 3 ff. When, therefore, Aper is made in
our text to speak of the ancient style of eloquence as 'directa,' he involves himself in an irreconcilable contradiction, which cannot well be attributed to the author. This conclusion, reached on internal grounds alone, is confirmed, in my judgment, by the significant 'transposition variant' in our MSS., which in the great majority of cases is a clear indication of inter-linear glosses. The interpolation itself was caused by the verb 'flexisse,' which naturally suggests a departure from a straight course. Cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII p. 448-450.

5 inscitia: The subtle distinctions drawn between 'inscitia' and 'inscientia' (R. V. I 165, note 118 Madvig, de fin. I 14, 46 Heraeus, Tac. H. I 1 Woelfflin, Archiv III 565 Schmalz, Ant. I p. 688 f.), while possibly true for Cicero, although the constant confusion of both forms in our MSS. ought to warn us against any sweeping generalisations, are apparently not applicable to Tacitus. He seems to use both words quite promiscuously, with a decided preference, however, in the historical writings for 'inscitia.' Lex. Tac. s. v.

Allud' is an evident emendation of Andresen (Emend. p. 119), for 'illud' would lack a proper antecedent, the previous discussion turning wholly upon the ancient type of eloquence, which Cassius Severus was the first to abandon.

6 judicio et intellectu: i.e. with a clear appreciation of the issues involved and a full understanding of the importance of the change made necessary by the altered conditions of the taste and culture of his time. As Cassius Severus was an intense admirer of Cicero (cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 15 f.), Aper's statement must be taken cum grano salis. — namque is postpositive in Tacitus in three other passages: Ann. I 5 II 43 IV 43. Schmalz, Ant. II 110 errs greatly when he asserts that this particle is elsewhere in Tac. invariably found before consonants. As a matter of fact, it precedes a vowel no fewer than 28 times (out of a total of 50)! Dr. H. S. II 162 also wrongly quotes Virgil and Livy for the first instances of 'namque' in anastrophe. It is met with as early as Catull. LXIV 383, where see Riese's note, and in prose in Varro (ap. Gell. III 10). Cp. in general, Schmalz, Dr. II. cc. R. V. III 286 note 431* and note to c. 6 7.

7 paulo ante diecebam: viz. c. 18 8. — cum condiciente temporum et diversitate aurum: These two statements do not convey two independent assertions, which indeed would be slightly illogical, but the second is simply added, as one of the many phenomena in
which the changed condition of the period manifests itself. This
manner of combining a general and more specific idea is peculiarly
characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. note c. 9 1.

8 formam . . . speciem, belong closely together, as indicated by
the sing. predicate. Translate: 'stylistic type of oratory.' On the
thought, cf. Quint. VIII 3, 52 qui dandum putant nonnihil etiam
temporibus atque auribus. Tac. Ann. XIII 3 ingenium (sc. Senecae)
amoenum et temporibus eius auribus accommodatum.

9 prior ille populus: Prior, i. e. of the Republican period, is
opposed to 'nostra æetas.' Cf. Ann. XI 24 priori populo, and
similarly Ann. I 1 vetus populus IV 32 veteres populi R. res.
populus, 'listening public in the forum or the law courts,' as in
c. 6 16 23 12 32 8 34 30 41 16 H. I 90 ; = 'audience in the theatre,'
I 19, 4 multituidinem i . . illis saeculis r.; c. 7 16 vulgus imp. H. I
35 non populus tantum et imperita plebs II 16 imperitorum turba
Ann. II 77 vulgus imperitum Sen. Ep. 72, 9 imperitis ac rudibus.

10 impeditissimurum orationum spatia: i. e. length of speeches
drawn out by superfluous verbiage. 'Spatium' in this sense is rare
and chiefly poetic. Cp. also Plat. Prot. 329 a δόλιχον καταείνουσι
(sc. oi ἄριστες) τοῦ λόγου. On the thought, cf. Quint. VIII 6, 42 fit
longa et impedita (sc. oratio) ubi congestioribus eam iungas similem
agmini totidem lixas habenti quot milites, cui et numerus est duplex
nec duplex virium. See also note to c. 19 26.

11 si dicendo quis diem eximeret: 'Diem eximere' (also Tac.
H. III 81), more rarely 'consumere' (Cic. in Verr. II 2, 39, 96
dicendo tempus consumere) or 'extrahere' (Caes. B. C. I 32 Liv.
XLV 36, 3 Val. Max. II 10, 7) is the technical phrase for certain
filibustering or dilatory tactics by which a speaker desirous of pre-
venting or postponing the passage of a measure 'talked against
time,' the Roman presiding officer possessing no power to compel
him to speak to the question. Only one instance is recorded in
which the presiding magistrate endeavored to silence a member of
the senate by ordering his arrest. Cf. Capito ap. Gell. IV 10, 8
Cato rem quae consulebatur . . . perfeci nolebat. Eius rei ducendae
gratia longu oratione utebatur eximebatque dicendo diem. Erat enim
ius senatori ut sententiam rogatus diceret ante quicquid vellet
aliae rei et quoad vellet. Caesar consul viatorem vocavit eumque
cum finem non faceret, prendi loquentem et in carcerem duci iussit
NOTES.

Senatus consurrexit et prosequebatur Catonem in carcerem. Hac invidia facta, Caesar destitit et mitti Catonem iussit.' The first attempt at 'closure' with a view to checking this abuse was made by the lex Pompeia de vi et ambitu (52 B.C.), mentioned c. 38 §, where see note. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. III 919. 934. 985 Lange, Röm. Alterth. II 384. 452. — By these long-winded speeches we can strictly, it would seem, understand only those delivered in the 'comitia,' for, if we include the senate, 'pop. ut imperitus' is out of place, if the law courts, 'diem dicendo eximere' is inapplicable, because the time allotted to speakers in a judicial trial was apparently limited by the clepsydra, at least as far back as 70 B.C. (Cic. Verr. I 9, 25 legitimae horae). Cp. Marquardt, Privatleb. 370 ff. Smith, Dict. Ant. I 775. On the other hand, it is not probable that Aper's remark should, for no apparent reason, have been intentionally confined to the orators in the comitia. We must, therefore, add this passage to the examples of inconsistency enumerated in c. 3 20. — Eximeret and riferetur (below) in the protasis, the apodosis being usually in the imperf. indicative, are subjunctives of indefinite frequency. This construction is extremely rare in pre-Aug. prose. In Cicero only de orat. I 54, 232 erat enim Athenis reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi poenae aestimatio, but here Sorof, followed by Wilkins, assume an oratio obliqua. There is an indisputable instance, however, in Caes. B. G. V 35 sin . . . tenere vellent . . . relinebatur, and Livy furnishes a number of examples. In Silver Latin, finally, this so-called iterative subj. is most frequent in Suetonius and quite common in Tacitus. Cf. II. I 49 II 5 IV 1 Ann. II 57 III 69 IV 7. 46 V 11 VI 30 XV 45. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 733 Stil p. 77 f. (who omits our passage), Hoffmann, Zeitpartikeln p. 52 ff. — longa principiorum praeparatio: praeparatio, προπαρασκευή, is a technical term referring to the attempts of an orator to render his hearers or the judge favorably disposed toward him at the outset. Cf. Quint. IV 1, 1 (cited below) 72; 2, 26. Aper does not condemn this practice, and it is expressly recommended by Quint. (cf. IV 2 VII 10, 12 IX 2, 17 etc.), but he objects to what seem to him excessively long introductions of this kind, tolerated by the audiences of the Republic. Cf. Quint. IV 1, 62 nec minus evitanda est immodica eius (principii) longitudo ne in caput excrevisse videatur et quo praeparare debet, fatiget. — Longa for 'longorum' by hypallage. Cf. note c. 2 3.
On 'principium' cf. Q. IV 1, 1 ff. Causa principii nulla alia est quam ut auditore, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accomodatior, praeparemus id fieri . . . constat si benevolum, attentum, docilem fecerimus. The term is not strictly synonymous with exordium (or prooemium), though often so used, for the latter was by some divided into two parts, 'principium' and 'insinuatio.' Cf. Quint. IV 1, 42, 76, and in general Auct. ad Her. I 4 Cic. de inv. I 15–18 Piderit, Cic. de orat. Einleit. p. 65 f.

12 narrationum: The narratio, δηιγγης, usually followed the 'praeparatio principii.' Cf. Quint. IV 2, 1 maxime naturale est et fieri frequentissime debet, ut praeparato . . . iudice, res, de qua pronuntiaturus est, indicetur: haec est narratio 28 nos ducit scholarum consuetudo in quibus certa quaedam ponuntur . . . ideoque prooemio narratio semper subiungitur 31 narratio est rei factae aut ut factae utilis ad persuadendum expositio sqq.—alte repetita series i.e. either prolix expositions ab ovo, or episodes only remotely connected with the point at issue, on which cf. Quint. IV 3, 25 Hanc partem παρειβασιν vocant Graeci, Latini egressum vel egressionem . . . ut laus hominum locorumque, ut descriptio regi- num, expositio quarundam rerum gestarum vel etiam fabulosarum sqq. See also Cic. de orat. III 24, 91 quorum igitur haec spectat tam longa et tam alte repetita oratio? de leg. I 6, 18 alte vero et ut oportet a capite repetis quod quaerimus de inv. I 20, 28 brevis est narratio si non ab ultimo repetitur. —On this use of 'alte' in Tacitus, see note c. 12 18.

'Narrationum' in place of 'narrationis,' is necessitated by the meaning of 'series' and by the stylistic symmetry observable in the enumeration.

14 multarum divisionum ostentatio: On 'divisio' or partitio, cf. Rhet. ad Her. I 10, 7 Caururum divisio in duas partes distributa est, primum perorata narratione debemus aperire, quid nobis conveniat cum adversariis et si ea quae utilia nobis erunt convenient, quid in controversia nobis relinquantur, deinde distributione uti debemus; ea dividitur in duas partes, enumerationem et expositio- nem. Over-elaborated divisions and subdivisions are also censured in strong terms by Quint. IV 5 e.g. § 24 f. nec immerto multum ex diligentia partiendi tulit laudis Q. Hortensius, cuius tamen divi- sionem in digitos diductam nonnumquam Cicero leviter eludit (e.g. pro Caec. 14, 45) . . . vitanda utique maxime concisa nimium et velut articulosa partitio . . . et huius gloriae cupidi, quo subtilius
et copiosius divisisse videantur et supervacua adsumunt et quae
natura singularia sunt secant, nec tam plura faciant quam minora,
deinde cum fecerunt mille particulas, in eandem incidunt obscuri-
tatem, contra quam partitio inventa est. On the figure ‘divisio’
see also Sandys on Orat. 40, 137. — mille argumentorum gradus:
On argumenta which usually formed the fourth part of a rhetori-
cally constructed speech, known as the ‘confirmatio’ (and ‘refuta-
51–61. 67–71 Wilkins, de orat. p. 58 ff. Netzker, Hermagoras,
Cicero, Cornificius quaes docuerint de statibus, Kiel 1879.—The cen-
sure implied in ‘mille,’ is repeated by Quint. V 10, 100 f. has fere
sedes accepimus probationum in universum quas neque generatim
tradere sat est cum ex qualibet earum innumerabilis argumentorum
copia oriatur . . . plurimi cum in hos inexplicabiles laqueos incide-
runt omnem . . . conatum velut adstricti certis legum vinculis per-
diderunt.

Hermagoras: Hermagoras of Temnos, very frequently con-
founded by scholars e. g. Andresen and Wolff, with his far less
illustrious namesake, the follower of Theodorus of Gadara and
contemporary of Augustus, flourished about 160 B. C. and was the
founder of a new system of rhetoric in opposition to the Peripatetic
and Stoic doctrines then in vogue. It dealt chiefly, if not exclu-
sively, with eipos, inventio. As Sandys, Orat. Introd. p. xxxvii
well remarks, ‘the very fact that it was confined to the considera-
tion of subject matter, which is independent of questions of language,
while it neglected the department of style in which it would have
naturally limited itself to Greek alone, made the teaching of Her-
magoras readily available for use by Roman students.’ See also
Wilkins, de orat. Introd. p. 46 f. The Rhet. ad Her. and Cicero’s
de inventione seem to be based upon his work, entitled τίμη
gyropoieta (in 7 bks.). Its dry character, owing to an over-subtle
ingenuity of analysis, is also attested by Quint. III 11, 21 f. haec
(sc. Hermagoras) affectata subtilitas circa nomina rerum ambitiose
laborat . . . non est necesse per tam minutas rerum particulas ration-
em docendi concidere quo vitio multi quidem laborarunt, praeci-
pue tamen Hermagoras, vir alicuius subtilis et in plurimis admi-
randus sqq. Cp. the exhaustive treatment of Susemihl, Gesch. d.
Apollodori: *Apollodoros* of *Pergamon* was born about 104 B.C. After teaching in his native city, he emigrated to Rome and in 45 B.C. was selected by Julius Caesar as the tutor of Octavian at Apollonia. After the assassination of the dictator, he returned to the capital where he remained, highly honored by his imperial pupil, till his death at the age of 82. Cf. Strabo XIII 625 Ps. Luc. Macrob. 23. Quint. III 1, 17. Apollodorus wrote but little, but his numerous followers, known as Apollodori, diligently spread his doctrines. Cf. Quint. III 1, 18 Apollodori praeceta magis ex discipulis cognoscas . . . nam ipsius sola videtur ars edita ad Matium, quia ceteras missa ad Domitium epistula non cognoscit. His theory, known to us chiefly from the pages of Quintilian, was exclusively confined to forensic oratory. Cf. Quint. III 1, 1 Apollodorus contentus solis iudicialibus. See Susenohl l. c. II p. 504–507 and the literature there cited.

15 *quod si*: *quod* followed by a conditional clause marks the transition to a stronger statement and usually implies an ellipsis. Here 'and hence it will not surprise us to learn that when any one' etc. This use of the relative pronoun is found occasionally in early Latin e. g. Plaut. Bacch. 742 Ter. And. 258, very frequently in Cicero, but thereafter only of sporadic occurrence. In Tac. c. 3 10 41 7 Ag. 16. 26 Ann. III 58. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 51 ff.—*odoratus* sc. esse 'to have got a mere sniff at philosophy.' The vulgar phrase is used by Aper to express his low opinion of the crude culture of that time. In this figurative sense, 'odorari' seems to occur only here and in Lactant. VII 1, 11 veritatem leviter odoratus.—*philosophiam*: On the use of the Greek word, in place of 'sapientia,' see note 5 32.

16 *locum*=locus communis, general reflections many of which are enumerated by Cic. de orat. I 13, 56 (where see Wilkins), and III 27, 106 ff. Cf. also Orat. 36, 126 and Quint. X 5, 12 with Peterson's note.—*in caelum laudibus ferebatur*: Post-Aug. writers, following in the footsteps of Livy, show a very decided preference for 'ferre' in place of 'effere laudibus' which greatly preponderates in Cicero. In Tac. it occurs but once: Ann. III 72 laudibus Seianum extulit. Elsewhere the shorter form is used. Cf. H. III 3 Ann. II 13 IV 34. Laudibus tollere, extollere, adtollere, which is very rare in classical Latin (Cic. ad Att. IV 16, 14 Hor. C. I 21, 9), is quite common in Tacitus e. g. H. II 90 III 9 Ann. IV 41 XII 11, XIV 14. Cp. the excellent article by Schmalz *Antik.* II 605.
Notes.

17 nec mirum sc. erat. The copula is usually omitted in this phrase, because, as Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 226 remarks, it is equivalent to an emphatic adverb like 'quippe.' Cf. c. 36 25. Ann. IV 40. 54 XII 37. Elsewhere in Tacitus 'dictu' is added, e. g. H. I 79 II 41 IV 84 V 6 Ann. II 17.

18 paucissimi praecopta rhetorum: On their introduction into Rome, cf. Suet. de gramm. et rhet. 25, 1 (p. 119 Reif.). Rhetorica quoque apud nos perinde atque grammatica sero recepta est, paululo etiam difficilium quippe quam constet nonnumquam etiam prohibi-tam exerceri (on which see note c. 35 4). The statement of Aper is again exaggerated, for the orators of the Ciceronian age, at least, all had a thorough rhetorical training.

19 philosophorum placita: The apathetic attitude of the Roman toward philosophy was deeply imbedded in the national character from Ennius' 'philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet' (Ribbeck, Fragg. p. 53 Vahlen, Enn. p. 145) down to Tac. Ag. 4 se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acerius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, haussisse and the late Gell. V 16, 5 degustandum ex philosophia, non in eam ingurgitandum. Cicero himself, who may be said to have opened up to his countrymen the tenets of Greek speculation, had to combat this incurable prejudice in nearly all of his philosophical treatises. Cf. esp. de off. II 1, 2 ff. Quint. XII proem. and Reid, Cic. Acad. p. 20 f. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 50–52. Friedländer III, p. 669–684. — placita: A post-Aug. word. In Tacitus also H. III 81 pl. Stoico-rum Ann. XIV 22 pl. maiorum XVI 19 sapientium pl. Cf. Sen. Ep. 66, 45 decreta quae Graeci vocant dogmata, nobis vel decreta (so in Cicero, ep. Reid, Acad. Pr. 9, 27) licet appellare vel scita vel placita.

20 omnibus = 'omnibus rebus.' Cf. c. 36 7 mixtis omnibus H. I 68, dirutis omnibus. Also in gen. plur.: H. V 3 omnium ignari Ann. IV 25 hostibus omnium nesciis VI 48 ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum. In G. 39 regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia II. II 80 omniumque quae Ann. II 75 omnium... quae... intollerans Sen. Ep. 5, 1 omnibus omnisiss hoc unum agis, the ambiguity arising out of the doubtful gender of the termination in the gen. dat. and abl. plur. is avoided by the words which follow. Similar instances are quite common, even in Cicero e. g. de inv. II 20, 61 de off. I 37,133 Acad. Post. 7, 27. 12,
46 Lael. 4, 13. 7, 23 in Cat. II 8, 18. Cp. Seyf.-Müll. Lael. p. 74 Reid, Acad. Post. 2, 8 and note c. 8 25. — in cortina: Originally any caldron-shaped vessel, cortina came to be used, by an easy transference, of the vault of heaven (Enn. Ann. v. 9), of the tripod of Apollo (Verg. Aen. III 92 Ov. Met. 15, 635), and of the auditorium in a theatre (Aetna 294 magni cortina theatri). Here it designates a circular place in the court-room which was occupied by the general public, the 'vulgus adsistentium, et adfluens et vagus auditor' mentioned c. 20 8. The judge, the lawyers with their assistants, and the parties in the suit were probably seated 'within the railing,' to use a modern phrase.

The meaning here given (it is practically that of Lipsius) is so easily derived from the analogous uses of the word, and is withal so eminently suitable to the sense of the passage, that the emendation of Urmius, though accepted by Peter, Baehrens, and others, need not be considered seriously, the more so, as it is inconceivable how an original 'corona' could ever have been corrupted into 'cortina.' For this word must have been unfamiliar, not to say unknown, to the scribes, at least in the sense which is here called for. — Baehrens' contention (Comm. Crit. p. 75) that 'vix' ought to be placed before 'quisquam' is based upon a serious misinterpretation of the passage.

21 etai non instructus at certe imbutus: Instructus like 'institutus' and 'doctus' is used of systematic training and is opposed to imbutus, which denotes a superficial and desultory acquisition of knowledge. Cf. Cic. Phil. X 10, 20 a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus de orat. II 39, 162 liberaliter institutus et aliquo iam imbutus Orat. 49, 165 non instituti sed imbuti sumus. On the semasiology of 'imbutus,' see Wilkins, Sandys ll. cc. and John ad loc. — etai non ... at certe: The same correlation, Ann. XII 39 etai non proelium at certe bellum. Cf. also G. 33 si non amor nostri at certe odium sui Quint. XII 11, 31 si non magnum utilitatem at certe Suet. Cal. 12 etai non de perfecto, at certe. 'Tamen' or 'at' alone is far more common. See Hand, Turs. I 427 II 604 Dr. H. S. II 765.

22 itineribus = 'rationibus,' methods. Cf. Tac. H. II 95 unum ad potentiam iter IV 49 duo itinera audenti Ann. III 66 si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum XVI 17 adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebant per procurationes. In this figurative sense, classic writers generally use 'via.' So ἰδίος in Gk. e.g. Arist. Plut. 506, Thuc. I 122; καθ' ἰδίον (Plat. Rep. p. 435 A). — Observe
that 'per quae' is not strictly used for the instrumental ablative, as in c. 24 5, where see note, but in its original local sense with an accusative of extent, here facilitated by its antecedent 'itineribus.' So similarly c. 29 8 per quae . . . inrepiit c. 32 8 per . . . numeros isse H. IV 7 per altercationem . . . provecti sunt, the metaphor being taken from verbs expressing motion. This usage is poetic and post-Aug. Cf. Peterson, Quint. X 5, 21.

23 vi et potestate, non iure et legibus: It cannot have been Aper's intention to assert, as might perhaps appear at first sight, that the monotony and prolixity of former speeches were in his day partly done away with, because the modern judge no longer presided with equity and fairness, but substituted in their place arbitrariness and despotic authority. Such a change would not have been a creditable achievement of the new era which the speaker wishes to place in as advantageous and favorable a light as possible. Hence Aper can only be understood to mean, that modern judges did not allow themselves to be tied down to the letter of the law, but occasionally followed their own interpretation, enforcing it by the authority vested in their office. See also following note. Peter who, alone of the commentators, seems to have felt any difficulty here, supposes Aper to refer to the trials presided over by the princeps himself whose decisions were, of course, not necessarily influenced by law or precedent, but this is intrinsically improbable for the reason just given, nor is there anything in the context that lends itself readily to so restricted an application of Aper's words. — Vis is power generally, potestas the particular authority of a magistrate. vis (or ius) and potestas combined e. g. H. III 11. 39 G. 42 vis et potentia Ter. Heaut. IV 3, 32 vim . . . et potestatem Liv. XXIV 39 ius . . . potestatem Sen. Ep. 17, 2 Gell. VII 7 Dig. IX 4, 1. So similarly, iure 'legal code' is amplified by the more specific term legibus, 'provisions, enactments' (cf. Cic. Top. V 28). Both are grouped together e. g. Cic. pro Planc. 36, 88 de leg. I 5, 17 Cp. note c. 9 1 (carmina et versus). — On the quasi-instrumental or causal ablat. 'in accordance with, by means of,' see Nipp. Ann. III 24 who cites the following instances from Tacitus: G. 25. 28 H. I 28. 48 IV 12. 50 V 23 Ann. I 70 II 75 III 24. 27. 43. 48 VI 20 XII 10. 29 XIII 16 XIV 30. 31. 62 XV 65, but omits the present passage and c. 25 28 malignitate, invidia.

24 nec accipiunt temporas sed constituint: Our judges do not bind themselves, Aper means to say, to the time-regulations found in
earlier laws (such as the lex de vi et ambitu, for instance) but they themselves determine, according to their discretion, the number of hours to be allotted to the several speakers. The commentators tacitly assume the meaning of 'accipiant' to be that the magistrates do not accept the proposals as to time allowance made to them by the litigants themselves, but this seems to conflict with what we know of Roman court procedure. Cf. Plin. Ep. IV 9, 9 e lege accusator sex horas, novem reus accepisset II 11, 14 nam XII clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas acceperam, sunt additae quattuor (sc. a iudice) which passages lend weighty support to the interpretation advocated in the preceding note.

25 expectandum habent: On this gerundive construction with habere, cf. note c. 8 12.  

27 alio transgredientem: Referring to irrelevant digressions, παρεκβάδες. Cf. Quint. IV 3, 13 quo ex genere (sc. egressionum) est in orationibus contra Verrem compositis Siciliae laus, Proserpinae raptus, pro C. Corneli popolaris illa virtutum Cn. Pompei commemoratio, to which we may add the eulogy of poets in the pro Arch. and the banter on Stoic paradoxes in the pro Mur. § 61 f. This practice, though at times not out of place (cf. Cic. de orat. II 77, 311 digredi tamen ab eo quod proposueris atque agas, permovendorum animorum causa saepe utile est Quint. IV 3, 14 f.), is cleverly ridiculed by Mart. VI 19 non de vi neque caede nec veneno | sed lis est mihi de tribus capellis | vicini queror has absesse furto | hoc iudex sibi postulat probari | tu Cannas Mithridaticumque bellum | ... iam die Postume, de tribus capellis (cf. Anth. Pal. III 46). Cp. Volkmann, Rhet. p. 124 ff. Mayor, Quint. X 1, 33. — festinare se testantur: Cf. Quint. IV 1, 72 aliquando tamen uti (sc. proemio) nec si velimus eo licet, cum iudex occupatus, cum angusta sunt tempora, cum maior potestas ab ipsa re cogit incipere et esp. IV 5, 10 festinat enim iudex ad id quod potentissimum est, et velut obligatum promisso patronum, si est patientior, tacitus appellat; si vel occupatus vel in aliqua potestate vel etiam sic moribus incompositus, cum convicio efflagitat.

20. i de infirmitate valutudinis suae praefantem etc: Quint. IV 1, 8, is more tolerant of such 'captiones benevolentiae': Quaedam . . . commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos, imparatos, impares agentium contra ingeniis dixerimus, qualia sunt plerique Messallae proemia. est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus et iudex reli-
giosus libentissime patronum audit quem iustitiae suae minime
timet. inde illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam simulatio,
multum ab hac nostrorum temporum iactatione diversa VI 3, 76
Curionem semper ab excusatione aetatis incipientem. Cf. also Mart.
III 18 perfrixisse tuas est praefatio fauces | cum te excusaris,
Maxime, quid recitas?

With the possible exception of Caes. B. G. VI 30 aedificlo circumdatu
silva, ut sunt fere domicilia, neither ‘fere’ nor ‘ferme,’ the form preferred
by Tac. in his later writings, ever directly modifies a substantive, not even
when it signifies ‘ut plerumque fit, ut fieri solet,’ on which see note c. 31, 7.
Taking this in connection with the remarkable parallel passage from Quint.
just cited, I have had no hesitation in inserting ‘omnia.’ The archetypon
had it, which either stood for ‘omnia’ as in c. 2 14 13 15 or was possibly a
remnant of an original ‘cuncta,’ but as the compendium was not under-
stood by the scribe, the syllable was dropped. So similarly in Quint. X 1,
106 omnia, though essential to the context, is omitted in some MSS.
Perhaps the passage in Caesar is only another case in point.

3 quinque in Verrem libros expectabit: Aper sophistically ignores
the fact that Cicero actually delivered only one speech in court
against Verres (Aug. 5, 70 B. C.), the others having been, as is well
known, subsequently composed.

There are in all six speeches against Verres, but Aper, according to our
MSS., mentions only five, excluding, as is expressly or tacitly assumed
by the commentators, the Actio Prima. But in doing so, Aper would be virtu-
ally confessing that he was well aware of the purely literary character of the
other five, which cannot possibly have been his intention, for if his censure
was to have any foundation at all, it was clearly essential to speak of all the
six extant orations as having been actually delivered, and this I believe he
did. The archetypon had either VIIINERREM or vinverrem, which
reading, owing to the graphical identity of the numeral and the letter ‘i’
following, caused the evident corruption now existing.

expectabit: i. e. ‘wait or listen patiently to the end.’ Cf. Cic.
de orat. I 36, 166 Potes . . . oratores putare eos quos multas
horas expectavit Hor. Sat. I 5, 9 cenantes . . . expectans comites
Sen. de ben. V 17, 3 quis non patri suo supremum diem ut innocens
sit, optat, ut moderatus expectat Quint. IX 3, 68 with a play upon
the word: quod is mortem suam expectaret, et ille dixisset se vero
non expectare: immo, inquit, rogo expectes. Cp. Mayor, Iuv. XIV
249. In Tacitus e. g. c. 19 25 H. I 33 non expectandum ut . . . in-
vadat Ann. XVI 9 senectus eius expectabatur and so similarly
‘opperiri’ e. g. Ann. II 69, XI 26.—exceptione et formula: Exceptio
denoted the objections made by defendant against the statements of the plaintiff which were inserted in the praetor's edict. The formula contained the instructions to the judge, setting forth the points at issue. Cp. Smith, Dict. Ant. II p. 17 ff. II 480 Pauly R. E. III 325. 508 I. Müller's Handb. class. Alt. IV 2 p. 691 ff.

4 volumina = libros, orationes. Cp. H. Landwehr, Archiv VI p. 235–242. — M. Tullio: Cicero made two speeches (72/1 B.C.) in behalf of this Tullius against P. Fabius, one of Sulla's veterans who had destroyed the plaintiff's villa near Thurii. The first speech is entirely lost and the second only preserved in some palimpsest fragments. — Aulo Caecina: This extant speech was delivered in 69 B.C. before the 'recipratores,' and deals with an intricate will case. Its technical nature is expressly alluded to by Cicero himself in Orat. 29, 102: tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit: res involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimus, verba ambigua distinximus, where see Sandys' excellent note. — Among the fifty-five complete orations of Cicero which have come down to us, the pro Caecina ranks 11th in point of bulk, so that the epithet 'inmensa' is clearly not so great an exaggeration as Peter thinks, especially as it is not likely that very many of the numerous speeches still accessible to Aper exceeded the pro Caecina in length. Fortunat. 107, 30 H., also groups these two speeches together: cum exemplo multarum legum probamus prae sententem quoque legem ita sentire ut nos defendimus, sicut M. Tullius fecit pro M. Tullio et pro A. Caecina. — praeceurrit etc: See note c. 19 ext.

6 cursu argumentorum: opp. to 'mille argum. gradus' of c. 19 13. Cf. Quint. IX 4, 138 in argumentis citati atque ipso etiam motu celeres sumus? in locis ac descriptionibus fusi ac fluentes. — colore sententiarum: color, corresponding to Gk. χρώμα, in its technical post-Aug. sense denotes 'the varnish, gloss or color by which the accused endeavors to palliate, the accuser to aggravate, the allowed facts of the case.' These 'colores' were often collected by rhetoricians. Thus the elder Seneca, for instance, arranges his Controversiae under the three heads, sententiae, divisiones and colores. Cp. Mayor, Iuv. VII 155. But as 'sententiae' is clearly distinguished from 'color' (cf. also Quint. IX 1, 18), it is best to take the word in our passage in its classical signification of 'beauty, embellishment.' The phrase 'color sententiarum' would then correspond to 'color
ipse dicendi quamlibet clarus’ (Quint. VIII 5, 28) and ‘colorata oratio’ (Cic. Brut. 46, 170). *sententiae* here are maxims, ethical reflections. Cp. Sen. Contr. I pr. 23 has tralaticias quas proprie sententias dicimus, quae nihil habent cum ipsa controversia implicitum sed satis apte et alio transferuntur, tamquam quae de fortuna, de crudelitate, de saeculo, de divitiis dicuntur; hoc genus sententiarum supellectilem vocabat. See also note l. 16.—On the thought itself, see Quint. l. c. § 34 ego vero haec lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiae credo, sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cetera membra officium suum perdant, et, si necesse sit veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam, sed patet media quaedam via sicut in cultu victuque accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor.

7 nitore et cultu descriptionum: Cf. Cic. Top. 22, 83 additur etiam descriptio quam *χαρακτήρ* Graeci vocant . . . qualis sit avarus, qualis assentator ceteraque eiusdem generis in quibus natura et vita describatur Rhet. ad Her. IV 51, 65 huiusmodi notationes quae describunt . . . vehementer habent magnum delectationem. Totam enim naturam cuiuspiam ponunt ante oculos aut gloriosi . . . aut invidi aut timidi aut avari, ambitiosi etc. See Sandys’ note to Orat. 40, 138. But ‘descriptio’ was not confined to *ἔφωνοδα* but also included descriptions of places, works of art, etc., as appears from Quint. IV 3, 12 laus hominum locorumque, descriptio regionum, and Cic. in Verr. IV. Cp. John ad loc. ‘Nitore et cultu’ are again combined in c. 23 22 Quint. VIII 3, 61 XI, 1, 48.

*Invitatus*, the reading of our MSS., cannot be right, for, as the context shows, the stylistic qualities enumerated are admittedly capable of exerting a corrupting influence upon the judges, but this is incompatible with the meaning of ‘invitatus’ which in a figurative sense is invariably used of allurements of a beneficial or harmless nature and hence frequently joined with ‘allicere.’ This objection is strengthened by the fact that ‘invitatus’ and ‘corruptus,’ standing in the relation of cause and effect, can only, according to Tacitean usage in the Dialogus, (see note c. 4 3) be joined by ‘atque,’ ‘et,’ combining only synonymous verbs. I, therefore, write with but a very slight change *vitiatus et corruptus*. ‘in’ is a dittophory of the ‘m’ preceding (as in c. 9 29 18 c Sen. Controv. III 11 ext. Sen. Ep. 40, 13), a notoriously common source of corruption. This error once committed, the ‘i’ was soon dropped, the very familiar ‘invitatus’ naturally taking the place of ‘invitatus’ which is no Latin word. Nor are there examples lacking. If any be needed, of a similar omission of ‘i’ in the “‘inanuit.” e.g. c. 25 31 ‘antiquorum’ for ‘antiquiorum’; 30 4 ‘virum’ for ‘virium.’ ‘Vitiare’ is frequently used as a synonym of ‘corrumpere.’ Cf. especially
Sen. Ep. 114, 3 illo (sc. animo) vitiatō. Finally, both words are found grouped together also in Cic. pro Sest. 54, 115 comitiorum et contionum significatones sunt nonnumquam vitiatae aique corruptae. The alliteration observable in ‘cursu ... colore ... cultu’ is so evidently intended to mark off the various elements of the enumeration, that ‘nitore,’ which destroys the stylicist equilibrium, may be justly objected to. It is probably a mere marginal or interlinear gloss, suggested by c. 23 22, which subsequently found its way into the text. Cp. the very similar alliterative collocation c. 26 8 lascivia ... levitate ... licentia and note c. 36 18.

8. **aversatur** is used absolutely also in Plaut. Trin. 629 noli aversari Cic. Cluent. 63, 177 aversari advocati et iam vix ferre posse Verr. II 2, 76, 187 haerere homo, aversari (versari, *Jordan*) rubere.

Dicentem is undoubtedly a superfluous addition, as is also clear from its unwarranted emphatic position, but to attribute the marginal gloss (as John does) to some ancient reader who had observed that ‘aversari’ is used transitively elsewhere in Tacitus, would imply an incredibly profound knowledge of Tacitean usage on the part of this interpolator, the passages being widely scattered in the Histories and Annals.

**Vulgar ... adfluentium et *adfluens* et vagus auditor:** The general lay public which is drawn to the court by an idle curiosity, is elsewhere in the Dialogus distinguished from the ‘audiatores’ who are assiduous attendants at trials ‘profectus sui causa’ (c. 34 5 ff.). Cf. c. 23 11 non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit 32 7 non *doctus* modo et *prudent* auditor sed etiam populus intellegt. These passages are sufficient to show that the ‘adfluens et vagus auditor’ is not identical with the ‘auditor’ mentioned in later chapters but, as the epithets clearly indicate, the second clause merely singles out one particular element in this miscellaneous audience. Cf. note c. 9 1. — *adfluens* et *vagus*: i.e. chance or casual listeners who happen to flock in, passing in and out at intervals. In this sense ‘adfluens’ is poetic and in prose not earlier than Livy, but quite common in Tacitus. Cf. Verg. Aen. II 706 Liv. XXXV 31 adfluente cotidie multitudine Tac. Ag. 29 H. I 36 IV 25 Ann. II 76 IV 62 VI 36 XIV 8. In Cicero, it is a synonym of ‘dives, abundans.’ — **exigere laetitiam:** The best commentary for the following passage is the 114th Epistle of Seneca. See notes below. — Although ‘laetus,’ signifying an ornate style, is extremely common, the abstract noun laetitia in the same sense seems to occur only here. Cf. note c. 21 16.
10 **tristem:** A rhetorical term synonymous with 'horridus, rudis, incultus, severus, impolitus, hebes, sordidus, ieiunus,' opp. to 'bilaris, laetus, ornatus, limatus, nitidus, comptus.' Cf. Causeret p. 174 f. Sandys, Orat. 5, 20.—**inpeoxam,** synonymous with 'incultus.' The word occurs in its ordinary meaning in poetry e. g. Verg. G. III 366 Aen. VII 667 Hor. Sat. II 3, 126 Tib. I 3, 69 Ov. Met. I 529(?) The only other example in prose, significantly also in a figurative sense, is in Tac. Ann. XVI 10 vidua inpeoxa luctu continuo, so Ritter, Halm, Nipp. and Furneaux; others (e. g. Draeger) retain the reading of the Med. in plexa (i. e. inplexa), but this is not found elsewhere in Latin. Cp. the analogous use of **ποκοείδης** in Περὶ ὅψους 15, 5 ἐνώτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάτους καὶ ολονὶ ποκοείδες τὰς ἱννοιαῖς καὶ ἄμαλάκτους φιόρους (sc. Ἀλχεῖον).

11 **Q. Roscii:** *Q. Roscius Gallus* was born near Lanuvium and died shortly before the delivery of Cicero's speech pro Archia (62 B. C.). He was by common consent, the greatest comic actor whom Rome produced, the intimate friend of Sulla, Hortensius and especially of Cicero, whose teacher he is said to have been (Plut. Cic. 5) and whose speech in his behalf (68 B. C.) is still extant. His art, the result of the most painstaking care and the profoundest study (hence called 'doctus Roscius' by Hor. Ep. II 1, 82) was deemed so perfect that his name became proverbial for excellence in general (Cic. de orat. I 28, 130 Brut. 84, 290 Festus p. 289 M.). According to Macrobi. Sat. II 10, he was the author of a work in which the art of acting and of oratory was compared, and Diomed. G. L. I 489, on the authority probably of Varro, says that Roscius was the first to introduce masks upon the Roman stage, an innovation which Donatus, Praef. Ter. Eun. p. 10 R., however, dates as far back as Ambivius Turpio. The studied refinement and dignity which the Ciceronian period admired in Roscius and his great contemporary, the tragedian Aesopus, appeared old-fashioned, stilted and artificial in an age whose taste had been vitiated by the realistic acting of the pantomime. Cp. Friedländer II 445 f. Aper's criticism may possibly have been directly suggested by Cic. de orat. I 59, 251 quis neget opus esse oratori in hoc oratorio motu statuque Roscii gestum et venustatem.

12 **Turpionis Ambivii:** *L. Ambivius Turpion,* a celebrated theatrical manager in the days of Terence and actor in most of his plays. — **exprimere** 'reproduce.' Cf. c. 21 32 26 o Quint. X 2, 26.

14 referre domum aliquid inlustre etc: On the thought, cf. e. c. 22 14 and Cic. de orat. I 21, 96 nobis enim hic venientibus satis iucundum fore videbatur si ... nos aliquid ex sermone vestro memoria dignum excipere possemus Sen. Ep. 108, 4 qui ad philosophum venit, cotidie aliquid secum boni ferat, aut sanior domum redeat 6 quidam veniunt ut audiant non ut discant ... aliqui tamen non ut res excipiant sed ut verba quae tam sine profectu alieno dicant quam sine suo audient Quint. II 2, 8 ipse aliquid, immo multa cotidie dicat quae secum auditores referant. — On Rome as an educational centre for foreigners cf. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. 6, 2 alios liberalium studiorum cupiditas (sc. adduxit Romam) and Friedländer I s. 51.

16 sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia: The difference between these two terms, although not always rigidly observed, is well brought out by Quint. VIII 5, 1 Sententiam veteres quod animo sensissent, vocaverunt (i. e. reflections, γνώμαι. Cp. Cic. de orat. II 8, 34 quid autem subtilius quam crebrea acutaque sententiae) id cum est apud oratores frequentissimum tum etiam in usu cotidiano quasdam reliquias habet ... sed consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente concepta sensus vocaremus, lumina autem praeipueque in clausulis posita sententias quae minus crebrea apud antiquos nostris temporibus modo carent. Quint. XII 10, 48 ceterum hoc quod vulgo sen-
tentias vocamus quod veteribus praecipueque Graecis in usu non fuit, apud Ciceronem enim invenio ... feriunt animos ... et ipsa brevitate magis haerent et delectatione persuadent. The various significations of 'sensus' and 'sententiae' in the D. are: sensus (1) = thought, conceit. So here and c. 23 21 gravitati sensuum (2) = period, sentence, ambitus verborum c. 21 18 inconditi sensus 22 13 pauci sensus ... terminantur 23 2 tertio quoque sensu (3) = 'communes loci' 32 17 paucissimos sensus. (4) = popular maxims c. 31 25 communibus sensibus. Sententia (1) = sensus c. 21 11 verbis ornata et sententiis 26 8 levitate sententiarum. (2) = brief or pointed sayings, bons mots, so here and c. 22 7 quasdam sententias 23 2 pro sententia positum 32 18 angustas sententias. — arguta: common in Cicero as a synonym of 'acutus.' — locus: designates the particular theme, usually philosophical, to be elaborated. See note c. 31 26. This gave ample opportunity for poetic imagery. In the treatment of the 'loci' the matter is paramount, in that of the 'sensus' the stylistic form. Cp. John ad loc.

18 exiguitur iam ... poeticus decor: As Latin poetry of the first century A. D. had become largely declamatory, owing to the one-sided rhetorical teaching of the schools, so oratory too, with no great objects to evoke enthusiasm, sought a substitute in poetic imagery and stylistic embellishment. See on this subject, the excellent discussion in Friedländer III 396. — Accii aut Pacuvii, for as we learn from Quint. I 8, 10 veterum poemata vel ad fidem causarum vel ad ornamentum eloquentiae adsunt (sc. summi oratores). Nam praecipue quidem apud Ciceronem (a statement not borne out by his extant speeches) frequentauer tamen apud Asinium etiam et ceteros qui sunt proximi, vidimus Ennii, Accii, Pacuvii, Lucillii, Terentii, Caecilii et aliorum inseri versus summa non eruditionis modo gratia sed etiam incunditatis, cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a forensi asperitate respirent. On Pacuvius and Accius cp. Teuffel § 105. 134. — veterno inquinatus: A very bold metaphor but quite characteristic of the speaker. It has been variously interpreted according to the meaning that is attached to 'veternus' which may signify sloth or a kind of mould which an object acquires from lying too long in one spot, having like 'situs' the accessory notion of filth. The adjective is elsewhere thus figuratively used of style e.g. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. I, 1 veternosum dicendi genus imitari Cf. also c. 22 23 velut rubigine infectum
Hor. Ep. II 2, 116 ff. Sen. Ep. 58, 5 quantum apud Ennius et Accius verborum situs occupaverit 115, 7 and so πνευμ in Greek e.g. πνευμ ψ. 30. The sense of the passage is therefore clearly this: Poetic ornament is no less essential to the modern orator than to the poet, but it must not resemble the diction of old Pacuvius and Accius, incrusted as it is with an archaic mould which has tainted whatever poetic embellishment it may have originally possessed.

20 ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani: The mention of Horace seems somewhat out of place in this connection, and Ovid, some of whose poems are little more than versified suasoriae (cf. Sen. Contr. II 10), would perhaps have been a more suitable selection. Virgil's great influence upon later rhetoricians is attested by what Sen. Suas. III 5 says of Arellius Fuscus: Vergilii versus voluit imitari..., solebat... ex Vergilio multa trahere sqq. — Opinions seem to have been very much divided as to Lucan's rank as a poet, as appears from Mart. XIV 194 sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam,| sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat Serv. Aen. I 382 Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse non poema, this identical objection being made also by Petron. 118 and schol. to Luc. Phars. I 1. — Quint. X 1, 90, though granting his poetic enthusiasm and sententious brilliancy, significantly adds 'magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.' It was this very characteristic that caused his introduction into the schools. Cp. Friedländer III 378 ff. Heitland, in Haskins' Lucan p. XV-XX. LXX Teuffel § 303, 5 Ribbeck Röm. Dicht. III p. 91 ff. The marked preference for these modern writers soon caused a reaction in favor of the older poets which reached its height in Fronto and his school. Cp. Friedl. l. c. p. 380-384 and note c. 23 7. — horum i.e. the class of hearers mentioned above (1. 8).

21 auribus et iudiciis, is best not taken as a hendiadys, 'auribus,' referring more particularly to 'sensus,' etc., and 'iudiciis' to 'locus,' etc.

22 aetas pulchrior et ornatior extitit etc.: Among the prose writers of the first century, whose works have been preserved, Aper's stylistic ideal may be found in Seneca, who, owing to the unique contradiction between performance and precept which distinguishes this literary genius, has himself severely condemned the very style of which he was the foremost representative and
which Quintilian combatted all his life. Cp. the 114th Epistle throughout and, besides Quintilian’s famous criticism of Seneca in Bk X 1, 125-130, esp. II 5, 21 Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similibus lectione duescere velit, sient enim horridi atque ieuni: nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequentur et elocutione quae tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena est contenti... alterum... ne recentis huius lasciviae fiosculi capti voluptate prava deleantur. IX 4, 142 si sit necesse, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enerverem quis apud multos et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat and XII 10, 73 ff. Falluntur enim plurimum qui vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus quod aut verborum licentia exultat aut puerilibus sententialis lascivit... aut casuris... fiosculis nitet... magis existimant populare... quod quidem placere multis... est enim iucunda auri ac favorabilis qualiscunque eloquentia... ubi vero quid exquisitus dictum accidit auribus imperorum... habet admiracionem.

23 cum voluptate perveniunt: Cf. note c. 7 10 cum gratia venit. — quid enim si ῥι γὰρ εἶ (Xen. Mem. II 6, 2). An ellipsis is implied as usual. ‘To deny this and to contend that by adopting the style described we should nevertheless be unduly sacrificing sense to sound or matter to form, were as unwarranted an assertion as if,’ etc.


21. 1 fatebor = fateor. This usage is common, especially in the comic poets but with the exception of Plaut. Trin. 608, where most critics read ‘dics’ for ‘dices’ of the MSS., it seems to be confined to the first person singular. Cf. e.g. Plaut. Mil. Gl. 397 cen-

2 risum ... somnum tenere: Cf. Cic. Brut. 85, 293 equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam. (Here quibusdam is also neuter and refers to Cicero’s exaggerated estimates of some of the old Roman orators, such as Cato) 80, 278 tantum abruit ut inflammaret nostros animos, somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. Hor. A. P. 104 male si mandata loqueris aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Our passage is a clear reminiscence of the Ciceronian phrases, which also show that ‘tenere’ is not, as earlier editors erroneously maintained, joined by zeugma to ‘somnum.’

3 nec unum de populo etc: The meaning of this deplorably mutilated passage seems clear. Aper boldly declares that his censure is not meant to apply merely to obscure third or fourth-class orators, whose desiccated style nevertheless found supporters, but to the most eminent as well. *Unum de populo*, like τὸν θῶ τοῦ πολεμοῦ δήμου σου (Lucian, Somn. 9), is equivalent to what Cicero in the Brutus (quoted below) in much stronger language called the dregs of eloquence. What little we know of the orators here presumably stigmatised, for the names themselves are, corrupted, has been collected and exhaustively discussed by Nipperdey, *Rh. Mus.* XIX 559–568 (= Opusc. 302 ff.), from whom the following data are taken. *Canutius* is undoubtedly identical with P. Canutius frequently praised in Cic. pro Cluentio e. g. 10, 29 homine eloquentis-
simo 18, 50 homo in primis ingeniosus et in dicendo exercitatus. Cf. also Brut. 56, 205 Sulpici orationes quae feruntur, eas post mortem eius scripsisse P. Canutius putatur, aequalis meus, homo extra nostrum ordinem meo iudicio disertissimus.—Arrius: This is the reading proposed by Gronovius on the basis of a passage in Cic. Brut. 69, 242, in which one Q. Arrius, in spite of his oratorical mediocrity, is dealt with at some length, which draws from Atticus the impatient remark 'tu quidem de faece hauris.' He was praetor in 72 B.C. and was appointed to succeed Verres, but remained in Italy on account of the slave war in which he took a prominent part. He is probably the same individual mentioned by Plut. Cio. 15 Κώντος "Arrius, άνηρ στρατηγικός. He was defeated for the consulship (59 B.C.) and appeared as the opponent of Cicero in the trial of Milo (62 B.C.), but was himself accused, probably de ambitu, in the same year.—Furnius: He was identified by Gronovius with an orator of that name in Cic. ad fam. X, 25. 26 ad Att. IX 6, but, according to Hieron. Chron. ad ann. Abrah. 1980/36 B.C., there were two Furnii, father and son, both distinguished orators. The father, a friend of Cicero and opponent of Antony, is frequently referred to in Cicero's correspondence and elsewhere, and is very probably the person alluded to by Aper. His eloquence, in striking contrast to the low opinion expressed of him here, is extravagantly eulogised in a passage of Plut. Ant. 58 Φωτίων δέ λέγοντος, δέ ίν δείκματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰσίν Πομπαίοι.—Toranius: Only two of the three or possibly four contemporaries of Cicero of that name are available, but we know too little of them to arrive at any even adequately plausible identification.

4 in eodem valetudinario 'infirmary' sc. άνερς or versantes (iacentes or laborantes—Weinkaufl). On this ellipsis of the participle, cf. note c. 9 20. The phrase was proverbial. Cf. Sen. Ep. 27, 1 tamquam in eodem valetudinario iaceam de communi tectum malo conloquor Hor. Sat. II 3, 121 maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem. So similarly in Greek e.g. Zenob. 3, 56 εἰς ἀσθενείαν ἀσθενῶν ἠλήλυθα Eustath. p. 1757 τῇν ἐμήν κάμνει νόσον. —ob haec ossa et hanc maciem: Rhetorical or stylistic characteristics are very frequently illustrated by metaphors taken from the human body, particularly its arns, sinews, muscles, bones, flesh and blood. Cp. the long list of examples given by Mayor, Quint. X 1, 33. 60. For especially elaborated instances, see e.g. c. 21 33 Quint. VIII pr. 18 ff.
With the present passage, cf. Quint. Prooem. 24 omnem sucum ingenii bibunt et *ossa detegunt* II 4, 9 macies illis pro sanitate et iudicii loco infirmitas est V 12, 6 si non nudos et velut carne spoliatos artus ostenderint Cic. Brut. 17, 68 utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum sed etiam sanguinem (on the Atticists).

This hopelessly corrupt passage has exercised the ingenuity of critics from the time of Lipsius, but none of the emendations hitherto offered, not excluding the one adopted in the text, are entirely convincing or free from objections. For the older attempts at restoration, see Schulze's edition, Exc. III p. 171–174, and Walther (Eckstein) ad loc.

5 *ipse*: On the ellipsis of *sed*, cp. note c. 6 10.

6 *libros* = orationes, cp. note c. 3 2. — *vix in una aut altera oratiuncula* i. e. in one or the other speech, picked out at random. On the necessity of *aut* for *et*, cf. note c. 9 20. So always when 'vix' is added e. g. Plin. Ep. V 20, 5 vix uni aut alteri . . . contigit Tac. G. 9, 6 vix uni alterive. — The diminutive is here used by way of disarrangement.

7 *nec dissentire ceteros* etc.: This statement cannot well have been put into the mouth of Aper, if it were true, as Reuter, *De Quint. libro qui fuit de causis corr. eloq.* p. 71 contends, that the Dialogus was written shortly before the death of Domitian, i. e. after the publication of the Institutio, for we there read X 1, 115 *inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus* etc. (cited in full c. 18 6) a preference certainly not based on the Vatiniana alone. I, therefore, suspect that this reaction in favor of Calvus and the Atticists had not yet taken place at the time when Aper's words are supposed to have been uttered. And as Tacitus has not been guilty of any anachronisms in the Dialogus, there will have been an interval of nearly twenty years between it and Quintilian's remark, a period sufficiently long to allow of the variations in oratorical criticism here implied. On *hoc meo*, cf. c. 4 1. — *quotus quisque* ‘how few,’ cf. note c. 10 6.

8 *Calvi sc. libros or orationes.* This ellipsis is rare, except after numerals. Cf. Cic. ad Att. XII 23, 2 ex Apollodori XIII 32, 3 eum video in Libonis praetorem Orat. 70, 233 sume de Gracchi apud censores, a passage which unfortunately escaped Reid, for it would have prevented him, on his own admission, from inserting 'ea' in Acad. Post. 4, 13 quae contra Philonis, Antiochus scripserit. Occasional instances are also found in very late Latin e. g.
NOTES.


'Iliae,' though yielding a perfectly satisfactory sense, can, nevertheless, not be considered as the original, for it leaves us utterly at a loss to account for the variant 'regulē' in AB. I cannot but regard this word (with M. Sorof) as a corruption of 'reliquae,' due to metathesis, a well-known source of error. The emendation has been objected to on the ground that in the foregoing nothing had been said of other stylistic blemishes of Caelius, but this slight inconsistency is no greater than the similarly illogical use of 'alius,' on which see crit. note c. 30 26. The subsequent mention of Caelius' shortcomings had, moreover, in a measure been foreshadowed by 'sive partes earum.'

hians compositio: compositio like σύνθεσις τῶν δομάτων refers to the harmonious structure of words and phrases. Cf. Rhet. ad Heren. IV 12, 18 c. est verborum constructio quae facit omnes partes orationis aequilibrer perpolitas. In general, it includes the whole subject of prose rhythm (Quint. IX 4, 1-147). By the addition of 'hians,' the term receives a more restricted meaning, being equivalent to 'vocalium or verborum concursus, τῶν φωνητων σύγκρουσις.' on which see Quint. VIII 6, 62 and Cic. Orat. 23, 77, 44, 151 with Sandys' notes. — inconditi sensus denotes the neglect of the laws of rhythm in the periodic structure of sentences (on this meaning of 'sensus,' see note c. 20 10). Cp. Sandys, Orat. 9, 32, 44, 149 f. 50, 169; 53, 179 f. Hians and inconditus are virtually synonymous with 'hiuleus, mutilus, fractus, durus, disiunctus, decurtatus, concisus, amputatus' and opposed to 'aptus, iunctus, cohaerens, numerosus, suavis, finitus, congruentatus, adstrictus.'

18 redolent antiquitatem: Cf. Cic. Brut. 21, 82 exiliiores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem Macrobr. Sat. I 5 quid aliud sermo tuus nisi ipsam redolet vetustatem?

19 antiquarium, a very rare post-August. word. Cf. c. 37 o 42 σ Suet. Octav. 86 cacozelos et antiquarios. Here equivalent to 'antiquitatis nǐmius admirator' (Quint. II 5, 21).

20 propter magnitudinem cogitationum: Vell. Pat. II 41, 1 uses the same phrase in his comparison of Caesar and Alexander the Great. — Propter, as a causal particle, though common in all Latin authors, occurs in Tacitus only here and in H. I 65 propter Neronem Galbanque pugnaretur, having been entirely superseded by ob in the later writings, an idiosyncrasy imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus. Cp. Woelflin, Archiv I 162-169.

21 occupationes rerum: The idiomatic addition of 'rerum' is apparently pleonastic, but in reality designed to impart greater
precision to the phrase. Cf. Hor. Ep. II 2, 116 vocabula rerum Verg. Aen. I 462 lacrimae rerum. Cp. Nägelsbach, Stilist. § 19, where many other instances are cited. Wolff ad loc. suggests that 'rerum' may be equivalent to 'rei publicae,' quoting Caes. B. G. IV 16 occupationibus rei publicae prohibetur. 'Res' in this sense is not uncommon (so perhaps c. 40 8, where see crit. note), but this interpretation seems less natural, particularly in view of Cic. Brut. 72, 253 qui (sc. Caesar) etiam in maximis occupationibus ad te ipsum . . . de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripsert. Aper's high estimate of Caesar's oratorical abilities is fully shared by Quint. X 1, 114 C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit apparent. Cf. also Tac. Ann. XIII 3 dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus Suet. Caes. 55 quoting from a letter of Cicero: Quid? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum qui nihil aliud ergerunt. For other eulogies of Caesar's eloquence, see the references in Teuffel § 195, 1. In Brut. 68, 239, Cicero pretends to account for Pompey's oratorical deficiencies on similar grounds: vir ad omnia summa natus, maiorem dicendi gloriarm habuisse, nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset.

—Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus etc.: This criticism is again in close agreement with Quintilian, who, while predicating 'gravitas' of Brutus' speeches (XII 10, 10 cf. also Caesar's judgment cited below), significantly excludes their author from his list of orators, relegating him to the philosophers. Cf. X 1, 124 Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus praestantior Brutus suffecit ponderi rerum: seias eum sentire quae dicit. Cicero, as well known, dedicated to him his Tusculan Disput., the de finibus and the de natura deorum and Plut. Brut. 2 bears testimony to his wide acquaintance with Greek philosophy τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων οίδειν μὲν, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπέν, ἀνήκοος ἦν οὐδὲ ἄλλοτρος, διαφαρέστως δὲ ἐσπούδασε πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος. καὶ τὴν νόμι καὶ μέσην λεγομάνην Ἀκαδημίαν οὐ πάνυ προσείμενος ἤξιρτο τῆς παλαιᾶς (Cic. Brut. 31, 120. 40, 149) καὶ διετέλε θανάτων μὲν Ἀντίοχον τῶν Ἀσκαλωνίτην, φίλον δὲ καὶ συμβιβαζόν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν πεποιημένον Ἀριστον. Regarding his own contributions to philosophy, mention is made of a treatise de virtute, one περὶ καθήκοντος and a third, de patientia. Cp. also Reid, Acad. post. 3, 12 Teuffel, § 209, 2 f.
24 minorem esse fama sua: 'Fell short of his reputation.' Fama sua also c. 24 12 Ag. 8 H. III 28. 32 Ann. VI 26 XVI 24, but fama sui — H. III 3 Ann. II 13 XV 4. 49. — admiratores: It were interesting to know what persons are here referred to, for the statement is unquestionably based upon published criticisms still accessible to Tacitus. — nisi forte . . . nisi qui: i.e. no one will read their speeches unless it be one who also admires their poems. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 57 nisi . . . censerent, nisi quod M. Silanus . . . dixit. c. 31 10 nemo nisi qui 37 23.

25 pro Deicio Samnite: Nothing is known of this individual or of a speech of Caesar in his behalf and hence one is strongly tempted to change the name into Decitio. Cf. Cic. pro Cluent. 59, 161 Cn. Decitio Samnite, ei qui prœscriptus est inuriarium in calamitate eius ab huic familia factam esse dixistis, the very uncommon name having here also been corrupted in a number of MSS. into the more familiar Decius.

26 pro Deiotaro rege: This speech was delivered before Caesar at Nicaea in 46 a. c. Cf. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1, 2 Caesarem solitum dicere: magni refert hic (sc. Brutus) quid velit, sed quidquid vult valde vult. (translated by Plut. Brut. 6) idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae diceret, valde vehementer eum visum est et libere dicere Brut. 5, 21 causam Deiotari . . . ornatissime et copiosissime a Bruto me audisse defensam.— ceterisque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis: Other speeches of Brutus were de dictatura Pompei (Quint. IX 3, 95), at Caesar's funeral, a laudatio of his father-in-law Appius Claudius (Diomedes, G. L. I 367), likewise of his uncle, M. Cato. Tac. Ann. IV 34 also mentions 'contiones Bruti falsa quidem in Augustum probara sed multa cum acerbitate habent' as still in the hands of readers (25 A. D.).— lentitudo 'dullness.' Cf. c. 22 11 lentus in principiis at Stat. Silv. IV 9, 20 Bruti senis oscitationes ('long-winded speeches. ') — tepor, literally lukewarmness, being in meaning midway between 'fervidus' and 'frigidus.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 92, 21. Of style only here and in Fortunatian. (Rhet. Lat. Min. p. 126, 8 H.) μισβω (sc. genere dicendi) quod est contrarium? tepidum ac dissolutum et velut enerve. Cf. c. 22 13 raro incalceat et Cie. Brut. 48, 178 nimis ille quidem lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus (= tepidus) sed et callidus, and of Brutus himself, Cic. ad Att. XV 1 est oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis et verbis ut nihil possit ultra, ego tamen si illam
causam habuissem, scripsissem ardenti 
us. As rhetorical termini
both substantives are ἀπ. ἐπ. See note c. 21 16.

56 feruntur et a puero et ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta ut
'Laudes Herculis,' tragodia 'Oedipus' ... quos omnes libellos
vetuit Augustus publicari ... reliquit et ... poema quod inscribi-
tur 'Iter.' Plin. Ep. V 3, 5 includes him, as well as Brutus, in
his long list of erotic poets. Only the six famous lines on Terence
have been preserved to us. Cf. Suet. Vita Terent. p. 34, 7 R.

28 in bibliothecas rettulerunt: This must refer to private
book-collections, for the first public library in Rome was founded
by Asinius Pollio in 39 B.C. (Suet. p. 130 R.). Cp. also Mar-
quardt, Röm. Privatbl. I 113 f. Friedländer III 418. — non melius
quam Cicero: Cicero was a prolific and versatile poet (Plut. Cic.
40) and many titles, together with very considerable fragments,
which, with the exception of the Aratea, are chiefly preserved in
his own works, have come down to us. (See Teuffel § 177 a 1. 189,
1–4). Plut. Cic. 2, on the authority of some post-Aug. writer, very
probably Suetonius (see Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass. vol. XX p. 148–
150) says Προίων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἀπόλυτος τῆς περὶ
taũτα μούνης ἐδοξεν οὐ μόνον ἔριτρῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῆς ἀριστος εἶναι
Ῥωμαῖων. 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δόξα μέχρι τῶν διαμένει καὶ περὶ οὗ
μερῶς γεγενημένης περὶ τοῦ λόγου καινοτομώς, τὴν δὲ ποιητικῆν
αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν ἐφοίνω ἐπιγενεμένων πανταπάσιν ἀκλή καὶ ἀὑριόν ἔρειν
συμβιβάσκει. This latter statement is confirmed by the numerous
disparaging criticisms principally found in writers of the 1. cent.
A.D. Cf. e.g. Schol. Bob. p. 306 Or. (probably taken from Ase-
nius) Manifestum est amatorum poeticae rei Tullium fussae, quam-
vis ad oratorium qua maxime praestitit non videatur in versibus
par sui fussae. Sen. Exc. Contr. III prae. 8 Ciceronem eloquentia
sua in carminibus destituit Sen. de ira III 37, 5 et Cicero si deri-
deres carmina eius inimicus esset Mart. II 89, 3 Carmina quod
scribis Musis et Apolline nullo | Laudari debes. hoc Ciceronis
habes Iuv. X 124 ridenda poemata et 122. Quint. XI 1, 24
in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere
maligni. Modern scholars have, with a few laudable exceptions,
endorsed this unfavorable view. But, while it may be admitted
that the orator had no just claims at any time to be considered
ποιητῆς ἀριστος Ὀμαίων, his verses examined in the light of formal
development mark a very noticeable advance upon the thought-
laden lines of Lucretius or the artificial hexameters of Catullus. —
I have been unable to discover any authority for Andresen’s state-
ment that Cicero’s poetry found no favor among his contempo-

29 sed felicius quia illos fecisse paeioniœ sciant: It is in such
epigrammatic phrases as this and others (e.g. c. 1 8 8 27 12 12
13 11 18 16 23 17 27 11 37 28. 38 40 26) that we may recogni-
se the future author of the Histories and Annals. Cp. Proleg. xlii n. 82.

30 videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse: On the style
of Asinius Pollio, cf. the very similar observation of Quint. X 1,
113 a nitore et incunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri
potest saeculo prior. It is remarkable that Asinius, not unlike
Seneca in this respect, was so blind to his own faults as to censure
others for the very stylistic peculiarities which were conspicuous
Ateo Philologo) Asinius Pollio in libro quo Sallustii scripta repre-
shendit ut nimia priscorum verborum affectatione obita. The remark
of Livy, preserved by Sen. Contr. IX 25, 26, on certain orators
‘qui verba antiqua et sordida consectantur et orationis obscuritatem
severitatem putent,’ has not unreasonably been supposed to refer
to Asinius.

31 Menenios et Appios: The rhetorical plural of proper names
denoting a class, a kind of antonomasia, is extremely frequent in all
periods of the language (cp. Kühner II p. 50 Gerber, Sprache
als Kunst II 38) but rarely used, as here, by way of censure. Cf.
e.g. Cic. Brut. 69, 244 non putabam te usque ad Stalenos . . . esse
venturum Sen. Ep. 97, 10 omne tempus Cludios, non omne Catones
feret Tac. H. I 37 plus rapuit Icelus quam Polycliti et Vatini
et Aegiali II, 95 libertus Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et
vetera (perhaps ‘cetera,’ see following passage) odiorum nomina
Ann. XII 60 Matios posthaec et Vedios et cetera . . . praevalida
nomina. Elsewhere in Tac. in the ordinary sense. Cf. H. IV 8
Ann. I 10, 28 II 33 VI 2 XV 14 XVI 22. In c. 37 11 we have
a genuine plural. — studuisse = ‘to study’ is post-Aug. usage. So
c. 32 8 34 10.

33 durus =‘asper, insuave, τραχώδ. δυσφωνον.’ Cf. Sen. Ep. 100, 7
compositio Asinii saulebroso et exsiliens et, ubi minime expectas,
relictura. — Hor. Ep. II 1, 66 dure dicere Quint. X 1, 93 durior
Gallus. — *siccus* = 'aridus, exilis, inanis,ieiunus, strigosus *τυφώς'* opposed to 'uber, plenus.' Cf. Quint. XI 1, 32 siccum et sollicitum et contractum dicendi propositum (Gell. XIV 1, 32 sicca et incondita et propemodum ieiuna and Quint. X 2, 17 tristes et ieiuni Pollionem semuluntur. — Although Aper does not shrink from exaggeration and misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose, I cannot believe that he here intends to say that Asinius faithfully reproduced the style and manner of the old poets throughout his orations no less than in his tragedies. It seems much more natural and plausible to assume that his contention, be it true or false, was this: In the tragedies of Asinius, Pacuvius and Accius live over again and even in his speeches we constantly find the same archaic flavor.

All that is necessary to bring out this meaning is the insertion of 'in' before 'orationibus,' which easily dropped out owing to the preceding 'in.'

The capricious change from an instrumental abl. to a prepositional phrase, though peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus, is still rare in the minor writings. Cp. Kucerā, *Die Tacit. Inconcinuität* p. 16 Dr. *Stil* § 105. The present instance, however, as well as c. 31 30, is not a case in point, for in both these passages a difference of *meaning* is involved. Cf. crit. note c. 13 20.

*oratio autem sicut corpus hominis*: A beautifully elaborated metaphor. On the favorite characterisation of stylistic or rhetorical qualities by terms relating to the human body, see note c. 21 4.

To the parallel instances there cited, add c. 31 19 f. orator ... tenebit venas animorum et ... adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem Cic. de orat. I 52, 223 orator teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis Plin. Ep. V 8, 10 hanc (sc. historiam) saepius ossa, musculi, nervi, illam (sc. orationem) tori quidam ... decent.

37 *nec per ipsum stetit*: 'cannot even be held responsible in his own person,' a common idiom usually followed by 'quominus,' rarely by 'quin' or 'ne.' *Nec* =ne — quidem as in c. 8 26, where see note. Cp. also G. 6 Ann. XI 30 XII 43 XIV 55 and Dr. *H. S.* II 73.

39 *videmus enim quam*: 'for we observe, how little.' This signification of 'quam,' especially after 'videre' is also idiomatic and frequent in Cicero. Cf. Rhet. ad Her. IV 20 videt ... quam conveniat Cic. de orat. II 31, 133 ut videatis quam sit genus hoc ('how unimportant.') Wilkins less justly, it would seem, reads quale with codd. mutili) 42, 180 vide quam sim ... deus 'how far I am from being a god in such matters' III 14, 51 vides quam alias res agamus
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'how little attention we pay' pro Sull. 11, 33 attende . . . quam ego defugiam (where see Halm's note) Liv. XXVIII 42, 20 quam compar consilium tuum . . . reputa. The meaning of the entire passage is clearly this. The absence of stylistic brilliancy so noticeable in the speeches of Corvinus is not so much due to ignorance of the requirements of a proper oratorical style but rather to his mediocre abilities which prevented him from carrying out whatever of good intentions he may have had. But want of natural talents is, in Aper's opinion, a less justifiable cause for censure than mistakes of taste or judgment which imply a lack of proper training. The truth of the criticism itself, is only partially confirmed by other passages. Quint. X 1, 113, does indeed deny vigor to Corvinus (viribus minor) but the author of Ep. ad Brut. I 15, 1 has a high opinion of Messalla's genius and sound judgment. ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videatur Sen. Contr. II 12, 8 (cited 18, 1) praises the purity of his style which Quint. l. c. and I 7, 35 distinguishes by the epithet 'nitidus,' a synonym of 'ornatus' and finally Aper himself, in apparent self-contradiction, had characterised his diction (c. 18 11) as being 'dulciors et magis elaboratus' than Cicero's. — The entire passage furnishes an example of the rhetorical figure commonly known as παράλειψις or praeteritio. Cp. G. Gebauer, de praeterit. formis apud oratt. Att. Zwickau 1874 Straub, l. c. p. 102–104 and G. Gerber, Spr. als Kunst II 2 p. 276 f.

The interpretation given above is based upon the easy and evident emendation of John (Correspbl. p. 10–12) who clearly showed that the 'videmus clause' must be causal, furnishing the reason for the alleged oratorical deficiency of Corvinus. Peter, followed by Andreasen, assumed two coördinate statements. (1) Corvinus was but a child of his day and as such under the controlling influence of the prevailing taste and culture. (2) His natural endowments did not keep pace with his better judgment. John has observed that the former of these assertions was equally applicable as an apology for the shortcomings of all the orators whom Aper had no scruples in condemning, and that there is no necessary logical connection between the two remarks in any case. This is true, but it should also have been added, that not even the idea itself, though the antithesis is common enough (e. g. Sen. Fragn. 112 non fuit Ciceronis hoc vitium sed temporis Ep. 97, 1 hominum sunt ista non temporum), is in reality contained in the words of the text; for they simply express a concrete statement of an alleged lack of stylistic embellishment in the speeches of Corvinus.

3 suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat, i.e. The Rhodian and to a certain extent also some of the less exaggerated Asianic types of oratory.

The X class of MSS. here followed by all editors with the exception of Baehrens, reads 'oratores setatis eiusdem' (Peter: orat. eiusd. act.) but this collocation is a flagrant violation of Tacitean usage, for out of nearly 500 examples of an attributive 'idem' and its infected forms, it is placed after the substantive to which it belongs in but five passages of the Annals, viz., Ann. II 14 nox eadem XIII 17 nocte eadem necem XIV nocte eadem (but H. III 10 eadem nocte) III 69 viro quondam ordinis eiusdem VI 32 Tiritatem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum. Again, 'eiusdem' and its noun, with the solitary exception just cited, invariably precedes the substantive which it modifies. Cf. e.g. 34 14 eiusdem setatis patronos 25 14 eorumdem temporum disertos 28 17 eiusdem familiae suboles G. 30 eiusdem sanguinis populi Ann. II 84 eiusdem fastigi viro III 78 eiusdem nobilitatis nominia.

5 primus excoluit orationem: 'generally improved upon oratorical composition.' In the succeeding statements these improvements are severally specified. — On the expression itself, cf. Quint. VIII 3, 86 sunt multi ac vari et excolendae orationis modi, and in general the discussion in Sen. Ep. 100. — primus verbis delectum adhibuit: This corresponds to ἐκλογὴ τῶν δομάτων which consists in the careful selection of an idiomatic and appropriate vocabulary and the avoidance of archaie or obsolete terms. Cf. Dion. Halic. De compos. verb. 1, 8 ἐκλογή χρήσεσθαι καθαρῶν ἢμα καὶ γενναίων δομάτων 9 ἢμ καὶ ἐγγένηται μοι σχελή καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν δομάτων ἐτέραν ἐξοίῳ σοι γραφήν Cic. de orat. III 37, 150 in propriis igitur verbis illa laus oratoris ut abieicta atque obsoleta fugiat, lectis atque inustribus utatur . . . in hoc verborum genere propriorum delectus est habendus sqq. It was this subject that formed the principal topic of Caesar's work de analogia. Cf. the fragment in Gell. I 10, 4 habe semper in memoria et in pectore ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum. — Concerning the justice of the statement itself, see the passage from the Orator quoted below. — On the orthography of 'delectus,' corrected throughout
to 'dilectus' by the scribe of the cod. Mediceus cp. Pfitzer, Die Ann ... krit. beleuchtet p. 48 and Wilkins, de orat. l. c.

6 compositioni: On the meaning of 'compositio,' see note c. 21 17 and on Cicero's theory and practice, cp. G. Wuest, Dissert. Argentorat. Vol. V (1882) p. 227 ff. E. Müller, De numero Ciceroniano, Berlin 1886 (Kiel Diss.) and in general, G. Amsel De vi ... rhythmorum quid veteres indicaverint Breslau 1887. — Concerning both the requirements here mentioned, cp. Quint. X 3, 5 delectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est et pondera singulorum exami-
nanda. Post subest ratio collocandi versenturque omni modo numeri, non ut quodque se proferet verbum occupet locum etc. — loco quotque lastiores attentavit: laetus as a rhetorical term is equivalent to 'ornatus' ἀθνόσε. On the implied metaphor, see Sandys' Cic. Orat. 24, 81. Cp. also Amm. Marc. XXIX 2, 8 figu-
urarum commentis splendidia loca attentare. May not this be one of the many Tacitean reminiscences of this author?

7 sententias: Cf. note c. 20 10. — On the entire passage, cf. Quint. XI 1, 49 reum ... fictis aut repetitis ex vetustate verbis, compositione quae sit maxime a vulgari usu remota, decurrentibus periodis quam laetissimus locis sententiaque dicentem.

8 senior iam et iuxta finem vitae compositus: e. g. pro Milone (51 v. c.) pro Ligario (50 v. c). Cf. Plut. Cic. 39) pro Deiotaro (44 v. c.), Philippiaca (44/43 v. c.). — iuxta = 'sub,' designating approach in time, is ἀν. ἐπ. It must be noted, however, that this particular preposition is also elsewhere in Tacitus used in very singular signifi-
cations. Cf. G. 21 periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem 'in proportion to' 30 velocitas iuxta formidinem 'is not far removed from.' — On the thought, see Cic. Brut. 2, 8 cunque ipsa oratio iam nostra canescent habet etque suam quandam maturitatem et quasi senectutem.

The two classes of our MSS are here again pitted against each other, as in l. 4, the one reading 'iam senior' and the other 'senior iam.' Tacitean usage again compels us to decide in favor of Y, for omitting such stereo-
typed collocations as 'iam vero, iam pridem, iam dudum,' and observing that 'iam' shows a very strong tendency to combine with 'et, ac, ut, non, nisi, si, que' and the like, I find that the postpositive use of iam is the rule in the Dialogus. Cf. c. 3 11 7 17 8 17 14 18 7 19 19 20 9. 18 31 27 32 30 33 9 34 2. See Am. Jour. Phil. XII 446 f.

postquam magis profecerat: postquam with the pluperf. ind. seems to be more frequent in Tac. (28 times) than in other writers.
So again c. 38 extr. p. omnia depacaverat. Cp. E. Hoffmann, *Zeitpart.* p. 37–39 Dr. H. S. II 588 ff.—Andresen observes that we should rather expect ‘plus’ (comp. of multum), but ‚magis’ is quite correct, when it signifies, as it does here, ‘in a higher degree.’ Cp. the excellent discussion of Haase in R. V. III 165 note 499 med.

9 *usuque:* Translate ‘After he had made considerable progress, having in particular learned.’ *Que* as an epexegetic conjunction is rare. Cf. c. 41 9 minimum usus minimumque prefectus. Dr. H. S. II 45 overlooked both these passages “Auc Tacitus weiss ich nur anzuführen G. 29 ultra Rhenum uluaque veteres terminos Ann. II 88 scriptores senatoresque.” See also Nagelsbach, Stilist. § 193, 1 b.

10 *esse* i. e. the best type of oratory as Cicero erroneously understood it, for in Aper’s opinion Cicero was still far from having realised the perfect ideal even in his maturity, as is made evident by some serious shortcomings which we are told characterise all his orations.—*nam priores orationes* etc.: Aper probably had specially in mind the speeches pro P. Quinctio (81 B.C.), pro Rosc. Amer. (80) and pro Rosc. com. rodo. (76), for Cicero himself dates the beginning of his ‘Meisterjahre’ from the year 75. Cf. Brut. 92, 318 cum autem anno post ex Sicilia me recepissem iam videbatur illud in me, quidquid esset, esse perfectum et habere maturitatem quandam suam.—On the style of Cicero’s earlier speeches, Cp. Landgraf, *De Cic. elocut. in orat. pro P. Quinctio et pro S. Rosc. Amer. conspiciu,* Würzburg 1874 Comment. to the latter speech. Mai. Erlangen 1884 and Hellmuth, *De serm. proprietat. quaer in priorib. Cic. orat. inven.* Erlangen, 1877.

11 *lentus in principiis, longus in narrationibus:* Cf. c. 19 11 longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series Quint. X 2, 17 otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse Sen. Ep. 100, 7 pedem servat lenta (sc. compositio Ciceronis).

12 *otiosus circa excessus:* *otiosus* ‘tiresome, long-winded.’ Cf. c. 18 24 and Sen. Ep. 114, 16 illa in exitu lenta, qualis Ciceronis est. On the use of *circa,* see c. 3 17. — *excessus* is the more usual term in Silver Latin for ‘digressio’ or ‘egressio.’ Cf. Quint. III 9, 4 egressio vero vel quod usitatus esse coepit excessus.—*tardo cometetur, raro incaescit:* This criticism is completely at variance with the verdict of antiquity, and undoubtedly an intentional mis-
representation on the part of Aper. See Cicero's own statement, Brut. 93, 322 nemo qui ad iracundiam magno opere iudicem, nemo qui ad silet posset adducere, nemo qui animum eius, quod unum est oratoris maxime proprium, quocumque res postularat, impellere Orat. 37, 129 magno semper usi impetu, saepe adversarios de statu omni deiecinus . . . quid ego de miserationibus loquar? quibus eo sum usus pluribus, quod, etiam si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant, in quo ut viderer excellere non ingenio sed dolore adsequerar quae . . . apparent in orationibus, et si carent libri spiritu illo propter quem maiora eadem illa cum aguntur quae cum leguntur videri solent . . . nulla me ingeni sed magna vis animi inflammat, ut me ipse non teneam; nec umquam is qui audit, incenderetur nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. Quint. X 1, 107 of Cicero (as compared with Demosthenes) salibis certe et commiseratione, quae duo plurimum in adfectibus valent, vincimus. Plut. Cic. 3 ὃ ὄτε δὲ τοῦ λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἦχοντος 39 ὁ Κύκέρων ὑπερφυὸς ἦκεν καὶ προοίμαιν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστός ὁ λόγος (pro Ligario) πολλὰς μὲν ἵναι χρώας ἐπὶ τοῦ προτωποῦ τὸν Καίσαρα.

13 pauci sensus apte etc.: This is also flatly contradicted by Cic. Orat. 50, 168 meae (sc. orationes) quidem et perfecto completoque verborum ambitu gaudent et curta sentiunt nec amant redundantia. quid dico meas? contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba ceacidissent. id enim expectant aures, ut verbis colligetur sententia. non erat hoc apud antiquos (i.e. the Roman orators preceding Cicero) Sen. Ep. 100, 7 omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt, apud Pollionem cadunt exceptis paucissimis quae ad certum modum . . . adstricta sunt, Cp. also Cic. Orat. 52, 174. 53, 177. 57, 191. 70, 232 f. 71, 236, with Sandys' notes. — cum quodam lumine terminatur: Cicero repeatedly teaches that an orator should bestow great care upon rhetorical embellishment. Cf. e.g. de orat. III 52, 201 est quasi luminibus distinguenda et frequentanda omnis oratio sententiarum et verborum Orat. 54, 181 f. 25, 83. 39, 134 f. Quint. IX 1, 25. 4, 67. But what with the older orators had been only a means to an end, had in the speaker's day become an end in itself. See Sen. Ep. 100, 8 deest illis oratorius vigor stimulique, quos quaeris et subiti ictus sententiariam Quint. VIII 5, 2. 13 sed nunc allud volunt, ut omnes sensus in fine sermonis fierat aereum 4, 32 quare licet haec et nitere et aliquatenus extare videantur, tamen
lumina illa non flammæ sed scintillis inter fumum emicantibus similia dixeris, quae ne apparent quidem, ubi tota lucet oratio, ut in sole sidera ipsa desinunt cerni. The entire passage is virtually an amplified repetition of the ideas developed in c. 20.

_Apte_ the evident emendation of Acidallius, has been justly accepted, but the lacuna indicated in our MSS. ought not to have been so generally ignored. Michaelis inserted 'cadunt' with which 'apte' in the sense of 'numerose' is habitually combined. Vahlen preferred 'apte et ut oportet.' I believe the true reading is secured by combining both these conjectures. 'apte,' greatly resembles the abbreviated form of 'oportet,' and was, therefore, easily omitted by a scribe.

15 _firmus_ sans _paries_ est et _duraturus_ etc.: On the use of the fut. part. as an adjec. cf. note 9 22.—On a similar metaphor applied to oratory, cf. Cic. de orat. I 35, 161 sic evolavit oratio... et tamquam in aliquam locupletem ac refertam domum venerim, non explicata veste neque proposito argento neque tabulis et signis propalam conlocatis, sed his omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis ac reconditis.

As both _firmus_ and _duraturus_ are predicates (on the position of _firmus_, cf. note c. 6 26) 'est' cannot well be omitted. It easily dropped out before 'et' and after 'es.'

17 _locupletem_ ac _lautum_: _lautus_, synonymous with 'elegans, copiosus, splendidus,' is rarely used of persons e.g. Cic. in Verr. II 1, 6, 17, and in the Epistles, Plin. N. H. XVIII, 11, 28, 108 Iuv. III 221.—Observe the alliteration. So above 'lentus... longus.' Cf. also c. 26 8 lascivia... levitate... licentia 40 10 G. 27 lamenta et lacrimas H. I 12 licentia ac libidine II 10 libertatem et licentiam 49 laudibus et lacrimis Ann. III 59 litora ac lacus XV 64 libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori. See note c. 2 14.

_patrem_ _familiae_: So G. 10. This form, first used, according to Probus, by the historian Sisenna, is quite as common as the archaic genitive. Cp. Neue, _Formen_. I 6 ff._—tecto tegi_: An instance of the so-called figura etymologica. It occurs perhaps in but one other passage in Tacitus, viz. Ann. XII 31 facinora fecere. In c. 32 11 and in c. 34 8 it seems to have been intentionally avoided, see notes ad. loc. and in general, G. Landgraf. _Act. Erol._ II 1–69, 509–513 R. V. III 638 note 556° Ioh. Muller _Beitr._ II 30 ff.
18 visum et oculos: The concrete term joined by 'et' to the abstract, on which see note c. 9 1. This view is well confirmed by the use of 'ae' in the collocation immediately preceding, for 'imbrem ae ventum' expresses two distinct ideas, 'visum et oculos' but one. As the clauses are also antithetical and otherwise structurally symmetrical, this change of conjunctions would be inexplicable, were it not for the reason just given.


20 sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae: Two subjects designating similar ideas often take a sing. predicate, especially when the verb precedes and this, even if one of the subjects is in the plural. Cf. H. I 15 inrumpt adulatio, blanditiae II 78 datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini IV 42 securum reliquerat exul pater et divisa inter creditores bona. A verb, however, agreeing in the singular with the nearer of two subjects joined by 'et—et' is extremely rare. I am able to cite but two other instances viz. Cic. pro Mur. 7, 15 et proavus Murenæ et avus praetor fuit ad Att. IV 17, 3 et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. These exceptions may be justified, however, by the fact that both nouns are kept distinct in thought. The same is true of our passage, as is clear from what follows, 'sumere in manus' referring more particularly to 'aurum'; 'aspericere' to 'gemmae.' After et . . . et . . . et we have the sing. in c. 38 19 where see note. Cf. also c. 6 20.

21 libeat: The indefinite subject is easily supplied. Cp. note c. 9 22 Cic. de orat. I 8, 30 (cited as de orat. 25, 83 by Peter!) II 56, 228 de fin. III 21, 70 Tusc. Disp. IV, 11, 26. 20, 46 Lael. 16, 59, where see Seyff. Müll. Hor. Sat. I 1, 3 Quint. X 2, 24, 7, 4 XII 7, 7.

22 oblitterata et obsoleta: Cf. c. 8 3 remotis et oblitteratis Cic. de orat. III 37, 150 illa laus oratoris ut abiecta atque obsoleta fugiat Verr. II 1, 21, 56 nimiris antiqua et iam obsoleta Quint. IV 1, 58 ab obsoleta vetustate sumptum.


olentia, without the addition of 'antiquitatem' (cf. c. 21 18) or 'male' admits of no satisfactory explanation, nor does the context allow of Peter's interpretation 'geschmacklos' even if the word were elsewhere thus used. I regard the emendation 'obsoleta' as certain, and preferable to 'eoxeleta,' which Acidallus conjectured (cf. Sen. Ep. 114, 10 antiqua verba et exoleta) for three reasons. (1) It is palaeographically the easier (2), it retains the alliteration, which is particularly frequent in this chapter (3), it remains within the same metaphorical sphere as 'oblitterata,' 'rubigine infecta,' and the like, a rhetorical device very noticeable in numerous other Tacitean collocations of synonyms e.g. c. 20 17.

23 rubigine infectum: For the figure as applied to style, cf. Quint. X 1, 30 neque ego arma squalere sita ac rubigine velim sed fulgorem in iis esse and c. 20 19. The same phrase occurs in Val. Max. II 9, 5 horridae vetustatis rubigine infectum imperium. On the advice itself, cf. Cic. de orat. III 10, 39 neque tamen erit utendum verbis iis quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur . . . sed usitatia ita poterit uti, lectissimis ut utatur de opt. gen. 3, 8 (vitiosum est) in verbis si inquinatum, si abiectum, si non aptum, si durum, si longe petitum Quint. I 6, 39 verba ex vetustate repetita et auctoritate habent . . . sed opus est modo ut neque sint crebra nec utique ab ultimis et iam obliteratis repetita temporibus. Longinus (Rhet. Gr. I p. 306 Sp.) πεφυλαξο δι τοις λιαν δραχαιοις και ξένους των φυματων καταμαίνω το σώμα της λίξων. — tarda et inerti: tardus 'dragging,' synonymous with 'lentus' and 'spissus,' with which it is frequently combined. Cf. Cic. de orat. II 53, 213 et principia tarda et exitus item spissi et producti esse debent Quint. IX 4, 137 tarda et supina compositio. iners 'sluggish' and hence incapable of flash-like brilliancy (see c. 20 17 arguta et brevi sententia effusit).

24 structura, the figurative equivalent of 'constructio' or 'compositio.' Cicero never uses it without some apologetic particle. Cf. Brut. 8, 33 verborum quasi structura et quaedam ad numerum conclusio de opt. gen. 2, 5 verborum est structura quaedam duas res efficiens, numerum et levitatem Orat. 44, 149 quasi structura quaedam, with Sandys' note. — in morem annalium: i.e. in the dry manner of the old Annalists, such as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Fannius, Calpurnius Piso and many others whose uncouth style is criticised by Cic. de leg. I 2, 6 and de orat. II 12, 51 ff. Peter understands 'annales' of historical as opposed to oratorical composition, but, although the two styles are clearly distinguished by the ancients (Cic. de orat. II 15, 62 ff. Quint. X 1, 31 ff. Plin. Ep. V 8, 9-11), it were absurd to predicate the stylistic blemishes,
here enumerated, of historical writers generally. — fugitēt: The
use of this frequentative verb is almost wholly confined to pre-
classic poetry and with the possible exception of a doubtful passage
in Cic. Rosc. Am. 28, 78 not found in prose except in late Latin.

25 insulsam scurrilitatem: The same precept is given by Cic.
de orat. II 60, 244 non modo illud praeceptum ne quid insulsa sed
etiam si quid perridicule possis, vitandum est oratori utrumque ne
aut scurriis locus sit and Orat. 26, 88. According to modern
standards of taste, the orator’s own practice as shown by the
virulent personal invective with which some speeches, such as
those in Vatinium, in Pisonem, against Antony, pro Caelio, abound,
did not conform to his theory.—Scurrilitas seems not to occur
elsewhere as an epithet of style. Cf. note c. 21 16. — clausulas uno
et eodem modo determinet: Cf. Cic. de orat. III 50, 192 clausulas
autem diligentius etiam servandas esse arbitror quam superiora
quod in eis maxime perfectio atque absolutio iudicatur ... in ora-
tione autem pauci prima cernunt, postrema plerique: quae quoniam
apparent et intelleguntur, varianda sunt ne aut animorum iudiciis
repudientur aut aurium satietate. See also the minute directions
for ending a period in Orat. 63, 212 ff. — determinet = terminet.
Cf. Cic. de invent. I 52, 98 conclusio et exitus et determinatio orat
ions. On the use of the compound verb for the simple, cp.
note c. 7 17.

23. 1 rotam Fortunae: The reference is to a far-fetched pun in
the speech against Pisō (10, 22): cunque ipse nuxus in convivio
saltaret in quo cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem ne tum
quidem fortunae rotam pertimescebat ‘while he wheeled about in
the circular movement of the dance, he not even then dreaded the
wheel of fortune.’ The seemingly earliest reference to this sym-
bolical representation of Fortuna on a wheel or globe is in Paev. 
p. 104 Rib. Fortunam insanam esse et caecum et brutam perhibent
philosophi saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubili. Cp. also
157 omnes Fortunas ... cum pennis, cum rotis, cum gubernaculo
reperias Amm. Marcell. XXVI 8, 3 quod quivis beatus versa rota
Fortunae XXXI, 1, 1 Boeth. de consol. I pr. 1 II pr. 2 and the
numerous other references cited by Roscher, Myth. Lex. II p. 1506 f.
and Otto, Die Sprichw. der Röm. p. 142. The allegory was a favor-
ite one in the Middle Ages. Cp. Petrarch, De remed. utriusque fort. Praef. : attolit ae deicit et in gyrum rotat, and is common in English literature from the time of Rich. Rolle of Hampole (c. 1290–1349) and Chaucer. See also John E. Matzke, Public. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America New Series I 3. — ius verrinum: A double pun, the phrase signifying either 'Verrine justice' or 'boar's sauce.' But in justice to Cicero it must be remembered that the orator himself disclaims the authorship of these frigid witticisms, a fact which Aper characteristically ignores. See Verr. II 1, 46, 121 hine illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculci inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse ius tam nequam esse verrinum: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculci videbantur esse cum Sacerdotem exsecrabantur, qui verrem tam nequam reliquisset. Quae ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacete dicta neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos illud vellem recordari, istius nequitiam tum in ore vulgi atque in communibus proverbii esse versatam and II 4, 43, 95 quoted below. Rufinianus p. 39 H. cites this pun as an example of dextra quae, but Quint. VI 3, 4 in what sometimes seems to me like an unmistakable allusion to Aper's unfair censure, again draws attention to Cicero's motive in introducing these particular jeux de mots. He does not deny that the orator in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus adfectator (see Plut. Comp. Dem. et Cic. 1) but he adds mihi quidem . . . mira quaedam in eo videtur fuisset urbanitas . . . et illa ipsa quae sunt in Verrem dicta frigidius, aliiis adignavit et testimonia loco posuit ut, quo sunt magis vulgaria, eo sit credibilius illa ab oratore non ficta sed passim esse iactata. (See note below) utinamque libertus eius Tiro aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hae de re libros edidit, parceis dictorum numero indulsiisset et plus iudicii in eligendis quam in congerendis studiis addibusset: minus objectus calumniabibus foret qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni eius ingenio, facilius quod reici quam quod adici possit inventem. The jokes of Cicero were apparently eagerly collected in his life-time. Cf. ad fam. VII 32 IX 16, 4 XV 21, 2. His own theory of wit is fully developed in the de orat. II 54, 216–71. 290. See also Herwig, Das Wortspiel in Cicero's Reden, Progr. Attendorn 1889.

2 istud tertio quoque sensu . . . esse videatur: The rhythmical clausula here censured was sufficiently frequent in Cicero to attract
the attention of the ancient critics. Cf. Quint. IX 4, 73 esse videat
ium n nimis frequens (see also X 2, 18 quoted below) Probus
II 4, 5 trochaeus et paenon tertius facient illum structuram Tallio
peculiarem esse videatur.' Rufin. v. 16 ff. (Rh. Lat. Min. p.
575 H.) Tallius hunc laudat, cui sit paenultima longa: esse
trochaerus adest, videatur tertius ille quem paena vocat Muis
devota vetustas. Aper's statement is, of course, a gross exaggeration.
An actual count of the occurrence of esse videatur (or videat
ur) in the extant orations, discloses the fact that the phrase is
found but 83 times, distributed as follows (v. denotes videatur):
- pro Quintct. 28. 68 pro Rosc. Am. 153 in Verr. I, 1, 28. 37 II 1,
56; 2, 52 (v.) 61; 3, 96. 98 (v.) 99; 4, 38 (v.) 98 (v.) 109. 111 (v.)
124 (v.) 125. 126. 132 (v.); 5, 22. 150. 173 (v.) pro Tull. 1 (v.)
pro Font. 10, 22 (12) 13, 28 (18) pro Caec. 71. 78 pro Pomp. 104
(v.) 20 (v.) 24. 26. 41. 42. 47. 59. 67 pro Cluent. 8 (v.) 41 (v.) 66.
118 de leg. agr. I 24 II 1. 3. 7 (v.) 32. 37. 53. 65 in Cat. I 14
IV 12 pro Sull. 3. 23 (v.) 70. 83 (v.) pro Arch. 18 (v.) 31 pro
Flacc. 39 (v.) 83 cum Sen. grat. 15 de dom. 1 (v.) 36. 102. 107 de
har. resp. 2 (v.) pro Sest. 5. 10. 106 (v.) 108 pro Cael. 50 de prov.
cons. 5 in Pis. 62 pro Planc. 4. 9. 27 (v.) 73 (v.) 74 pro Mare. 19
(v.) Phil. V 1 (v.) VII 18 (v.) X 22 (v.) XII 50. To these may
be added 18 instances of -isse, -esse, posse videatur. About a
dozen times 'esse videatur' is placed in the middle of a sentence,
where its rhythm would be unnoticed. The phrase does not occur
in the 20 remaining speeches, viz. in Caec., pro Rab., in Cat. II.
III., pro Mur. (60 esse videare), in Vat. pro Balb., pro Rab. posth.,
pro Mil. (100 esse videatis), pro Lig., pro Deiot., Phil. I. II. III.
IV. VI. VIII. IX. XI. XII. — It may also be remarked that the
rhetorical and philosophical works of Cicero furnish but scattered
examples, with the exception of the de orat. where 'esse videatur'
(or 'videatur') is used 26 times, to 22 instances in all the others
taken together! That the rhythmical cadence was intentional on
the orator's part, is made evident by the observation that in well-
nigh all other combinations of esse or fuisse with some form of
videri, the latter always precedes. — The first two instances are given
as illustrations of 'scurrilitas,' while the third furnishes an example of
the violation of the precept 'nec . . . determinet.' — Sententia is
here equivalent to lumen; sensus to sentence, period, cf. note
c. 20 16.
4 plura omisi e.g. in Verr. II 4, 43 ext. numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant: velut in hac re aiebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immansissimum verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere 4, 24, 53 quod umquam . . . huiusce modi everriculum . . . fuit . . . quid facimus in Verre quem in luto volutatum . . . invenimus. Fragm. ap. Quint. VI 3, 55 ut omnia verreret Verres Plut. Cic. 7 τῷ οὐδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον i.e. quid Iudaeussum cum verre. It may be remarked that Aper might have found many apposite illustrations of 'scurrilitas' in none other than Cassius Severus himself. Cp. Robert l. c. p. 44.

— sola miratur atque exprimunt: Cf. Quint. X 2, 18 noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent: esse videatur. On the force of atque, 'they faithfully copy these things in consequence of their admiration for them,' see note c. 4 3.

5 genus hominum: In the second part of the Annals, Tacitus uses genus mortalium (e.g. XIII 50 XIV 27 XVI 13), g. hominum occurs H. I 22 V 3 and Ann. IV 30.

significasse contentus: On contentus with infinitive, cf. note c. 18 13.— utique versantur ante oculos: The same phrase was used by Aper c. 16 19.

7 Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio: Cf. Quint. X 1, 93 f. Lucilius quosdam ita deditus sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus (e.g. Horace) sed omnibus poetis praefere non dubitent. A preference for Lucretius over Virgil is still shared by many modern scholars. Cf. also Hor. Ep. II 1, 64 ff. Sen. Ep. 114, 13 multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba, duodecim tabulas loquentur, Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimir culi et recentes sunt: ad Appium usque et ad Coruncanium redunt id. ap. Gell. XII 2 admiror eloquentissimos viros et deditos Ennio pro optimis ridicula laudasse . . . quidam sunt, inquit, tam magni sensus Q. Ennii ut licet scripti sint inter hircosos, possint tamen inter unguentatos placere Pers. I 76 ff. est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Atti | sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa morētur | Antiopa aerumnis cor lucificabile fulta Mart. XI 90 carmina nulla probas mollis quae limite currunt | sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt | et tibi Maenonio quoque carmine maius habitur | Lucreii columna, hic situ' Metrophanes, | attonitursque legis terrae frugi ferai (Ennius), | Accius et quidquid Pacu-

8 eloquentia, here used of artistic composition generally. Cf. note c. 10 13. — Aufidii Bassi, a historian who died in the reign of Nero (see Sen. Ep. 30, 1 written c. 60 A.D.). He is mentioned together with his younger contemporary Servilius Nonianus also by Quint. I 1, 103 Bassus Aufidius egregie, uteque in libris belli Germanici, praestitit, genere ipso probabilis in omnibus, in quibusdam sui ipse viribus minor. Pliny the Elder began his history where Bassus left off (Plin. N. H. Praef. 20). Cp. Teuffel, § 277, 2. — Servilius Nonianus: M. Servilius Nonianus orator and historian was cons. in 35 A.D. (Tac. Ann. VI 31) and died in the year 59, according to Tac. Ann. XIV 19 Sequuntur virorum inulustrium mortes, Domitii Afr. et M. Servillii qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant... Servilius diu foro, max tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae quam clariorem effecit ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus. This favorable judgment is confirmed by Quint. X 1, 102 mihi egregie dixisse videtur S. N.... qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clarus vir ingenii et sententiius creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat.

9 ex comparisone = prae is rare and post-Aug. Cf. e.g. Plin. Ep. VII 30, 4 ex comp. sentio quam male scribam Curt. X 8, 9 ex comp. regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi Suet. Oct. 79 ex comp. proceriores. — Sisennae: L. Cornelius Sisenna (119–67) wrote a history of his own times. His style was highly archaic, to which fact we owe a number of fragments in Nonius. Cf. Cic. Brut. 74, 250 Sisenna autem quasi emendantor sermonis usitati cum esse vellet ne a C. Rusio quidem... deteretri potuit quo minus inusitatis verbis uteretur... sed ille... recte loqui putabat esse insituate loqui. Cp. Teuffel § 156, 1–3. — Varronis: M. Terentius Varro Rutilius (116–27). As the three preceding writers are historians, the reference can only be understood of Varro’s historical works proper (viz. Antiquitatum libri, Annales, de vita populi Romani, de gente populi Romani, de familiis Trojanis, Aetia, rerum urbanarum libri). The extant writings bear ample witness to his archaic style. — sordet ‘is held of no account.’

10 commentarios: By commentarii are understood the summaries of speeches which were subsequently enlarged into an artistic
oration. Sometimes these outlines were as carefully elaborated as if, says Quintilian (see the passage quoted below), they were designed for the perusal of posterity. That Calvus, whose excessive care in the stylistic polish of his speeches is well attested (cf. Cic. Brut. 82, 283 cited note c. 18 a), followed the same practice is intrinsically probable, although it is not elsewhere expressly so stated. In the rhetorical schools of the Empire, similar commentarii or ‘explicationes’ (cf. Sen. Suas. II 10 cited c. 26 11) were drawn up for the purely pedagogic purpose of furnishing to pupils characteristic specimens of the proper treatment of oratorical themes. Aper means to say, therefore, that the still extant summaries of Calvus were highly esteemed at the expense of the excellent and far superior outlines prepared by modern rhetoricians which the blind admirers of the ancients disdainfully cast aside as worthless. The context lends itself so naturally and easily to this interpretation that I quite fail to see either the necessity for substituting some other proper name for Calvus or any ground for the artificial explanations often given to commentarii, a term made perfectly clear by Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 sine commentario numquam dixit (sc. Severus) nec hoc commentario contentus erat in quo nudae res ponuntur, sed maxima parte perscribatur actio Quint. X 7, 30 Plerumque autem multa agentibus accidit, ut maxime necessaria et utique initia scribant ... quod fecisse M. Tullium commentariis ipsius apparat. Sed feruntur aliorum quoque et inventi forte ut eos dicturus quique composuerat et in libros digesti, ut causarum quae sunt actae a Serv. Sulpicio, cuius tres orationes extant; sed hi de quibus loquor commentarii ita sunt exacti ut ab ipso mihi in memoriam posteritatis videantur esse compositi. — fastidiunt, oderunt: The same verbs are grouped together in Hor. Ep. II 1, 22 fastidit et edit. Cf. also Quint. XI 1, 15 afferit non fastidium modo sed plerumque etiam odium. Tac. H. II 68 oderant ut fastiditi. Similar asyndeta are not rare in classic Latin, very frequent in Tacitus and a characteristic feature of the so-called ‘Africtas.’ Cf. G. 14 defendere tueri H. I 2 agerent verterent II 12. 26. 50. 70 III 11. 83 IV 24. 74. 81 Ann. I 41 orant obsistunt, redirect maneret II 19. 82 III 26 IV 9 VI 24. 35 XI 16 celebrari coli XII 51 XV 55 Cp. Dr. H. S. II 200 Heraeus, Tac. H. II 70 Woelflin, Archiv VII 478 Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 173, 3 S. Preuss, De disiuncti bimembris usu solemni, Erlangen Diss. 1881.
NOTES.

11 fabulantes: Used contumeliously for ‘dicentes’ or ‘agentes.’ So again c. 39 4. The verb is not found in Cicero.—auditores: Here distinguished from the lay public. Cf. note c. 20 8.

12 sequuntur: ‘to follow attentively.’ No strictly parallel instance seems to occur elsewhere, but in the sense of ‘mente adeeui,’ the verb is not uncommon e.g. Sen. Ep. 40, 8 iudex subsequi poterit Quint. X 1, 15 sequi suis viribus possit 50 intellectu sequi.—Cic. Brut. 84, 289 uses similar language of the unpopularity of the Atticists: non modo a corona... sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur etc.

13 maestī ‘devoid of oratorical ornament’ opp. to laetus.

14 sanītās: Frequently used as an epithet of style. Cf. Quint. XII 10, 15 Cic. Brut. 13, 51.—ieiunio: In the figurative sense of a desiccated diction, the word is āw. dp. Cicero has the form ieiunitas e.g. Brut. 82, 285.—On the thought, cf. Cic. de opt. gen. 3, 8 qui (Attici) cum careant omni vitio non sunt contenti quasi bona valetudine sed vires, sanguinem quaerunt... incorrupta sanitate... esse ieiunior.—porro = atqui. Cf. c. 5 7.

15 valetudinem: valetudo is a so-called vox media, designating either good or bad health, but the former signification without some attributive like ‘bona, optīma, commoda’ is very rare. I have noticed no instances either in Seneca or the younger Pliny and Quintilian furnishes only one example viz. XII 11, 26 ingenium, valetudo, facultas, praeceptores non deerunt. In Tacitus, only in Ann. III 71 pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae (sc. donum).—animi anxietate: This collocation is common, cf. Ovid, Ep. ex Pont. I 4, 8 Curt. IV 13, 16 Sall. Iug. 55, 4 (a. anxius) and similarly angor animi e.g. Suet. Tib. 7. 49. ‘anxius’ is also elsewhere in Tacitus opposed to ‘alacer’ e.g. H. I 88 in pace anxii, turbatis rebus alacres or to laetus e.g. Ag. 39 fronte laetus, pectore anxius.

16 laetum et alacrem: Also joined together in Sen. ad Helv. 20, 1 Ep. 72. 4 Quint. II 9, 2. In Cic. pro Mur. 24, 49 as usual in inverse order, cf. note c. 4 3. On the distinction between the two words, cf. Ps. Ascon. in Verr. p. 133 Or.—The same antithesis and the same figurative application in almost identical language is found in Ps. Plut. Περι παθών 9: καθάπερ δέ το σώμα οὐ μόνον ύψιστόν, ἄλλα καὶ εὐεκτικόν εἰναι χρή καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπαύτως οὐκ ἄνοσου μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ εὐρωπτόν εἰναι δεῖ. On this remarkable parallelism see Proleg. p. ci f.
17 infirmitas: Here in its classical meaning 'indisposition.' In most post-Aug. authors the word is virtually synonymous with morbus. e.g. Plin. ad Trai. XI Suet. Tib. 72. With the thought, cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. Prol. 6 multum interest inter vires et bonam valetudinem.

18 vos vero: i.e. these remarks do not apply to you who despite your intense admiration for the ancients, do not slavishly follow in their footsteps, for your speeches, while retaining what is excellent among the ancients, are admirable specimens of the modern style of eloquence and they will sooner or later be regarded as shedding lustre upon our age.

19 inlustrate: Cf. c. 37 24 and Quint. X 1, 122 summa hodie quibus inlustratur forum ingenia. This apostrophe was doubtless suggested by Cic. de orat. I 8, 34 quam ob rem pergite, ut facitis, adolescentes atque in id studium, in quo estis, incumbite.

22 electio inventionis: Translate: 'Such happiness do you display in the choice of your subject.'

'ea' is an evident emendation for 'et' which destroys the asyndetic collocation so carefully preserved throughout the symmetrically constructed peroration.

24 planitas 'perspicuity,' a δν. απ. formed from 'planus,' which often has this meaning. Cf. note c. 21 16.

NOTES.

quoniam quidem in vicino versatur invidia, simplicius longe posita miramur Curt. VIII 18 nec Herculem nec Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos quam viciisset secum viventium invidiam Quint. III 1, 21 parco nominibus viventium: veniet eorum laudi suum tempus; ad posteros enim virtus durabit, non perveniet invidia Plin. Ep. I 16, 8 neque enim debet operibus eius (sc. Pompei Saturnini) obesse quod vivit. An si inter eos quos numquam vidimus, non solum libros eius verum etiam imaginibus requíreremus Tac. Ann. IV 35 suum cuique decus posteritas rependít. Also Hor. Ep. II 1, 10 ff.

Ch. 24–32. After a few general remarks on Aper’s speech, Maternus calls upon Messalla to make good his promise to discuss the causes of the decline of eloquence (c. 24). Messalla begins with a short digression, by first pointing out that the ancient orators, though unquestionably differing in degree, virtually represent the same type, which, Aper’s contention to the contrary, is far preferable to the sensational style of modern oratory. About to prove this in detail (c. 25–26), he is again recalled to the main theme at issue (c. 27). He thereupon proceeds to show that one of the chief causes of the decline in question is due to the less thorough intellectual and moral training of contemporary youth (c. 28–33).

24. 2 vim et ardorem: Grouped together also in Tac. Ag. 8 H. I 62. — torrente: Impetuous speech is often compared to a rushing stream. Cf. Cic. de fin. II 1, 3 fertur quasi torrens oratio Quint. X 7, 23 id potius quam se inani verborum torrenti dare III 8, 60 Plin. Ep. I 16, 2 omnia haec mire placent, cum impetu quodam et flumine praeveluntur Iuv. X 9, 128.

4 quanto . . . incesseret: Aper not only displayed great talent and enthusiasm, but also learning and rhetorical training, which he affected to despise (see c. 2 16), attacking the ancients with the very weapons which he took out of their own oratorical armory, as it were. Mututus is joined to ‘ingenio ac spiritu’ by zeugma, some general expression such as ‘usus est’ having to be supplied in thought. ‘Locutus,’ which Andresen following Doederlein prefers, is not sufficiently akin in meaning to ‘mututus,’ — a necessary requirement in all zeugmatic constructions. As Maternus here praises Aper’s speech for its erudition and skill, so Catulus in Cic. de orat. II 89, 362 compliments Crassus in a similar manner. — For the repetition of the pronoun (ipsis . . . ipsos) which has been
unjustly objected to, John aptly compares Cic. de fin. I 20, 69 ipsi amici propter se ipsos amens. See also Peter’s note ad loc. — per quae = quibus. The use of ‘per’ with the acc. of the thing, in place of the usual instrumental ablative, begins to be common in Livy and is far more frequent in Tacitus than might appear from Dr. Stil p. 39. 43. See the long list of exx. in Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 1093–1095. In the Dial. again c. 33 20 and, exactly similar, Ann. I 65 II 72 XVI 24 per quae Ann. I 28. 60 1V 18 per haec and so repeatedly in Quintilian. See Bonnell’s Lexicon.

6 tuum promissum: See c. 16 5 f.—inmutasse debet: This passage is erroneously cited by earlier editors and Weinkauff p. 115 as an instance of the logical perfect (on which see note c. 15 10 18 13), for the action implied in ‘inmutasse’ is completed.

9 ne ipse quidem its sentit etc. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 18, 84 Charmades vero multo uberius eisdem de rebus loquebatur, non quo aperiret sententiam suam; hic enim mos erat patrius Academiae adversarii semper omnibus in disputando 62, 263 haud scio an aliter sentias et utare tua illa mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine... cuius quidem ipsius facultatis exercitatio oratorum propria est, sed iam in philosophorum consuetudine versatur maximeque eorum qui de omni re proposita in utramque partem solent copiosissime dicere and notes c. 15 10 16 10.

10 more vetere et a veteribus philosophis: The practice, known as els ἐκάρτα ἐπεχείρησις, in utramque partem disputatio, is usually regarded as a peculiar feature of the New Academy. Cp., besides the passage cited in previous note, c. 31 28 dabunt Academici pugna-citatem Cic. de fin. II 13, 42 quae possunt eadem contra Carneadeum illud summum bonum dici quod is non tam, ut probaret, protulit quam ut Stoicis... oppugnaret de orat. I 10, 43 Academia, quae, quidquid dixisses, id te ipsum negare coegeret Tusc. Disp. II 3, 9 mihi semper Peripateticarum Academiaeque consue-tudo de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes disserendi... placuit Quint. XII 2, 25 Academia quidam utilissimam credunt quod mos in utramque par tem disputandi ad exercitationem forensium causarum proxime accedat. Plut. de fac. lun. 923 A. See also Reid, Cic. Acad. Pr. 2, 7. — et veteribus philosophis is added to ‘more vetere’ for the sake of nearer definition, cf. note c. 9 1.

Nipperdey, Rh. Mus. XIX 570 f. has in my judgment irrefutably demonstrated the untenability of both ‘vestris’ and ‘nostris.’ John ad loc. and
others take 'noster' — nostrae actatis, but this interpretation in no way removes the difficulty, for the philosophic sects referred to had long been extinct in the speaker's day (hence 'more etere'). Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. I 5, 11.

_saepe celebrato:_ I have been unable to verify Wolff's assertion that this pleonasm is frequent.

11 _igitur:_ On the position, cf. note c. 3 i. — _non laudationem antiquorum etc._: This statement is quite incompatible with the supposition that c. 36 ff. are a part of the speech of Maternus. Cp. Prolegomena pp. lxxv—lxxxiv.

The accidental omission of 'in' before 'tantum' is intrinsically more probable than its intentional insertion by some scribe. Cf. c. 32 25 cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum recesserimus (no variants). G. 45 in tantum . . . a servitute degenerant and note c. 2 13.

_cum praeertim, 'and that too, although'._ On this peculiar use of 'cum praeertim,' cf. Madvig, Cic. de fin. II 8, 25, where some 18 parallel instances (from Cicero) are quoted, to which we may add Quint. X 1, 105.

14 _centum et viginti:_ Translate 'Only 120 years.' The omission of 'tantum,' almost invariably before numerals, is highly idiomatic. Cp. the exhaustive discussion by H. S. Anton, _Stud. z. lat. Gramm._ I p. 126—161 (esp. p. 134—136).

15 _effici ratio temporum collegerit:_ i.e. 'Aper's chronological calculation (c. 17 i5) has shown that we arrive at an interval of only 120 years between Cicero's death and the present time.' The somewhat strained expression was occasioned primarily by the quasi-personification of ratio, on which see F. Meyer, _De personif._ . . _usu Tacit._ Göttingen 1884. Helmreich, _Bluett. f. Bayr. Gymn._ X (1874) p. 256 aptly quotes Colum. III 10, 3 modo enim disputatio nostra colligebat uniuicue corporis parti proprium esse adtributum officium.

The MS. reading, therefore, does not present insuperable difficulties. The deletion of 'effici' or of 'collegerit,' on the other hand, is unmethodical, because it is not probable that a scribe would ever have inserted either of these verbs on mere caprice.

25. _1 tum:_ On the ellipsis of 'inquit,' see note c. 4 1.

2 _diu_ = pluribus verbis. So also c. 11 3.

3 _ut opinor:_ On the meaning of 'ut opinor' see note c. 32 27.— _nominis controversiam:_ Cf. Cic. de orat. I 11, 47. 23, 107 de fin.
II 12, 38 verbi (verborum) controversia. — **tamquam**, introduces the opinion of another, as in c 2 2, where see note.

4 **centum annos**: Messalla curtly dismisses Aper's chronological argument as irrelevant and is hence free to use a round number, even though it may seem to favor his opponent's contention, by still further narrowing down the short interval that has elapsed between the so called 'antiqui' and his own time.

5 **de vocabulo pugna**: Similar military metaphors are frequent. Cf. e.g. Cic. de fin. II 13, 42 Stoicis quibecum bellum gerebat (sc. Carneades) de div. II 51, 105 Quint. X 1, 105 quantam mihi concitem pugnam.

6 **quo alio nomine**: e.g. veteres, prisci, olim nati. — **dum modo** occurs in Tacitus only here and G. 6, 'dum' taking its place in his other writings.

7 **in confessio**: The same expression occurs c. 27 3 and frequently elsewhere (see Dict.). On these and similar prepositional phrases, cp. Dr. H. S. I 55–59 Stil p. 36 Gerber De usu praep. p. 11. — **eminentiorem**, used figuratively as in c. 1 2.

8 **parti 'passage'**. — **si cominus fatetur**: This much disputed passage seems to me perfectly intelligible and unobjectionable in expression. Si for the more regular 'qua' is sufficiently supported by the many parallel constructions adduced by Vahlen, Prooem. 1876/7 p. 8 1878/9 p. 9 e.g. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 46, 111 illa suspicio... cruciat, si opinamur III 31, 76 detrahere illam opinionem maerenti, si se officio fungi putet. **cominus**, in keeping with the military metaphors immediately preceding, is somewhat boldly but appropriately here used of coming closer to the main point at issue which Aper did, when he made the remark (c. 18 7 f.) which Messalla approvingly repeats, for the discussion which preceded was, in the speaker's opinion, as we have seen, not germane to the subject. On a perfectly analogous use of 'cominus,' cf. Cic. de div. II 10, 26 sed haec fuerit nobis tamquam levis armaturae prima orationis excursio. nunc **cominus agamus**. — **fatetur** = profitetur. Common in all periods of the language, in Tac. again c. 17 17 Ann. I 13 II 13. See also note c. 1 18. — There is, as Andresen well observes, a touch of sarcasm in these words, implying that Aper had, with some flourish, adduced as an original discovery what was after all but a well-recognised truth.

The interpretation just given seems to me perfectly suited to the context, and as it involves no arbitrary or violent changes, I cannot but regard the
numerous emendations proposed as an unnecessary tampering with the text. Cp. Arendsen, *Emend.* p. 148-150 John, *Corresp.* p. 29 f. — Ioh. Müller, followed by Wolff and Arendsen, ingeniously conjectured 'qua quasi cominus nius' on the analogy of Tac. Ann. IV 61 adversum resistentia cominus nius fatetur. But 'qua' for 'si' is not called for, as has been shown, nor is 'quasi' needed; for Tacitus and other post-Augustan writers freely dispense with apologies for unusual metaphors. See E. Wolff, *Einleitung.* p. 14 f. 'nias' is also superfluous, for I cannot see why 'cominus' may not have the meaning which was given to it above. Finally, it is intrinsically improbable that three words were omitted in the MSS. Nissen's easy emendation 'comminus,' revived by Vahlen, is, in my judgment out of place, as I am unable to recognize any threat in the words of Aper in c. 18 7 agere enim fortius iam et audientius volo.


10 primae sc. partes. A very frequent ellipsis (see Dict.); in Tac. also Ann. XIV 21 eloquentiae primas nemo tuli. With 'tribuere' e. g. Cic. Orat. 5, 18 cui vel primas eloquentiae patrum nostrorum tribuebat actas 17, 56. — Demothenes and Cicero are habitually grouped together as marking the zenith of oratical greatness in antiquity. Cp. the beautiful antithesis in Hieron. ad Nepot. de vita cleric. : Demothenes tibi (sc. Ciceroni) praepipuit, ne esses primus orator; tu illi ne solus. — *Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus:* The names of the Greek, as well as those of the Roman orators, enumerated immediately below, are not arranged chronologically, but in the order of merit. Quint. X 1, 76 agrees with this critical estimate: Decem (sc. oratores) simul Athenis aetas una tulit quorum longe princeps Demothenes . . . Aesch. Hyp. . . . Lysias. The coincidence has been thought highly significant. It ceases to be so, when we observe that Quintilian proceeds to discuss Isocrates, while Lycurgus is never so much as even mentioned throughout the entire Institutio.

The editors of the Dial. have with singular unanimity rejected 'autem' before 'locum.' It is, however, eminently proper in this place, as shown by the succeeding symmetrically constructed clause: Cicero . . . Calvus autem. It is the second 'autem' that ought to have been objected to, and I feel convinced that the original reading was 'tamen.' The corruption was either due to the false solution of an illegible compendium, or to meta-
thesis or to the influence of the preceding 'autem.' Cp. vv. ll. c. 41 to Ann. XIII 25. If we substitute 'tamen,' Messalla's point is at once brought out with admirable distinctness: "Although D. was considered primus omnium and not primus inter pares, yet (tamen) his age was by common consent regarded as marking the culmination of Greek eloquence, so the age of Cicero marks a similar climax in Roman oratory, even though Cicero's immediate contemporaries failed to reach his consummate excellence." Cp. also below, omnes tamen.

12 concesse for the usual 'consensu,' frequent in Cicero but rare elsewhere e.g. Caes. B. G. VII 20 Tac. Ann. XII 44.

13 haec oratorum actas = horum oratorum. On the hypallage, cf. note c. 2 3.

14 antecesse: Intransitive verbs when compounded with a preposition frequently assume a transitive meaning and as such take the accusative. Examples of this use are chiefly confined to post-Aug. writers and very common in Tacitus. 'Antecedere' is, however, it must be noted, always construed with the acc. by Caesar, who uses this verb seven times. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 376–82 Stil p. 20.—On the remarkable phenomenon that the great orators of Greece as well as of Rome were contemporaries, cf. Vell. Pat. I 16, 2 f. quis enim abunde mirari potest quod eminentissima cuinisque professionis ingenia in similitudine et temporum et profectuum semet ipsa ab aliis separaverunt . . . neque hoc Graecis quam in Romanis evenit magis . . . oratio ac vis forensis sub principio operis sui erupit, Tullio ut delectari ante eum paeissimis, mirari vero neminem possis nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum viderit.

16 referit quod: Referit followed by 'quod' seems to be d. e. p. So once also after 'interest' in Traian. Ep. ad Plin. 30, 2 neque enim multum interest quod nondum per numeros distributi sunt (sc. milites).—With the antithesis, cf. Quint. XII 10, 22 quos (sc. oratores Attici) ut homines inter se genere similes, differentes dixeris specie.

17 adstrictior Calvis: adstrictus 'concise,' synonymous with 'pressus, contractus, collectum (c. 31 22) διάξυνας (peri ὕψως 34).’ Cf. Cic. Brut. 90, 309 contracta et adstricta eloquentia Plin. Ep. I 20, 20 qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit III 18, 10 ea potius quae pressius et adstrictius quam illa quae hilarius et quasi exsultantius scripsi and note c. 18 6.—nervosior Asinius: 'energetic, vigorous.' A common epithet of style and peculiarly appropriate
to Pollio. Cf. Cic. Brut. 31, 121 quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone...quis Aristotele nervosior, Theophrasto dulcior?

The generally accepted reading 'numerosior' was due to a wrong solution of a compendium, still preserved in cod. A. It is less probable than 'nervosior' for two reasons: (1) Messalla's criticisms throughout turn upon general characteristics of style, and not upon technical or formal qualities; (2) 'numerosior' is too much at variance with Seneca's judgment on this point (cited c. 21 33) to render it plausible that Messalla should deliberately single out this feature as particularly characteristic or praiseworthy in Pollio's speeches. John's interpretation of Seneca's criticism does not convince me.

splendidior Caesar: splendidus here apparently synonymous with 'elegans, purus.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 100, 5 splendidida tamen, quamvis suntantur e medio 114, 14 nisi splendidis uti...necessaria atque in usu posita vitare Cic. Brut. 88, 302 erat in verborum splendore elegans. It was this quality which according to the unanimous verdict of antiquity especially distinguished Caesar's dictio. Cf. Cic. Brut. 72, 252, 261 Hirtius, R. G. VIII pr. 8 Quint. X 1, 114. amarius Caesius: Cf. note c. 18 6.—gravior Brutus: Cf. note c. 21 21.

19 vehementior: This is said in opposition to Aper's assertion in c. 22 12 tarde commovetur, raro incaescit. — plenior: Cicero's fulness of expression, which Aper l. c. censured, is in Messalla's judgment not open to adverse criticism.—valentior: Cf. Cic. de fato 6, 12 valens dialecticus.—Of the orators mentioned by Aper, Messalla omits his ancestor, Messalla Corvinus, for obvious reasons.

Tatius uses 'praes se ferre' (Ag. 43 G. 39) as well as 'praeferre' (Ann. XIII 3). Andresen's emendation has been received into the text, because praeferreunt was more easily corrupted into ferunt than praeferreunt, the apparent dittoigraphy of 'se' causing the omission of 'praes.'

22 quavis in diversis ingenii etc. The same antithesis occurs in Cic. de orat. II 23, 94 alii (sc. historici) naturis differunt, voluntate autem similes sunt. Cf. also ibid. 92 non tamen facile in nostris oratoribus possumus indicare quia scripta, ex quibus indicium fieri posset...quam in Graecis, ex quorum scriptis, cuiisque aetatis quae dicendi ratio voluntasque fuerit intellegi potest.

23 quod: Translate: 'As regards their mutual recriminations and the occurrence of certain remarks.' This passage is cited by Dr. H. S. II 224 ff Stil p. 58 and the commentators as the only illustration of the brachylogical use of 'quod' in Tacitus, but not
to mention the disputed passage in Ann. IV 33 tum quod antiquis oratoribus rarus obtrectator, on which see Furneaux and Ioh. Muller, Beitr. III p. 46 ff., I recognise in Ag. 34 quos quod tandem inveniatis, non restiterunt sed deprehensi sunt, a very similar construction. — invicem se obtrectaverunt: Invicem on the analogy of 'inter se,' its classical equivalent, is generally used without an additional 'se' and so invariably elsewhere in Tacitus, barring one exception in Ag. 6 invicem se anteponendo. Similar examples are by no means rare in Silver Latin e.g. Plin. Ep. III 7, 15 cum invicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt Pomp. Mela III 52 se invicem infestant Ps. Quint. Decl. p. 194, 25, 258, 6 R. Acest. Plaut. Men. 10 ibi se cognoscunt fratres postremo invicem. Cp. Hartmann, Archiv III 290 and esp. Thielmann, ibid. VII 362—366, 388, also Schmalz, Antib. p. 718 f.

Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus. XIX 571 f. and Ann. XIV 17) to whom the above passages were unfortunately unknown, refused to accept 'invicem se;' as correct Latin. The very awkward exception in the Agricola he promptly disposes of by gravely laying down the rule that 'se' may be added, for the sake of clearness, if the verb can also govern a dative case, a rule which its author abandons at once by deleting 'se' in our passage, apparently forgetting that 'obtrectare' with the acc. of the person in place of the dative is found only here.

24 et . . . epistulis eorum: Cf. c. 18 22 ff. On the affirmative use of 'et,' very common in Tacitus, see Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 103.

25 hominum 'human nature.' In this sense, also in Tac. H. IV 74 Ann. I 61. Cp. humanae infirmitatis vitium, below.

26 Asinimum: Asinius Pollio, though well-known as a malevolent critic (cp. Teuffel § 221, 6) had not been included by Aper in c. 18 20 to which passage Messalla expressly refers. But this inconsistency, as Vahlen, Proem. 1878/9 p. 6 has pointed out, is no more open to criticism than the similar instances of incongruity in c. 3 20 or 25 31, where see notes.

'et invidere' has generally been athesised as an explanatory gloss to 'liveré,' but, as John, Correspbl. p. 31 has convincingly shown, the two verbs are by no means synonymous and, even if they were so, the deletion of one of them would not be justifiable, in view of the fondness for synonymc collocations which characterises this treatise. The genuineness of 'invidere' is, moreover, clearly demonstrated by the observation that 'ceteri' and also 'alii' invariably refer back to a substantive antecedent which, with the reading hitherto adopted, could only be supplied from the infinitive. This difficulty is disposed of by the easy correction of 'liveré' into 'livore.'

29 *judicium animi detexitae:* 'revealed his conviction.' So c. 27 9 and Cic. de orat. II 89, 363 gaudeo judicium animi mei comprobati. Brutus alone, Messalla contends, gave expression to his convictions frankly and openly, being free from malice and envy, which influenced the criticism of the others. The commentators assume a zeugma here, supplying 'iudicasse' (Peter) or 'locutos esse,' but this is based upon the erroneous supposition that 'judicium animi' necessarily designates 'sincere conviction,' whereas the phrase derives its precise meaning, in bonam or malam partem, solely from the context. 'Locutos esse' is, moreover, open to the objection mentioned in c. 24 5. See also Clemm, De breviloq. Tac. p. 140. — With this high estimate of Brutus’ character, cf. Quint. X 1, 123 scias eum sentire quae dicit Caesar ap. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1 (cited c. 21 26), and following note. — *an ille Ciceroni invideret qui ... ne Caesari quidem invidisse?* Cf. Plut. Brut. 29 'Αυτονόμον γε και πολλούς ἀκούσαι λέγοντος, ὧς μόνον οὖστο Βρούτον ἐπιθύμητα Καίσαρι προαχῆτα ... τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνόμα συνήτημα μισοῦντας καὶ φθονοῦντας. Compr. Dion. et Brut. 3 ἡ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέχθεια καὶ μισοπονηρία, τοῦτ’ ἐλε- κρανίως ἐστὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ καὶ καθαρῶν.

30 *quod ... attinet:* In Tacitus only here and Ag. 33 quod ad me attinet, 'quantum ad' taking its place e.g. Ag. 44 G. 21 H V 10. — *C. Laelium:* Aper in the passage directly alluded to had mentioned Galba and Carbo. The inaccuracy of Messalla’s reference must be admitted, but it was doubtless intentional, in order to impart an air of spontaneity to what purports to be an informal conversation among friends. To insist on bibliographical exactness, as some have done, is absurd. Cp. crit. note c. 18 3. — On the oratorical characteristic of Laelius, cf. Cic. de orat. I 13, 58 Ser. Gaebae ... C. Laelio quos constat dicendi gloria praestitisse Brut. 21, 83 multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille (sc. Laelius) quam Scipio ... delectari milii magis antiquitate videtur et luben- ter verbi etiam uti paullo magis priscis Laelius. But compared to Galba, his style was less archaic (Brut. 24, 94).
The necessity of inserting 'Aper' has been convincingly demonstrated by Androsen *Emend.* p. 152 f. Tacitus often repeats the subject, even where all possible ambiguity is excluded. Cf. c. 9 i 12 i 24 i 20 i 5. — The omission of 'id' was due to the preceding syllable. This emendation is of so easy a nature that critics ought to have had no hesitation in adopting it, instead of taking the entire sentence 'quod ... destitit' as the subject of 'exigit,' at best a very awkward, and hardly permissible construction.

33 *nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae: nascenti* 'growing.' For this peculiar use of the word, not recognised in the Dict., cf. Catull. LXXII 39. 49 Verg. Ecl. VII 25 VIII 17 Caes. B. G. VI 35, 7 Petron. 4. and also Plin. Ep. VI 6, 6 VIII 4, 6 rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus, omitted by Vahlen, *Hermes* XV 270. *adhuc =etiamum* (so here), *etiam nunc* is apparently not used by Cicero, it is quite common in Livy (cf. Fügner *Lex. Liv.* s. v.) and in post-Augustan writers (cf. Kleiber, p. 67) but particularly frequent in Tacitus e. g. Ag 35 adloquite adhuc Agricola H. I 31 *incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta* seditio 36 III 9 IV 5. 42 Ann. IV 7, *incipiente adhuc potentia* XV 33 XVI 32. 'Nascens' and 'adultus' are also combined in Cic. Brut. 7, 27, non nascentibus Athenis sed iam adultis and the thought itself was probably suggested by Brut. 18, 69 nec vero ignoror nondum satis politum hunc oratorem et quaerendum esse aliquid perfectius. Nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum. Cf. also Sen. Ep. 95, 14 fuit sine dubio vetus illa sapientia tum maxime nascens, rudis non minus quam ceterae artes.

26. 2 C. Gracchi impetum: The impetuosity that characterised his speeches is in a measure confirmed by the style of the fragments preserved in Gell. XI 3, 3–5 XI 10, 2–6. 13, 3 XV 12, 2–4. It is frequently alluded to by the ancients. Cf. Cic. de orat. III 56, 214 quae sic ab illo esse acta constabat oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrinas tenere non possent de harusp. resp. 19, 41 Florus III 15 impetu incauit C. Gracchus Front. Ep. p. 144 con- tionatur ... Gracchus turbulente ... tumultuatur G. Ep. p. 54 oratores veteres quorum aut pauci aut praeter Catonem et Gracchem nemo tubam inflat Plut. Tib. Gracch. c. 2 (p. 824 f.) ἐντωος δὲ καὶ σφαδρὸς δὲ Γάιος, ὡστε καὶ δημηγορεῖν τὸν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ διήγημα κοσμῶς. τὸν δὲ Ἰωμαιῶν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιτάτω τε χρήσωσθαι καὶ περιστάσαι τῇ τῇβενον ἕξ οὖν λέγοντα 825 τυμοειδῆς, ὡστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμῃ ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον σqq. C. Gr. c. 4 Ἡν δὲ καὶ μεγα- λοφωνίστατος καὶ ἰωμαλεώτατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν, where see Holden's notes. Cf. also note c. 18 &.
3 Crassi maturitatem: maturitas signifies the full, all-round
development of mental powers and hence is used as a synonym of
'perfectus.' See Cic. Brut. 92, 318 (cited c. 22 10) and note c. 3 12.
The same epithet is applied to Crassus by Macrobi. VI, 16 sunt
stili dicendi duo . . . unus est maturus et gravis, qualis Crasso adsi-
gnatur. May not this be a reminiscence of the present passage?
Crassus is at least not elsewhere in extant writers so design-
nated. — calamistros Maecenatis: calamisti, literally 'curling-
irons or crisping-pins.' The expression, in the figurative sense of
'rhetorical flourishes' is borrowed from Cicero who uses it twice:
Brut. 75, 262 qui volent illa (sc. Caesaris commentarios) calamistris
inurere Orat. 23, 78 ne calamistri quidem adhibebuntur (sc. ora-
tionis), where see Sandys' note. On the effeminate and florid style
of Maceenas, cf. Suet. Octav. 86 exagitabatque in primis Mace-
natem suum, cuius μυροβρεχός, ut ait, cincinnox usquequaque perse-
quitur et imitando per iocum irridet (See Macrobi. II 4, 12) and
esp. Sen. Ep. 114, 4 magni vir ingenii fuerat si . . . non etiam in
oratione diffueret, videbis itaque eloquentiam ebriri hominis, invo-
lutam et errantem et licentiae plenam 6 non statim cum haec
(the characteristic specimen of his style quoted in § 5) legeris, hoc
tibi occuret hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit
sqq.? In general, cp. Teuffel, R. L. § 220, 6–9 Mayor, Inv. I 66.
With the phrase, cp. also Goethe, Faust: Eure Reden . . . In denen
ihr der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt.

4 tinnitus Gallionis: L. Junius Gallio, the friend of Ovid and of
Seneca Rhetor, and the judge who presided at the trial of St.
Paul, was the author of a rhetorical treatise (Quint. III 1, 21) and
'declarationes,' from which Seneca has preserved numerous speci-
mens Cp. Teuffel, R. L. § 268, 7. These cannot, of course, either
confirm or disprove Messalla's unfavorable criticism, as is clear
from a remark in Sen. Contr. III præf. 18 ext. Gallio's enduring
reputation seems to be attested, however, by Apoll. Sid. Ep. V 10
who predicates 'gravitas' of him and by a passage in Hieronymus
 pamph. 26 32.— tinnitus 'jingling style.' In this figurative sense,
the word is ἀπ. ἑρ., but its analogue 'tinnulus' occurs once in
Hieron. Ep. 143, 2 tinnula verba. So κῶδωνες is similarly used by
the author of Περὶ Ἰψεως 23, 4 ἐπεί τοι τὸ πανταχοῦ κῶδωνες ξήφθαι,
λίναν σοφιστικῶν. — Observe the incongruity of the antithesis, the
comparison being in reality made between the general oratorical
character of Gracchus and Crassus on the one hand, and the
stylistic peculiarities of Maecenas and Gallio on the other. — With
Messalla's alternative we may compare the similarly formulated
conviction of Cic. de orat. III 35, 142 quorum si alterum sit optan-
dum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam
loquacem et esp. Quint. VIII 5, 34 si nescesse sit veterem illum
horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam. IX 4, 142
 cited below.

5 hirta toga . . . insignire: On similar metaphors applied to ora-
torical style cf. Brut. 75, 262 omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste
detracta Sandys, Orat. 23, 78 Peterson, Quint. X 1, 33 and esp.
Lucian, Rhet. Praec. 16 cited in Mayor's exhaustive note to Iuv.
VII 134 (vol. I 264. 303). — hirta: the same epithet is applied to
the toga in Luc. II 386 Quint. XII 10, 47, to the tunica in Nep.
Dat. 3, 2. — fuscatus, a favorite word of Cicero and always used in
a figurative sense. Cf. Sandys, Orat. 23, 79. meretricis vestibus:
This word should be added to the list of adj. in -icius given by
Woelflin, Archiv V 432. On the varicolored dress usually worn by
trapa, cp. Lorenz, Exc. to Plaut. Mostellaria. — insignire is poetic
and post-Augustan. John ad loc. notes that the device of confirm-
ing a concrete statement by the admitted truth of a wider generali-
sation (adeo, etc.) is particularly characteristic of Livy e. g. II 43,
10, where see Drakenborch, and of Tacitus, e. g. Ag. 1 nec id
Rutilio . . . obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus
optime aestimantur Ann. III 19 is finis fuit in uliscendae Ger-
manici morte . . . vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque
ambigua sunt sqq.

6 oratorius . . . virilis: Cf. note c. 5 13.

7 plerique is here best taken in the sense of 'plurimi' and
so also immediately below, this being more in keeping with
the tone of indignation which pervades the entire chapter. Cp.
ote 2 10. — actores = oratores. Here used absolutely. Peter and
Kleiber p. 38 err in asserting that Cicero always adds a genit. like
causarum. See Orat. 19, 61 de leg. III 18, 40.

8 lascivia verborum: 'Wantonness of language,' opp. to 'severi-
tas in verbis' (Quint. IX 4, 146) dilectus verborum (c. 22 5). With
the thought, cf. Quint. II 5, 22 ne recentis huius lasciviae flousulus
capti voluptate quadam prava deliniuntur ut praedulce illud genus
et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quod proprius est, adament X 1,
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43 alios recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem multituidinis imperitiae composita deductae IX 4, 144 ff. and Cic. de orat. I 16, 70. — levitate sententiaria: *Shallow thoughts.* Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. II 17, 45 opinionis levitas Quint. XII 10, 73 falluntur enim qui vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus quod aut verborum licentia exultat aut puerilibus sententiolis lascivit aut immodico tumore turgescit aut inanibus locis bacchatur sqq. Opposed to locos laetiores in c. 22 6. — licentia compositionis: i.e. abuse of the laws of prose rhythm, opp. to ars compositionis (c. 22 6). Cf. Quint. IX 4, 142 si sit necessae, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malam quam effeminatam et enervam, qualis apud multos et cotidie magis lascivissimi syntonorum modis saltat Pers. I 98 ff. quidnam igitur tenerum et laxa servire legendum? | Torva Minaloncis implerunt cornua bombis sqq. — Observe the alliteration, doubtless designed to bring out each item of the scathing indictment into strong relief. So also c. 20 6 ff. where see note and Proleg. p. cxvii.

9 histrionales: a vox Tacitea, again used c. 29 11 h. favor and Ann. I 16 histrionali studio, but not elsewhere in Latin.

10 quodque ... debeat i.e. And though these abuses are such, as one should scarcely permit even to be heard, yet very many actually boast that. On this consecutive subjunctive, cp. Kühner II p. 855 f. and Peter ad loc.

Debeat is the reading of all our MSS., which we have no right to emend, unless it can be shown to be untenable. Nevertheless John, although forced to admit that *debeat* is possible, is at great pains to show that *debeat,* an emendation of Muretus, ought to be substituted. But even granting that the imperfect ind. like ἐλέβω, ἐξῆρε in Greek, may express unreality in the present, John’s view involves the further necessity of taking *quod ... debeat* as the object of *laetans,* the infinitives becoming epexegetical, a far-fetched and unnatural construction. Finally, if Messa, as John contends, wished to express his emphatic condemnation of the practices in question with the implied regret that they had, up to his time, passed without deserving censure, *viz* would also be out of place.

laudis et gloriae: A very common collocation. In Tacitus again c. 41 23 and H. IV 14. On laus, fama, cf. note c. 7 11, fama, gloria, cf. note 18 1. — loco: ‘In place of ... and as a proof of,’ a kind of *zeugma, for with reference to* ‘laudis et gloriae,’ ‘cantari saltare’ is the *cause* : with reference to ‘ingenii,’ one of its outward manifestations. See Peter ad loc.
11 cantari saltarique: A careful modulation of voice and appropriate gestures were considered essential in an orator’s education (cf. e.g. Cic. Orat. 17, 56—18, 60 de orat. I 28, 128), but these accomplishments began to degenerate even in Cicero’s own time (Orat. 18, 57 Brut. 62, 225) into mere vocal affectation and extravagant gesticulation, and during the Empire, this abuse of originally admirable practices had become so general (cf. Sen. Suas. II 10 explicationes Fusci quas nostrum non aliis alia inclinatione vocis velut sua quisque modulatione cantabat) as to call forth the severe censure of men of taste and culture. See e.g. Quint. XI 3, 57 sed quodunque ex his vitium magis tulerim quam quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus scholisque cantandis quod inutilius sit an foedius nescio. quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scena cada 181 non enim commaemum sed oratorem volo... non inamerito reprehenditur pronuntiatio vultuosa et gesticulationibus molesta et vocis mutationibus resultans... sed iam recepta est actio paulo agitator. Plin. Ep. II 14, 12 f. pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicatur, quibus quam teneris elamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt, ululatus quidem (neque enim alio vocabulo potest exprimi theatris quoque indecora laudatio) large supersunt. —commentarios="explicationes" in the passage from Seneca just cited. See also note c. 23 10.

‘sicut his... clam...’ In my judgment a hopelessly corrupt passage, neither ‘clausula’ nor the generally accepted reading ‘exclamatio’ being free from serious objections; illa exclamatio, followed by an exegetical ‘ut,’ has indeed found a solitary companion in Petron. 25 hinc etiam proverbium natum illud ut dicantur (adduced by Vahlen), for the examples cited by John from c. 26 31 and Cic. de orat. I 13, 56 do not seem to me analogous. But the introduction of so rare a construction by conjecture is in any case justifiable only if absolutely required by the evident meaning of the passage. In the present instance, this is far from being the case, for by reading ‘exclamatio,’ the epigrammatic antithesis ‘ut... saltare’ would be attributed to the modern rhetoricians themselves, whereas it is suitable only to their critics. The other attempts to fill out the lacuna, enumerated on p. 33, are either palaeographically improbable or at best but ingenious guesses which cannot carry conviction.

13 tenere dicere... diserte saltare: As the arts of eloquence and dancing in the modern school have virtually coalesced, their attributes also are interchangeable (Andresen). tener, here equivalent to ‘lascivious, wanton,’ occurs as an epithet of dancing also in Cic. Pis. 36, 89 cum tuis teneris saltatoribus.
15 C. S. quem solum ... nominare ausus est: Cf. c. 19 2 f.
16 oratorem ‘real orator’ as opposed to ‘disertus.’ Cf. note c. 1 6.
17 plus bilis habeat quam sangninis: The passionate and venemous character of Severus’ oratory is repeatedly attested. Cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 4 iratus commodius dicebat et diligentissime cavebant homines ne dicentem interpellarent 16 Cassius non continuat bilem Quint. X 1, 117 acerbitas mira ... plus stomacho quam consilio dedit XII 10, 11 acerbitatem Cassii Tac. Ann. I 72 Cassii Severi libidine qua viros feminasque industres proacclitus scriptis diffamaverat, and below l. 20 non pugnat sed rixatur.

The MSS. read ‘vis,’ which Peter, alone of recent editors, defends. The chief objection against this reading is not the occurrence of ‘vis’ as a genitive, for this is admitted by the ancient grammarians as a legitimate form (cf. Neue, Forment. 13 p. 400 f. Köhler, Acta Sem. Erl. I 390), nor was Severus devoid of force (see below and Robert, Cass. Ser. p. 49) but ‘vis’ and ‘sanguis’ are invariably regarded as synonymous. E.g. Quint. VIII 3, 6 sanguine et viribus nitidat X 2, 12 minus viriam ac sanguinis habeant. Peter, intent upon retaining the MS. reading at all hazards, does not shrink from taking ‘vis’ in the sense of ‘nimi vis!’ “Dies ergiebt sich,” he argues, “aus der mit ‘enim’ angekündften Erklärung, in der er (i.e. Severus) ‘incompositus ... defectus’ genannt wird, was neben dem weiter dazu Gehörigen (?) nur die Folge einer zu grossen Heftigkeit und Leidenschaft sein kann.” It will be observed, that the other adverse criticisms contained in the ‘enim’ clause are significantly ignored, thus creating the impression that incompositus etc. was directly and closely attached to the preceding ‘vis’ as an explanatory clause! A reading that can be supported only on such gratuitous assumptions, does not call for serious refutation. Bilis, though less close to the MSS., than ‘viri,’ is admirably suited to the context and more properly contrasted with ‘sanguinis,’ both words belonging to the same class of metaphors taken from the human body. Cp. note c. 21 4 crit. note c. 22 22 and Plin. Ep. IV 11, 2 cui sententiae tantum bilis, tantum amaritudinis inest.

18 contempto ordine rerum: This fault was doubtless in a great measure due to the remarkable talent of Severus as an extemporaneous speaker, which would often render him impatient of the restrictions imposed by a carefully prepared speech. Cf. Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 sed cum procedere nollet nisi instructus, liberter ab instrumentis recederebat, ex tempore coactus diecire infinito se antecedebat, nuncquam non utilis erat illi reprehendi quam praeparari and 4 f. — omissa modestia ac pudore verborum: The passage evidently refers to the causticity and scurrility of Severus’
wit, which qualities would naturally also taint his language. Cf. Quint. XI 1, 30 in rebus ac verbis parum modestis ac pudicis vilis pudor ... quae fere accidunt iis qui nimium ... ridiculi volunt. Seneca, though he highly praises his style (Contr. III praef. 7 phrasin non vulgarem nec sordidam sed electam) cannot help saying that only quamdium citra iocos se continebat, censoria oratio erat. His wit was, nevertheless, barring its bitterness, of a high order. Cf. Quint. X 1, 117 in eo et acerbitas mira et urbanitas ... praeferam ut amari sales, ita frequentem amaritudo ipsa ridicula est and below (l. 22). For illustrations, see Sen. Contr. II 12, 11 III praef. 16. 17 X praef. 8. 34, 20 Quint. VI 1, 43. 3, 78. 79 VIII 2, 2, 3, 89 XI 1, 57. 3, 133. Suet. de gramm. 22. — omissa, agreeing with the nearer of two subjects, a usage especially common in abl. abs. constructions. Cf. e. g. Ag. 28 occiso centurione ac militibus H. III 69 mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum V 20 occiso praefecto ... et primoribus Caes. B. G. II 28, 1 prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto III 20, 2 auxiliis equitatuque comparato Cic. de orat. I 33, 153 intermisso impetu pulsue remorum. But with proper names and personal substantives the singular is less frequent. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 176 ff.

19 armis incompositus: The figure is taken from fencing. Such rhetorical devices as Severus does employ, he uses unskilfully and in his eagerness to strike a blow, he is generally thrown off his balance. Incompositus 'irregular, devoid of art' as e. g. in Hor. Sat. I 10, 1 incomposito ... pede Verg. Georg. I 350 motus inc. Quint. X 1, 66 rudis et in plerisque inc. (sc. Aeschylus). — armis 'in the use of, in regard to.' For the abl., cf. Quint. IV 5, 10 moribus incompositus. 'arma' is synonymous with 'instrumenta,' see c. 31 20 parato omni instrumento Sen. Contr. III praef. 6 (cited l. 18.) Quint. XII 2, 5 cum ea dicendi viribus tuentur, uti rhetorum armis, non suis 5, 1 haec sunt ... instrumenta artis ... ipsius oratoris, haec arma habere ad manum.

20 deiectus: The metaphor is very common, but in Cicero always with the addition of de statu, gradu or sede. Cp. Sandys, Orat. 37, 129. For a similar absolute use, cf. Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII 4, 3 M. Caelium Vinicianum mentio illa fatua ... subito deiecit Liv. XXXVIII 35 inimicum eo quoque anno petentem deieciisset Tac. Ann. II 4 Artavasdes ... deiectus (sc. de regno). With the thought, cf. Quint. IV 2, 26 ut in armorum ratione antiquior cavendi quam ictum inferendi cura est.
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'detectus' 'exposed himself to attack' is also suited to the context; it avoids the absolute use of 'deictus' and retains the metaphor. But as no trace of a variant appears in the MSS., I see no reason for rejecting the traditional reading. Basrels objects to 'detectus' on the ground that the word never occurs in the sense of 'intectus.' This is very true, for 'integro' has exactly the opposite meaning!

20 non pugnat sed rixatur: Pugna is a battle in which the combatants are properly trained; rixa an ordinary quarrel that comes to blows. Cf. Liv. II 18 rixa ae prope proelium fuit Quint. II 12, 2 gladiator armorum inescus in rixam ruit. It is used of a ranting orator also in Quint. XI 1, 29 videas autem rixatores quosdam. Both the noun and the verb are extremely rare in Cicero. Cf. Verr. II 4, 66, 148 turba atque rixa de orat. II 59, 240 rixatus, where see Wilkins. The same criticism is applied to Calvus by Fronto Ep. p. 114 N. Calvus rixatur. For numerous other points of resemblance between him and Severus, see the discussion in P. Robert op. cit. p. 66–68. — ceterum: 'But to return to my statement concerning Severus,' viz. posse oratorem vocari. For a similar use of 'ceterum,' where 'ad personam regreditur oratio' cf. G. 43 valentissimas (sc. gentes) nominasse sufficiet, Harios... ceterum Harii and Ann. II 34 Urgulania... ceterum Urgulania. 'Ceterum' after a digression: G. 3 H. II 21 III 35.

21 sequentibus... ceteros: The two terms refer to the same persons. The tautology is, however, excusable, being probably occasioned by the necessity of joining an accusative with 'superat.' — varietate eruditionis: 'varied culture.' Cf. e. 19 5 nec inseitias litterarum.

22 lepore urbanitatis: 'charming wit.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 5, 17 lepos... eruditio... urbanitate coniuncta, with Wilkins' notes. 'urbanitatis' is apparently only added for the sake of the libration. — virium robre: This collocation is especially frequent in Livy: e.g. XXII 40 XXIII 26 XXIV 48 XXVII 46 XXXIII 4. Curt. VII 3, 4. virium is here perhaps best taken in the figurative sense of 'mental forces,' thus retaining the military metaphor so carefully sustained throughout this paragraph. — This favorable view of the oratorical talent of Severus is, in spite of sundry adverse criticism, fully shared by Sen. Contr. III praeef. 3 tantundem erat in homine quantum in ingenio and by Quint. X 1, 116 multa, si cum inducio legatur, habbit imitatione digna Cassius Severus qui, si ceteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationem adieisset, ponendum inter praecipuos foret. nam ingenii plurimum est in eo.
24 sustinuit: 'could not bring himself, did not venture,' like the Homeric ταχύω. The construction with the infinitive occurs first in Ovid, e.g. Her. V 30 Met. VI 367 and in prose in Sen. Contr. I praef. 24 Vell. II 86, 2, thereafter very common. In Tac. only here and H. I 37 nec privatum me vocare sustineo. Both of these examples are omitted by Dr. H. S. II 334. — incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo: The participle agreeing in the sing. with the nearest proper name. Cp. note c. 26 18 and Andresen, Append. to Nipp. Ann. Vol. II 319 f.

27 alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari: There is unquestionably a slight incongruity, as Vahlen, Proem. 1878/9 p. 5 has observed, in the unexpected substitution of two new names in place of those just enumerated, but Messalla means to point out that Aper, if he desired to show the superiority of modern eloquence by means of a comparison, ought not to have directed the brunt of his attack against the three first-named orators, but should rather have singled out the admittedly greatest oratorical representatives of that period, namely Cicero and Caesar, pitting them severally against the most eloquent men of the present. See Andresen's note ad loc.

Spengel's proposal to insert 'alium Brutum' does not remove, but increases the inconcinnity, and at the same time prevents its plausible explanation.

deinde, practically equivalent to deinceps. So H. I 51 Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatis erat, infensi.

But 'deinceps' may have been the original reading, the two words being easily confounded, owing to similar abbreviation. Cp. c. 9 5 deinceps — A B deinde — e.


28 contentus, with inf. cf. note c. 18 13.

29 in publicum: 'In a general way,' synonymous with 'in universum' (G. 6) and 'in commune.' In Tac. only here and Ann. XIII 56, also once in Quint. X 7, 1. The adj. 'publicus' is frequently used in the same sense in Silver Latin, e.g. Sen. Ep. 88, 12 publicum est quod tenes, quod tuum dicis 59, 1 p. verba. In Cicero only in the ordinary meaning, e.g. de leg. agr. II 5, 13 lex in p. proponitur. — in commune: Of very frequent occurrence, particularly in Seneca and in Tacitus. Cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. — Plin. N. H. VI 17, 19, 50 similarly combines 'in universum,' and 'in
commune.' — For the antithesis to 'nominatim,' cf. Liv. IX 26, 8 non nominatim sed in universum.

30 multos offenseret etc: Modelled upon Cic. Brut. 65, 231 vereri te, inquit, arbitror, ne per nos hic sermo tuus emanet et ii tibi succenseant, quos praeterieris.

It seems far more likely that an original reading 'laederet' was explained by 'offenseret,' which occurs c. 27 6, than that the latter should have been arbitrarily replaced by a figurative expression.

31 scholasticorum: Contemptuously used for rhetoricians. Cp. note c. 15 16. — persuasione = 'conviction.' In this sense, the word is post-Aug. The same phrase is found in Quint. XI 3, 11 illi persuasione sua fruantur. — ante ... post: 'superior to ... inferior.' With this meaning, these prepositions are very rare in classic Latin. Cf. Sall. C. 53, 3 facundia Graecos ... ante Romanos fuisse Liv. XXXV 14 tum vero me et ante Alexandrum ... et ante omnes alios imperatores esse Hor. C. III 9, 6 neque erat Lydia post Chloem. In Tacitus: H. II 76 (anteibat) IV 55, 81 V 12 Ann. I 27 XIII 37, 54 — H. II 77 III 64. Both combined in Sen. Ep. 104, 9 tautos erat ambitionis furor, ut nemo tibi post te videatur, si aliquid ante te fuerit.

32 numeret: Cf. Tac. H. II 77 nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentinem et Caecinam numeremur Sil. Ital. XV 747 ante omnes bello numerandus Hamilcar. — plane = laud dubie, nimirum, said derisively. Cf. Ann. I 26 novum id plane III 34 bella plane accinetis obeunda. In a non-concessive sense, equivalent to 'clearly,' 'decidedly,' the word is used in c. 27 4 35 14 Ann. XIII 6 daturum plane documentum 50 temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines. — Gabinianum: Sextus Julius Gabinianus, an older contemporary of Quintilian (cf. the index, ap. Suet. de gramm. p. 99 R.), was probably a countryman of Aper, Secundus and Maternus. At least Hieron. ad Euseb. Chron. (on the authority of Sueton.) to the year 76 A. D. notes: Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in Gallia docuit. In another passage (ad Iesai. 8 praecl.) the same author mentions him together with Cicero and Quintilian: qui flumen eloquentiae et concinnae declamationes desiderant, legant Tallium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum. To such an extent — this is Messalla's meaning — has the appreciation of what constitutes true excellence in oratory degenerated, that even your average rhetorician of to-day fancies himself superior to Cicero, but
is quite willing to concede his inferiority to a Gabinianus as one of the illustrious representatives of the modern oratorical ideal. The 'sed' clause is added not only to stigmatise the perverse judgment of these 'scholastici' with regard to Cicero but also to ridicule their exaggerated estimate of Gabinianus. An interesting illustration of this attitude is furnished by Sen. Contr. III praef. 14–17 nisi scirem (Cassius Severus) et Pollionem Asinium et Messallam Corvinum et Passienum, qui nunc primo loco stat, minus bene videri dicere quam Cestium aut Latronem ... non illi peius dicunt sed hi corruptius iudicant ... hi non tantum disertissimis viris quos paulo ante rettuli, Cestium suum praeferunt sed etiam Ciceroni praeferrent nisi lapides timerent; huius enim declamationes ediscunt, illius orationes non legunt nisi eas quibus Cestius rescripsit. memini me intrare scholam eius, cum recitaturus esset in Milonem; Cestius ex consuetudine sua miratus dicebat: si Thraex esset, Fusius esse sum; si pantomimus esses, Bathylus esse sum; si euquus, Melissio. non continui bilem et exclamavi: si cloaca esse, maxima esse ... dixi molestum me amplius non futurum, si iurasset (sc. Cestius) disertiorem esse Ciceronem quam se. nec hoc ut faceret vel ioco vel serio efficere potuit.

34 fracta ... deminuta: These terms are frequently grouped together, e.g. Cic. Brut. 83, 287 quid est tam fractum, tam minutum de offic. II 11, 40 quem C. Laelius ... fregit et comminuit Verr. II 4, 25, 56 fractus et comminutus est Quint. XII 11, 2 quibus fractis aut inminutis IX 4, 113 minutis passibus frangunt. Cf. also c. 39 8. On the orthography of 'deminuta' cp. Georges, Lexicon der lat. Wortformen s. v.

27. 1 parce: 'let that pass.'

4 solitum tractare dixisti: viz. c. 15 12. — plane mitior: plane with comparative in the sense of 'multo' is especially characteristic of Tertullian. Cp. Woelflin, Archiv I 93 ff. 574. Here = 'clearly,' see note c. 26 32. With the stylistic form of the sentence, cp. c. 35 14 plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes. Mitior sc. 5v. Cf. note c. 9 20.

5 antequam ... offenderet: On this imperf. subj. after 'antequam,' although the clause is not directly dependent upon the principal verb, cf. H. II 96 nuntiatur, missis epistulis, antequam adgregaretur IV 52 Titum antequam digredeteretur ... orasse furtur 79 unde metus et iustae preces invocantium antequam accingeretur and Ihm, Quaest. Synt. p. 45 ff.
NOTES.

6 maiores tuos: Messalla was the only native Roman in the company and hence 'maiores tuos,' used as a synonym of 'antiqui' (cf. c. 25 5 sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet), is appropriately applied to the great orators of the Republic whom Aper had criticised so unsparingly. John and many others understand the allusion to be to Messalla's ancestral relative, Messalla Corvinus, but this view is erroneous, for it is (1) incompatible with the answer 'non sum offensus Apri mei disputatone,' which includes Aper's entire argument. (2) Aper had expressly disclaimed any intention of attacking Corvinus (c. 21 ext.) and while the reasons for this abstention are not particularly complimentary to the ancient orator, it does not necessarily follow that Messalla would have resented the criticism. (3) The plural 'maiores' cannot refer to one distinct and definite individual, the parallel instances, cited by John from c. 34 8 and Cie. pro Mil. 7,17 in monumentis maiorum suorum being in no sense analogous. — lacesendo: On the instrumental abl. of the gerund, cf. c. 11 6.

'Apri mei' seems to me a more methodical correction of the MS. reading 'a prima' (aprim) than 'Apri,' which leaves the origin of the corruption, unexplained. Cf. c. 5 ext. Maternum meum. 'Nostri' which is also an easy emendation, seems less suitable to the context. — 'nam nec' or 'nam et' is quite unintelligible and probably due to the false solution of a compendium. Andersen writes Apri nostri disputatone nec mea vos, but this is too violent a correction, the antithesis between 'noster' and 'mea' being also uncalled for. See Steuding, p. 10.

8 si quid forte... perstringat: 'if ought perchance grate upon your ears.' si forte with subj. also c. 33 32 si forte audierint H. III 66 nisi forte... gerat IV 74 nisi forte... speratis. With the phrase itself, cf. c. 6 5 licet haec ipsa... aures tuas respuant. and Hor. C. II 1,18 perstringis aures. So similarly Ann. I 13 Q. Haterius et Mam. Seaurus suspicaceam animum (sc. Tiberii) perstrinxere.

9 hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem: In this phrase, Tacitus again unintentionally reveals the fictitious character of the Dialogus. Cf. c. 14 20 25 5 32 32. — judicium animi etc.: 'To give expression to one's convictions without the fear of injuring another's feelings.' 'Adfectus' occurs in the same general sense in c. 23 25 sic exprimitis affectus and H. I 15 Ann. XI 38 XIII 16. 21. In c. 6 17, in the more concrete signification of emotions. I can see no reason for taking the word here as an epexegetic genitive.

10 citra = sine. Very frequent in post-Aug. authors, particularly in Quintilian, but in Tacitus only in the minor writings. Cf. c. 41
26 Ag. 1 citra fidem and G. 16 citra speciem. In general, see Hand, Tursell. II 83 Dr. H. S. I 616.

13 utere antiqua libertate: This passage possesses the true 'color Taciteus.' Cf. e. g. H. I 1 multi auctores rettulerunt... pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam... omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta... quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest... rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet IV 8 Ag. 2 f. sicut vetus actas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute sqq. Ann. I 74 manebant etiam tum (i.e. 15 a. d.) vestigia morientis libertatis. Cp. also Mayor, Iuv. I 152 scribendi quodcunque... liberet simplicitas and note c. 2 2.

28. 1 Et: In the Dialogus, this conjunction (c. 4 1 16 5 33 1) or 'tum' (c. 3 9 15 1 25 1) introduces an answer, with or without 'inquit.'

'Tum' is rejected, because it is not based upon MS. authority, being merely a scribal emendation of the unintelligible 'qui' in AB. Halm corrected this into 'qui,' but the relative pronoun, as shown above, is not used in transitions in this treatise and is, in any case, out of place, because, as Peter well observes, Maternus had already been addressed by Messalla. The repetition of the name Maternus is also not in favor of Halm's conjecture.

2 aut...aut...vel: Unlike c. 15 9, where the three interlocutors are individually singled out (aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper), Maternus, as the one immediately addressed, is here distinguished from Aper and Secundus, these forming a second group, which is in turn subdivided by 'vel.' For an exactly parallel collocation, cf. c. 5 29 sive in judicio vel in senatu sive apud principem, with critical note and Dr. H. S. II 140 f.—etiam si: By a common classic idiom, the principal fact, here introduced by etiam si (so H. I 15 Ann. II 73 IV 21 29), is subordinated. 'Although these causes are not unknown to you, you ask me to voice the opinion of all.' In reality, Messalla had only been asked to state his reasons. Cp. John's excellent note ad loc. (Progr. Hall 1892).—This opening paragraph is modelled upon Cic. de orat. III 37, 148 'Tum Crassus 'pervolvagatas res requiris' inquit 'et tibi non incognitas, Sulpici: quis enim de isto genere non docuit, non instituit, non scriptum etiam reliquit? ' Cp. also ibid. I 31,
NOTES.

137 nihil enim dicam reconditum ... nihil aut inauditum nobis aut cuquam novum de rep. I 46, 70 ingrediar in ea quae nota sunt omnibus ... quoniam ea quae tenebatis ipsi, etiam ex me audire voluistis.

3 in medium: Frequently joined with 'proferre' e. g. Cic. Verr. II 4, 52, 115 de fin. II 23, 76.

5 non inopia hominum: inopia, besides its usual designation, inapplicable here, sometimes denotes 'incapacity, weakness,' e. g. Cic. ad Att. I 16, 2 contraxi vela perspiciens inopiam iudicium and analogously Vell. II 54, 3 ingenti cum difficitat itinerum locorumque inopia 'unproductivity' Sen. ad Helv. 12, 3 nec tantum condicio illos temporum aut locorum inopia pauperibus exaequat. These passages permit us, it seems to me, to take 'inopia hominum' in a similar sense, as virtually equivalent to the phrase 'non infirmitate ingeni' in c. 19 5.

The many emendations of the MS. reading (enumerated p. 30), even supposing it to be corrupt, are, when not at actual variance with the context of the passage itself, palaeographically improbable. The latter objection also applies to 'inopia magistorum' (so Cic. Orat. 08, 229) which I now abandon in favor of the unobjectionable reading of the MSS.

desidia ... antiqui practically gives a succinct summary of the several heads into which Messalla's speech is divided. So Aper had also prefaced his first argument (c. 5) by a similar outline of the topics which he intended to discuss. Such carefully prepared introductions betray the unhistorical character of the dialogue. Cf. c. 27 0. Cp. Proleg. p. lxxxvii.

6 negligentia parentum: The heedlessness of parents in the education of their children is very frequently given among the causes of moral degeneration in the Empire. Juvenal devotes an entire satire (XIV) to this theme. Cf. esp. v. 3 quae monstrant ipsi puerus traduntque parentes 31 ff. nos | corrupunt vitiorum exempla domestica Sen. de ira II 18 ff. Quint. I 2, 6 utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus sqq.; and notes below.


—inscientia praecipientium: Cf. Quint. I 1, 8 de paedagogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim aut se non esse eruditos sciant. nihil est peius iis qui paulum aliquid ultra primas litteras progressi falsam sibi scientiae persuasionem induerunt ... nec minus error eorum nocet moribus. XII
11, 14 sed culpa est in praecceptoribus prima qui libenter detinent quos occupaverunt... partim etiam inscientia tradendi vel negligentia. — The substantive participle, esp. in the genit. plur. is very frequent in Tacitus. Cf. c. notes to c. 2 2 and 41 13.

7 oblivione moris antiqui: Tacitus in all his writings, but particularly in the Annals, never tires of noting the degeneration of his day from the sturdy morality of ancient Rome. Cf. e. g. Ag. 1 G. 18 H. I 14 II 64 f. Ann. I 4 III 26 V 1 VI 12. 16 XI 23 XII 37 XIV 43 XV 30. 41. — quae mala primum in urbe nata etc.: The same idea of the spread of corruption from Rome as a centre seems to be implied in Tac. Ann. XVI 5 qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui moris retinente Italia quique per longinquas provincias lascivia inexpeti. — primum... mox: This correlation (primum, primo, primus) is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer, occurring no fewer than 45 times. See Lex. Tac. p. 871. Quintilian has but three instances viz. I 2, 29. 9, 2 X 6, 3. Cp. also Woelflin, Philol. XXVII 118 f.

8 manant: The same metaphor, though not elsewhere in Tacitus, is frequent in Cicero and Livy e. g. Cat. IV 3, 6 malum manavit per Italianam Tusc. Disp. V 25, 72 manat et funditur disserendii ratio per omnes partes sapientiae Liv. II 49 XXIV 18 and similarly Cic. de rep. II 19, 34 influxit enim... in hanc urbem non rivulus quidam sed abundantissimus amnis disciplinarum et artium.—The statement that moral progress and intellectual development are mutually inter-dependent is alluded to by Quint. XII 2, 6 hinc etiam illud est quod Cicero pluribus libris et epistulis testatur, dicendi facultatem ex intimis sapientiae fontibus fluere, ideoque aliquamdiu praeceptores eosdem fuisse morum atque dicendi, and the same idea, elaborated with special reference to the decline of oratory, forms the theme of Sen. Ep. 114 quare quisbisdam temporibus proveniret corrupti generis oratio quae et quomodo in quaedam vitia inclinatio ingeniorum facta sit... talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita sqq. — quamquam 'of course, to be sure.' So used at the beginning of a sentence only here, c. 33 17 G. 17 and Ann. XII 65.

9 vestra vobis notiora... ego de urbe: These words indisputably prove that the interlocutors, with the exception of Messalla, were not native Romans. Cp. Proleg. p. lxiii. — his: 'I shall speak of Rome and the specially Roman vices of to-day.' On this use of
the demonstrative pronoun in Tacitus, see the numerous examples in Lex. Tac. s. v. and note c. 12 0. Cp. also Cic. ad Att. X 11, 3 sunt tolerabilia . . . hac inuentute. — Proprius, without a genit. or dative, often expresses a specific idea as opposed to a more general statement. So in Tac. Ann. II 77 propria mandata XV 74 tum dona et grates deis decernuntur propriusque honos soli. See Peter’s note ad loc., who takes his = nostris, on the analogy of c. 32 18 huius quoque cotidiani sermonis, an interpretation not essentially different from the one given.

There is certainly no valid reason for departing from the MS. reading. ‘elus’ no less than ‘hulus’ (ac. urbis) would be tautological by the side of ‘vernacula,’ on which see following note.

vernaculis = ‘native Roman.’ Cf. Nipp. to Tac. Ann. I 31 vernacula multudo (= ἀρτικος ἡχος in Dio Cass. LVII 5, 4) nuper acto in urbe dilectu, Heraeus to Tac. H. II 88 vernacula utebantur urbanitate, and Varr. L. L. V 77 aquatilium vocabula partim sunt vernacula partim peregrina Mart. X 76, 4 de plebe Remi Numaeque verna, on which word Festus remarks: Romanos vernas appellabant, id est ibidem natos.

10 vitis: Here personified, as in Ov. Am. III 4, 11 vitia inritare vetando. — natos = liberi is a poetic word and very rare in classical prose, where it is always joined to ‘parentes’ or similar expressions. Cf. Cic. Lael. 8, 27 Liv. I 23, 1 V 40, 3 viri natique C. I. L. II 2900 mariti et nati. Alone as here, also Val. Max. VII 6 ext. and a few times in the Church Fathers. Cp. A. Funk, ‘Was heissen die Kinder?’ in Archiv VII 73–102 (on nati p. 86), who strangely overlooked the fact that well-nigh all the Latin designations for ‘offspring’ occur in this and the following chapter. Cf. liberi (l. 12), flius, (l. 13), suboles (l. 17) puieri (l. 20), infans (c. 29 1) parvuli (l. 7). To these we may add from Tac. ‘pignora’ (Ag. 38 G. 7 Ann. XII 2 XV 36 XVI 26) and ‘puerperia’ (Ann. XII 6).

11 cumulatur: Observe the abandonment of the figure introduced by ‘qua . . . excipiunt,’ and see note c. 10 21. — prius . . . praedixero: For the pleonasm, cf. note c. 18 7. — severitate ac disciplina: Hendiady as shown by c. 29 17 H. I 51 severitate disciplinæ. Cf. also c. 40 9 severissima disciplina Ann. VI 15 severa patris disciplina. The same collocation, but in inverted order, occurs in l. 24 G. 25 Bell. Alex. 48.

12 circa with a gerundive occurs a number of times in Quintilian e. g. IV 1, 9. 7, 36 VI 2, 25 and occasionally in other post-Aug.
writers e. g. Plin. Pan. 95, 1 Florus III 19, 11 circa apprehendendum eum multitudo contendit; with gerund, once in Quint. IV 5, 6 plus eloquentia circa (=ad) movendum valet.—Observe also that a substantive with gerundive, when governed by a preposition, serves as an idiomatic substitute for an abstract noun. In Tacitus the construction is quite common with 'ad'; once with 'ob': Ann. XI 5; with 'circa' only here. — educandos formandosque 'bringing up and rearing of children.' 'Educare' of physical training seems to occur in but one other passage viz. Varro, de liberis educandis, cited by Nonius s. v. 'educit obstetric, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister. The nearest approach to this usage elsewhere is perhaps to be found in Cic. Orat. 13, 42 where see Sandys and Brut. 58, 211 cited below. On the significance of this parallelism, see Prolegomena p. cii. 'formare' with a personal object is poetic, but frequent in post-Augustan prose. See the exx. cited by Kleiber p. 60.

13 pridem 'formerly.' So Cic. ad fam. V 6, 2 quod ad me pridem scripseras. Especially common in Iustinus e. g. V 7, 12 XII 6, 7 XXXI 3, 10, but in Tac. only here. — suus unique filius: Peter interprets this phrase to mean that the boy was educated at home and not in company with other children. But Tacitus is here clearly speaking of infancy, as shown by 'cellula ... nutriticis' and Quintilian (I 2, 1) too does not discuss the question 'utilius domi an in scholis erudiatur' until 'iam paulatim accrescere puer et exire de gremio et discere serio incipiatur.'

NOTES.

'In' before 'gremio' has been justly inserted, for the non-repetition of the preposition in adversative clauses is later Tacitean usage. Cf. notes c. 13 20 and 21 22. — The MS. reading 'autem,' no less than the emendations 'etiam' and 'saltatem' do not appear to me in keeping with the context. The only intelligible meaning that I am able to extract from the passage is, that the personal supervision of the mother herself is regarded as at all times desirable, and that only in case she is prevented from taking charge of the training of her children, may outside aid be called in, the utmost care being requisite in the choice of the mother's substitute. But this interpretation is only possible, if we read 'aut elig.' Cp. also John, Fleck. Jahrb. 1888 p. 572 ff. Bachrens, Comm. Crit. p. 84.


18 qua sc. propinquia not 'subole' as Andresen and others contend. For this interpretation, in the first place, interrupts the sequence of thought and requires the suppression of 'eiusdem familiae.' That 'propinquia' is the antecedent of 'qua' is also shown by its correlative 'eiuius.' See the discussion of this passage by John, l. c. and his note ad loc. (Progr. Hall 1892). — neque dicere fas erat etc: Cf. c. 29 8 aut dicat aut faciat. Sall. Cat. 23, 2, and Liv. XLIII 9 cited below. The collocation is common both in Greek and in Latin. Cp. Otto, Sprichwörter etc. p. 112. — On the precept itself, cf. Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 86 αὕτῳ τε γὰρ βελτίωνες εἴσομαι, Βουλώμενοι τοῖς παιδίν ύπε βελτίου παραδείγματα ἥμασ αὕτως παρέχειν, οί τε παιδες οὐδὲ ἀν εἰ βούλοιτο μᾶκιω ποιηρο ἐγγυνητό,
Peerlkamp's ingenious suggestion to transpose 'dictu' and 'factu' is very alluring. We should then also have another instance of the figure διαμεταβολή, on which see note c. 33 21.

20 curasque: Translate 'school exercises,' Germ. 'häsliche Arbeiten.' On 'cura' in the sense of 'written composition,' see note c. 3 13. — remissiones etiam lususque: On this subject, cf. Quint. I 3, 8 danda est tamen omnibus aliqua remissio... quia nulla res est quae perferre possit continuum laborem... nec me offenderit lusus in pueris... modus tamen sit remissionibus Ps. Plut. P. Παίδ. ἀγωγῆς 13 Δοτέον οὖν τοῖς παισίν ἀναπνοὴν τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων. τὰς δ' βίος ἱμῶν εἰς ἀναιν καὶ σπονδὴν διηρήται and in general, G. Rasberger, Erzieh. u. Unter. II p. 139 ff. Hulsebos, De educat. p. 135-139. — 'Cura' and 'remissio' are also combined inTac. Ag. 9 tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. — sanctitate ... verecundia: Cf. the similar collocation in Liv. XXXIV 6 pude- rem sanctitatemque feminarum.

21 temperabat sc. mater 'Was wont to regulate.'

There is no necessity for inserting 'mater' into the text, as this subject is uppermost in the speaker's mind throughout, the mention of the 'pro-quina' being quite incidental. So similarly c. 9 22 nec aut amicitiam inde referit also involves a change of subject. See Andresen ad loc.


22 Aureliam: She was the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta and is distinguished in Plut. Caes. 9 by the epithet σώφρων. Cf. also Suet. Caes. 74. — Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, Caesar's sister. Cf. Suet. Octav. 4.
23 educationibus: The plural of 'educatio,' occurs only here and in Tac. Ann. III 25 nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur.

'matrem,' apart from the fact that we should rather expect 'matres,' just as we have 'educationibus,' is a wholly superfluous addition and has, therefore, with justice been deleted by Sauppe.

produxisse: in the sense of 'educare' is rare. Cf. Plaut. Asin. III 1, 40 audientem dicto, mater, produxisti filiam. Nonius: produce, instituere, but the quotation is not preserved. Iuv. XIV 228 laevom monitu pueros productum avaros.—principes liberos: Cf. e. g. Cie. Brut. 66, 233 principibus patronis Hor. Ep. I 17, 35 principibus placuisse viris Plin. N. H. VIII 32, 119 principes feminae and Tacitus c. 40 4 principes viros Ann. III 3 IV 15 XIII 42. The adjectival use of substantives does not occur in the minor works, for princeps is primarily an adj. Cp. Dr. Stil p. 35.

24 sincera et integra et nullis pravitibus detorta: On the 'oratio trimembris,' highly characteristic of Tacitean diction, see Weinkauf p. 92–97 and Prolegomena p. cv ff. 'Sincerus' and 'integer' occur again similarly combined in Tac. H. IV 64 sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus. On et nullis cf. note c. 12 8.—pravitibus: This abstract plural is also found in Ann. III 34 and three times in Cicero, viz. Parad. III 1, 22 de leg. I 11, 31, 19, 51. On the thought, cp. Plasberg p. 60 (Fragm. Hortens. 61).

26 toto...pectore: On this proverbial expression, see note c. 3 13.

'militare rem' is the only reading which satisfactorily accounts for the omission of 'rem' in codl. A B. The οὐχοδετάτωρ is quite unobjectionable, even though this particular assonance happens not to occur in the two Tacitean passages, where it might have been found, viz. H. I 84 res militares Ann. XI 22 rem militarem. See also Prolegomena p. cxvii.

27 inclinasset: Explained by Andresen and Wolff as a final subj. from the point of view of the educators, the idea of purpose being conveyed by 'pertinebat,' but this interpretation is not in keeping with the context. The subj. is merely one of assimilation. So frequently in subordinate clauses. Cf. note e. 1 17.

28 hauiaret: Common in Tacitus in this figurative sense. Cf. e. g. c. 30 16 omnes philosophiae partes penitus hauiisse 31 32 quasdam artes hauiire Ag. 4 studium philosophiae acrius, quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hauiisse H. I 51 IV 5.
29. 1 infans: The word is here used in a somewhat loose sense, on which see Funk, Archiv VII 99. — delegatur: The parents rid themselves of the duty they owe to their children as of an irksome burden. The same strong expression in place of ‘committere,’ e.g. in l. 17 and G. 20 cited above. The word is not found with this meaning in Cicero or Caesar. — Graeculae, used contemptuously, as in c. 3 21, where see note. The diminutive form is very rarely used in bonam partem. Cf. e.g. Plin. N. H. XV 14, 15, 50.

2 unus aut alter: any is used because only one slave, the paedagogus, is referred to. See note c. 9 20.


'pliable, young.' In this sense, the word is rare but classic. See Seyff.-Mull. Lael. p. 61 Schmalz, Antilb. II 676. It is exactly equivalent to Gk. ὑγρός, as used in the almost identical passage in Ps. Plut. 1. c. εὐπλαστὸν γάρ καὶ ὑγρὸν ἢ νεῖτος καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἀπαλαῖς (=teneri animi) ἔτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντέκεται (=imbuuntur). On the thought, cp. also Sen. Dial. IV 21, 10 nutritum et paedagogarum retulere mox in adolescentiam mores XII 18, 8 altius praecpta descendunt quae teneris imprimentur aetatibus and Quint. I 1, 2 ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus, qua si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optavit, . . . et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est . . . natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percipimus . . . et haec ipsa magis pertinaciter haerent quae deterioria sunt.

All our MSS. either read or unmistakably point to virides as the original, and as the word has been shown to be wholly unobjectionable, we have no right to reject it. Nevertheless, editors, with the laudable exception of Wolff, write 'teneri . . . rudes animi,' regarding 'virides' either as an explanatory gloss or as a dittography (so Haln) of 'rudes!' But no motive which can possibly have induced a scribe or reader to explain so intelligible and often recurring a phrase (e. g. Cic. de leg. I 17, 47 tencros et rudes II 15 38 animi teneri et molles Quint. I 11, 2 terneram . . . et rudem Sen. Ep. 50, 4 teneri et rudes animali) is conceivable. The rare figurative use of 'virides,' on the other hand, naturally gave rise to an interlinear gloss, which, on finding its way into the text, caused the corruption of 'virides' in some of our MSS. So in Ov. Trist. IV 10, 5 frater ad eloquium viridi tendebat ab aervo, one MS. (A) actually reads tenero! The original reading is, therefore, either 'v. et teneri' or 'v. et rudes.' I prefer the former as being better suited to 'imbuuntur.'

5 in tota domo: Woelfflin, Philol. XXVII 126 observes that the addition of the preposition in these and similar expressions is characteristic of the earlier or Ciceronian period of Tacitean style. It is, however, possible that the 'in' in our passage is due to a dittography of the preceding 'm.' —pensi habet: Pensi habere up to the time of Symmachus (e. g. Ep. I 73) is always used with a negative. The omission of a neuter pronoun is an innovation of Valerius Maximus e. g. II 9, 3 nec pensi duxerat. Cp. Thielmann, Archie II 387 ff. —The phrase itself seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Sall. Cat. 23, 2 prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat Liv. XXVI 15, 4 sed illis nec quid dicere nec quid facerent quicquam umquam pensi fuissent XLIII 7 quibus nihil neque dicere pensi neque facere. 'Pensi habere' occurs in two
other passages in Tacitus, both times without a neuter pronoun, viz. H. I 46 Ann. XIII 15. — On the thought, cp. the beautiful passage in Quint. I 2, 6 utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus . . . gaudemus si quid licentius dixerint: verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, risu et osculo excipimus. nec mirum: nos docuimus, ex nobis audiant, nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit, pudenda dictu spectantur. fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura, discunt haec miseris, antequam sciant vitia esse.

6 quin etiam: Only here and Ann. XII 61 quin etiam dixit, 'quin et' being elsewhere preferred by Tacitus.

7 probitati . . . modestiae: On this common collocation, see crit. note c. 5 1. — parvulos = infantes, if we except Caes. B. G. VI 21 a parvulis 'from early childhood,' seems not to occur in pre-Augustan writers. It is rare in Silver Latin (e. g. Val. Max. II 6, 16 Quint. I 1, 24 V 7, 36 Plin. Pan. 26), occurs once in Fronto, Florus, Apuleius and Censorinus, and a number of times in Ps. Quint. Declam. The Church Fathers appropriated the word, clearly distinguishing it from 'infantes.' Cf. e. g. Augustin. M. XXXIV 416, 5 parentes cum parvulis et infantibus. Strange to say, the term never occurs on inscriptions. Cp. the exhaustive discussion of Funk, Archiv VII 73-102. — non . . . neque . . . sed: An exceedingly common correlation in Tacitus. Cf. c. 12 3 19 4 21 34 25 28 29 17 31 2 36 30 Ag. 19. 33 G. 7 (twice) 11. 18 H. I 38. 43 III 38 Ann. I 31. 68 IV 62 XII 10 XVI 2. non in place of 'neque' ( nec) imparts additional emphasis. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 85 R. V. III 218 f. notes 414* 415.

8 lasciviae et dicacitati: Lascivia in a bad sense is chiefly post-Aug. and not yet found in Cicero, but in Tacitus, with three exceptions (G. 24 H. II 68 Ann. XI 31), out of 32 instances, it is always so used. — Dicacitas 'banter' is also used in bonam partem by Cicero e. g. de orat. II 54, 219 ff. Orat. 26, 87 and by Quint. VI 3, 21 who derives the word from 'dieere' and defines it as 'sermonem cum risu aliquos incessentem. Both terms are combined by Quint. VI 3, 41 Siculi quidem ut sunt lascivi et dicaces. In the present passage, both 'lasciviae' and 'dicacitati' are clearly intended to express the opposite qualities designated respectively by probitas 'decorous conduct' and modestia 'modest behavior,' and they must, therefore, be translated accordingly, 'bad demeanor' and
'sauciness.' — *per quae*: sc. vitia. A neuter plural agreeing with two or more abstract feminine substantives first occurs in Cicero e. g. de fin. III 11, 39 stultitiam autem et timiditatem ... esse fugienda de nat. deor. III 24, 61 fortuna ... quam nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate seiuget quae digna certe non sunt deo. Thereafter not rare in Sallust (e. g. Cat. 31) and Livy (e. g. VIII 35, 4). Tacitus furnishes numerous instances, e. g. Ag. 31 virtus porro ac ferocia ... ingrata (omitted by Dr. *H. S.* I 182 *Stil* p. 15 and Nipp. ad Ann. I 46) H. II 20 pax et concordia ... iactata sunt. III 19. 70 Ann. XI 16 comitatem et temerantiam nulli invisa, saepius violentiam ac libido grata barbaris Quint. VI 2, 11 VII 4, 31. — On the use of the preposition, see note c. 19 22. — *impudentia inrepat*: The same metaphor occurs in Plin. Ep. III 20, 8 est enim periculum ne tacitis suffragiis impudentia inrepat.

I am unable to extract any meaning out of *sui alienique contemptus* consistent with the context. The interpretations hitherto proposed seem to me erroneous in substance and quite incompatible with the only possible signification of the words themselves, for neither can *alieni* be taken in the sense of *alienorum* (so Wolff) or *aliorum,* nor can *sui,* by the side of *alieni,* be anything but the neut. gen. sing. Peter, in all seriousness, takes the phrase to mean "die ganze eigene und fremde Individualität"!, while John and Andresen understand the reference to be to the spendthrift habits of contemporary youth and to their reckless incurrence of debts; but I utterly fail to see how *sui alienique contemptus* can be made to yield these meanings. Moreover, 'running into debt' does not as such imply any contempt of the wealth of others, unless it be taken for granted that the borrower draws upon the resources of the wealthy with the avowed intention of not repaying the loan: Finally, I cannot admit that the characteristics in question are the psychological result of the previously mentioned qualities. *Sui alienique contemptus,* I feel convinced, is simply due to an interlinear or marginal gloss, just such as we should expect a monkish scribe to have made. *Impudentia* here and again in c. 35 5 ludum impudentiae is designated as the ultimate outcome of certain kinds of training.

10 in utero matris concepi: Cf. c. 7 10 in alvo oritur Cic. Tusc. Disp. III 1, 2 nune autem, simul atque editi in luem et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate ... versamur, ut paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur Suet. Ner. I vitia ... quasi tradita et ingenita and Gell. X. A. XII 1, 14 ff.

11 *histrionalis favor = histrionum favor.* 'Passion for the theatre.' Tacitus is fond of using an adj. in place of an obj. genitive.


14 *quos alios*: Cp. the similar statement of Libanius I 200, 3, concerning the conduct of pupils during a lecture: πολλὰ μὲν νεώματα πρὸς ἄλληνον ἐπὶρ ἱμάχους καὶ μέμιαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀρχηστῶν Plut. de aud. 1. 3 Lucian *Kataπλ.* 1 Cic. de orat. II 5, 21 hoc ipso tempore
cum omnia gymnasia philosophi teneant, tamen eorum auditores
discum audire quam philosophum malunt.

15 nec ... quidem: Madvig, de fin. Exc. III pp. 803–815, fol-
lowed by Dr. H. S. II 74 and most editors, rejects 'nec–quidem' for
'et (ac) ne–quidem,' both in the intensive (so here) and copulative
sense. But the best MSS. of many writers, e. g. Seneca, give the
form 'nec–quidem' so frequently, and a predilection of scribes for
'nec' would be so inexplicable, that I can see no valid grounds for
rejecting 'nec–quidem,' if sufficiently well supported. Cp. Haase
to R. V. III 484 note 497. In the Dial., the same form again
occurs c. 40 15. Pfitzner to Tac. Ann. p. 143–147 advocates its
introduction also in H. I 66 IV 38 Ann. IV 35 XIV 35, but to do
so against the MSS. is perhaps less justifiable.

17 experimento i. e. by giving their pupils a proof of their
scholarly attainments. This is the usual significiation of the word
in Tac. e. g. G. 3. 12. 13. 15. 28 Ag. 8. 12. 13. As a synonym of
'usus,' only c. 22 9 34 28 Ag. 12. 16. 19 H. I 11 II 97.

18 ambitione 'obsequiousness, servility.' On the interesting
semasiological history of this word, see Heraeus, Tac. H. I 1. and
on its various meanings in Tacitus, cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. — Both
'ambitio' and 'adulatio' are mentioned together in H. I 11 and
Ann. XIV 29.

30. 1 transeo = ut transeam. Similar paratactic constructions
are not uncommon. Cf. Cic. pro Sest. 24, 54 omittō gratulationes . . .
vexabatur uxor mea de sen. 15, 52 omittō vim ipsam omnium quae
generantur e terra . . . nonne ea efficiunt. Cp. Peter ad loc. and
Halm, Fleck. Jahrb. LXXXIV (1864) p. 150. — discentium = disci-
pulorum. On these substantive participles, cf. Proleg. p. evii. —
elementa: On the meaning and etymology of this word, see
Wilkins, Cic. de orat. I 35, 163. — et ipsis: καὶ ἀπόκις 'likewise,
equally.' This phrase is, with the exception of Livy, who uses it
19 times (Kühnast, Liv. Synt. p. 114), perhaps most frequent in
Tacitus: c. 37 15 Ag. 25 diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu G.
37 amissō et ipse Paccoro H. I 42 de quo et ipse ambigitur 79 et
ipse felix II 33 Otho . . . et ipse nonnisi militibus eredit III 82
miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit IV 27 priditione-
num et ipse Hordeonio obiecit Ann. II 2 et ipse diversus a maiorum
institutis IV 56 divina et ipse stirpe XII 15 et ipsi gratias quaes-
sivere XIII 19 Paridem histrionem et libertum et ipsum Domitiae
C. 30.  

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XV 72 nam et ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit. See Prammer, *Zeitschr. f. oestr. Gymn.* 1881 p. 500 Dr. *Stil* p. 45 *H. S.* I 81: "Tacitus nur dreimal, in den Annalen nicht mehr"! This usage is generally denied to Cicero. See Peterson's note to Quint. X 1, 31. An indisputable instance occurs, however, pro Caec. 20, 58 tamen et ipsi tuae familiae genere et nomine continebantur. No example is found either in Caesar or Sallust.

In *scautoribus cognoscendis*: 'scautor' = scriptor is post-Aug. usage and first met with in Seneca e.g. Ep. II 2, 2 ista lectio scautorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum. Thereafter of frequent occurrence, e.g. Quint. I 5, 11. 8, 8 Latini quoque scautores X 1, 48 hunc scautorem (sc. Homerum) 5, 3 rerum copia Graeci scautores abundant. Plin. Ep. VII 9, 15 Suet. Octav. 89 in evolvendis scautoribus. Cp. Schmalz, *Antith.* s. v. In Tacitus: Ag. 2. 10 H. I 1 II 37 IV 83 Ann. I 81 II 83 III 3. 30 V 9. — *in evolvenda antiquitate*: Cf. Sen. *Dial.* VIII 5, 2 antiquitates evolvere. We also speak of unrolling the pages of history or of the past.— On the necessity of the study of history, cf. Cic. de orat. I 5, 18 tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis 60, 256 Quint. X 1, 34 pleraque ex vetustate diligenter sibi cognita sumat. — *vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum*: *Rerum* seems to signify the so-called exact sciences, such as physics and geometry. Cp. the title of Lucretius' poem and 'rerum motus causasque' below.— *hominum* doubtless refers to the study of philosophy, particularly ethics, corresponding in a measure to 'morales partes.' — *temporum* finally, as distinguished from 'antiquitas,' includes contemporary history, its laws, politics etc. A knowledge of all these subjects, together with music and dialectics, constituted the true ἐγκύκλιον παθεῖας, orbis doctrinae. Cp. Quint. I 10 and Hulsebos, *de educat.* etc. p. 84 ff. 152 ff. and with the entire passage the remarks of Cic. de orat. I 34, 158. II 42, 181 Orat. 32, 113 with Sandys' note.

4 *in notitia... insumitur*: The construction with the preposition, in place of the usual dative (See c. 9 2 Ag. 23 paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae classi Ann. III 1 paucos dies componendo animo insumit 44 libellis accusatorum insumeret operam XVI 23 portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat) was doubtless occasioned by the desire of the author to preserve the symmetrical balance of clauses 'nec in—nec in—nec in.'— *quos rhetoros*
vocant, as in c. 35 2 qui rhetores vocantur Cic. de orat. I 12, 52
permulta sunt quae ipsi magistri, qui rhetorici vocantur, nec tra-
dunt nec tenent III 14, 54 qui se horum, qui nunc ita appellaturn,
rhetorum (misquoted by Peter). The phrase here implies the
charge that these corrupters of youth unjustly arrogated a Greek
name to themselves, which always designated a highly respectable
calling. Possibly the Greek accusative plural was used for
the express purpose of calling attention to this fact, for rhetor as
occurs only here, c. 35 13 and in the very Senatus consultum (cited
in c. 35 5) referred to in both of the Dialogus passages. On the very
rare use of Greek endings in Tacitus, see note c. 31 34.

5 professio = disciplina. In this sense, the word is post-Aug.
Suet. de gramm. 4 iam discreitis professionibus Quint. Prooeum. 4.
I 4, 1, 8, 15, 9, 1 II 1, 4. — quando primum etc: See note c. 35 2.

' De curis' seems to be the remnant of a marginal gloss (see p. 38) which,
on becoming incorporated into the text, caused the corruption now exist-
ing. If so, the numerous emendations proposed cannot be seriously con-
sidered as even plausible restorations of the archetypion. But quite apart
from this, most of these conjectures, on their authors' own admission, can
only refer to a statement of Messalla in a subsequent speech, which he at
this stage of the discussion clearly had no intention of delivering. See the
closing words of c. 32. Andreesen, wishing to avoid this objection, contends
that the promise implied in 'statim dicturus' is actually fulfilled at once,
the unpopularity of rhetorical schools being manifest by the following
account of the course of training which the ancient orators, or rather Cicero
as their representative, underwent. But this interpretation, besides involving
a petitio principii, does not call for a phrase like 'statim dicturus,' by
the side of referam necesse est. Michaelis', Peter's and Nipperley's
eomendations are palaeographically quite impossible. Nor is Vahlen's
'decursurus' (Prooeum. Berol. 1881 p. 11 f.) convincing.

9 infinitus labor et . . . meditatio: Cf. Tac. Ann. IV 61 oratorum
meditatio et labor Cic. de orat. I 1, 1 infinitus foresium rerum labor.
On the 'oratio trinembris,' amplified as usual in the third
member, see Proleg. pp. cv ff.

10 ipsorum . . . continentur libris: The speaker means to say,
that the evidence of this wide and thorough culture is abundantly
manifest in their published orations, (On liber = oratio, see note c.
3 2), an interpretation confirmed by 'itaque hercule in libris Cicero-
nis reprehendere licet non geometriae etc.' below. John under-
stands 'continentur in libris' of actual memoirs published by the
ors themselves, but this would imply an extensive autobiographical literature of which we have no knowledge and which, if it ever existed, would certainly have left some trace, particularly in the Brutus.

12 *cuius extrema parte*: i. e. 89, 305–92, 316. The following passages contain a number of verbal coincidences with the Brutus which leave no doubt of Tacitus’ direct indebtedness to this work.

13 *habet* = continere, seems to be of very rare occurrence. In Tacitus again Ann. IV 34 Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones, falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent and once in Quint. X 1, 70 illa mala iudicia quae Epitrepontes, Epicleros, Locroeh habent. — *sua... suos... suae*: On the anaphora, which here serves the purpose of bringing out each topic with special distinctness, see Proleg. p. cxvi. *gradus* is used in the same connection by Cic. Brut. 65, 232 *gradus tuos et quasi processus dicendi studeo cognoscere*. Cf. also c. 26 34 quibus gradibus fracta sit... eloquentia.

14 *educationem*, ‘development.’ With this meaning, the word is not used elsewhere, hence the addition of the apologetic particles ‘velut quandam,’ on which see note c. 5 23.— *se... didicisse*: The acc. with inf. is not governed by ‘refert’ which is already supplied with an object, but by ‘dicit enim’ understood. On this ellipsis, highly characteristic of Tacitean style, see note c. 10 33.—

**Q. Mucium:** Q. Mucius Scaevola Q. f. Augur (c. 159 — c. 88 B.C.) was, like his far more famous nephew, Mucius Scaevola Pontifex, chiefly noted for his legal attainments. Cf. Cic. Brut. 26, 101 *is oratorum in numero non fuit; iuris civilis intelligentia atque omni prudentiae genere praestitit* 89, 306 ego autem iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. Scaevolae. Cp. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* § 139, 3.

15 *Philonem Academicum*: Cf. Brut. i. c. Eodemque tempore, cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romanque venisset, totum ei me tradidi admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus Tusc. Disp. II 3, 9 Philo quem nos frequenter audivimus Plut. Cic. 3 Φιλόνος ἤκουσε τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας, διν μάλιστα Ἱωμαίοι τῶν Κλει- 

tomáχου συνήθως καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων θαυμάσαν καὶ διὰ τῶν τρόπον ἡγάστρων.

— *Diodotum Stoicum*: Brut. 90, 309 eram cum Stoico Diodoto qui, cum habitavisset apud me mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meae
mortuus (i.e. 13 years previous in 59 B.C. as we learn from Ep. ad Att. II 20, 6). A quo cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialectica exercebar (see below l. 17), quae quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est Acad. Pr. 36, 115 Tusc. Disp. V. 39, 113.

16 omnes philosophiae partes: Philosophy was generally divided by the ancients into three parts. Cf. Cic. Acad. I 5, 19 fuit ergo iam accepta a Platone philosophandi triplex: una de vita et moribus (= ἰδικῆ), altera de natura et rebus occultis (= φυσική), tertia de disserendo (= λογική) de orat. I 15, 68 philosophia in tres partes est divisa: in naturae obscuritatem, in disserendi subtilitatem, in vitam atque mores De fin. V 4, 9. Seneca, who devotes an entire epistle to this subject, says (Ep. 89, 9), Philosophiae tres partes esse dixerunt et maximi et plurimi auctores: moralem, naturalem, rationalem (see also Quint. XII 2, 10), and the last is again subdivided into διάλεκτική and βραχυκική. We have virtually the same division below (l. 22 f.). This threefold classification is generally attributed to Plato, but it seems not to be earlier than Xenocrates and the Stoics. See Reid’s note to Cic. Acad. I. c.

17 doctoribus contentum: The expression was suggested by Brut. 91, 316 quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni.—quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat: Of Greek teachers who taught in Rome about this time (80 B.C.), for that these are primarily intended seems to be indicated by the use of the word ‘doctores,’ see Hillscher, A. Hominum litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem hist. crit. 1891 Leipzig.—On the use of the indicative in the oratio obliqua, see note c. 17 19. The statement is a parenthetical remark of the speaker himself not based upon information taken from the Brutus.

18 Achaia quam quoque et Asiam peragrassae: Brut. 91, 315 Cum venisset Athenas, sex menses cum Antiocho . . . fui studiumque philosophiae nunquam intermissum a primaque adolescentia cultum . . . renovavi. Eodem tamen tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum exercerii solebam. Post a me Asia tota peragrata est cum summis quidem oratoribus (viz. Menippus, Dionysius Magnes, Aeschylus Cnidius and Xenocrates of Adramyttium).—Peragrassae can only be joined to ‘Achaia’ by a kind of zeugma, for on Cicero’s own testimony, just cited, he studied in no other city of Greece proper except Athens, nor do we know of any town in the
province of Achaia which he could have visited for any educational purpose. — **omnia omnium artium varietatem**: Of the nine 'liberales artes' enumerated by Varro, *five* are here expressly mentioned, *two* clearly implied, namely *rhetoric*, for according to the Brutus, Cicero’s teachers in Asia were *rhetoricians* (hi tum in Asia rhetorum principes numerabantur) and *astrology* (astronomy) which is included in 'rerum motus causasque.' The remaining 'artes,' *medicine* and *architecture* are designedly omitted for obvious reasons. On the number and variety of the liberal arts from Varro to the time of Charlemagne, see Th. Davidson, *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*, London 1892 p. 239–247 (Appendix). — With the expression itself, cf. Cic. de orat. III 19, 72 veteres illi ... omnum omnium rerum ... cognitionem et scientiam cum dicendi ratione iungebant. See also note c. 6 12 and Gericke, *de abund. gen. dic.* Tac. p. 52 ff.

21 *itaque hercule ... possit*: Observe the consummate art with which the author, by the use of emphatic exclamation (hercule), anaphora (non — non — non — non denique and ille — ille) epanalepsis, climax, evenly balanced clauses, and an accumulation of synonymous or redundant expressions succeeds in reflecting stylistically the warmth of feeling and intensity of conviction which animates the speaker in this closing part of his argument, and this in spite of the fact that the entire paragraph betrays an unmistakable indebtedness to Ciceronian passages both in thought and phraseology. — The necessity of acquiring as universal a knowledge as possible is constantly inculcated by Cicero. Cf. e.g. de orat. I 6, 20, 13, 58, 16, 72. 35 ff. II 9, 38 III 14, 54. 20, 76 Brut. 93, 322 Orat. 4, 14. 5, 17 and on the usefulness of the various branches here enumerated also Quintilian e.g. I 4, 5. 8, 12. 10, 1 ff. II 21, 1 ff. XII 2, 1 ff. 3, 1 ff. 4.

23 *ita est enim ... ita est*: An instance of epanalepsis, a figure used in solemn or emphatic asseverations, e.g. Cic. Verr. II 4, 52, 117 est ita iudices, est ita Dem. de cor. 297 ἀλλ’ οἴκ ἐστιν, οἴκ ἐστιν, Olynth. IV 18 εἰσί γὰρ, εἰσίν. The expression *ita est* is particularly common in Seneca. Cf. also Cic. pro Cluent 35, 96 non fuit illud igitur iudicium iudicii simile, iudices, non fuit. — In Tacitus, *enim* always precedes *est*, except here. In c. 31 6 the MSS. vary. On this much disputed question, ep. Hand, *Tursell. III* 492 Dr. *H. S.* II 164 ff. Madvig, de fin. I 13, 43 Wilkins, de orat. I 2, 7 Sandys,
Orat. 1, 2. The rule of Seyffert, Lael. p. 104–106 that 'est' takes second place when it is the mere copula, but third place if it denotes existence, is justly called into question by Müller and is very decidedly refuted by our passage. The position, if not wholly arbitrary, seems to be determined by the degree of emphasis called for by the context.

24 ex multa eruditione etc: On the climax, see note c. 33 10. ·

25 exustum et exuberat: Doubtless suggested by Cic. de orat. I 6, 20 ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consexitus. Etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio. Tac. uses these words in a figurative sense also in Ann. XIV 53 tam latu fenore exuberat (sc. animus meus) and III 72 exundantes opes. — admirabilis: Cicero repeatedly contends that it must be the ultimate aim of the orator to render his speech worthy of admiration. Cf. de opt. gen. 4, 12 quid? dubium est, utrum orationem nostram tolerabilem tantum an etiam admirabilem esse cupiamus? Quint. VIII 3, 6 recteque Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadem in epistula (not extant) scribit: 'nam eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam judico. See also Sandys' note to Orat. 28, 97. In selecting this particular epithet, therefore, Tacitus not only endorses Cicero's own view, but at the same time also pays a very high compliment to his oratorical excellence.

26 orationis vis et facultas: Vis and facultas are frequently combined. Cf. e.g. Cic. de orat. I 31, 142 Quint. XII 1, 33.

Andresen (Emend. p. 157 f.) objects to the reading 'ceterae artes' as an illogical correlative to oratoris, 'rerum' in the sense of 'artium' being in his opinion also inadmissible. The latter objection is abundantly refuted by Cic. de orat. I 5, 19, 6, 20 (cited in previous note as the model of Tac.) 28, 128 III 22, 84 (quoted c. 32 11). The incongruity pointed out may be admitted; it is, however, paralleled by similar incongruities in the use of 'ceteri' and 'alius.' Cf. Tac. II. IV 58 legatis tantum legionum interfectis. celerum vulgus Ann. I 31 III 42 (where see Nipp.) XV 37. Cic. Verr. I 1, 16, 47 Nep. Eum. 7, 1. The traditional reading might, therefore, be plausibly defended. All difficulties, however, vanish at once, if we write orationis (an emendation curtly dismissed by Andresen) for 'oratoris.' The two nouns are often confused in the MSS. e.g. in Quint. I 10, 27 VI 2, 19 X 2, 12 XII 1, 11. — The passages cited by Kleiber p. 30 and John ad loc. in support of the collocation of 'oratoris' with 'vis' or 'facultas' seem to me quite irrelevant, as no antithesis with 'artes' or 'rea' is either expressed or implied in any of them.
27 angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur: Cf. Plin. Ep. III 7, 13 tam angustis terminis...concluditur. Cicero says 'terminis circumscirebère' (de orat. I 12, 52. 16, 70) or 't. saepire' (ibid. II 2, 5). 'angustus' and 'brevis' also occur combined in Tac. G. 6 and in Plin. Ep. II 7, 4. — Cludo for 'claudio' is found in Tacitus, provided the MSS. can be relied upon, only here, c. 35 4 G. 34. 45 (twice) H. I 33 and Ann. XV 64. No instance is cited from Cicero. Caesar, Sallust or Livy. Occasionally in Seneca: e.g. Ep. 73, 13. Cp. also A. Köhler, De auct. belli Afr. et belli Hisp. latinitate in Act. Sem. Phil. Erlang. I p. 367 ff. — is est orator etc.: This definition is illustrated by many passages in Cicero. Cf. esp. de orat. I 15, 64 is orator erit...qui, quaecunque res inciderit, quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet cum quadam actionis etiam dignitate 31, 138 primum oratoris officium esse dicere ad persuasendum accommodate datu III 14, 53 de invent. I 5, 6 officium autem eius facultatis videtur esse apposite ad persuasionem Orat. 36, 123 is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id, quodcunque decebit, poterit accommodate orationem Quint. II 15, 1 ff. — pulchre, further explained by 'pro dignitate rerum,' is here taken in its ethical sense, in accordance with the contention of Quintilian 'non posse oratorem esse nisi virum bonum' discussed at length in XII 1 ff. — ornate pertains to the formal side of a speech, which should give aesthetic pleasure to the hearer (cum voluptate auditum). — apte dicere, calls for a treatment of the subject in agreement with the requirements of the case and the exigencies of the occasion (ad utilitatem temporum).

31. 2 opus esse ut: This construction, perhaps formed on the analogy of 'necesse est ut' occasionally found in classic prose, occurs in Plautus: Truc. II 3, 7. 6, 19 V 11 Poen. V 7, 36, then again in Mart. VII 92, 9 hoc opus est, subito fias ut sidere mutus and Lact. Opif. XI 1 opus fuerat ut aleretur. So once with 'ne' in Plin. Ep. VII 6, 3 cui opus esset, ne reus videretur. In Tac., it is like sufficiere ut (c. 32 i) and expedire ut (Ann. III 69) a ãw. dîp. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 273 f. Dahl, Die latein. Partikel 'ut,' Christiania 1882 p. 249 and esp. the exhaustive treatment of Woelflin, Archiv II 207 ff. IV 152. 325. Draeger ad Ann. 1. c. very ingeniously suggests that Tacitus may have used this construction to avoid the dependence of one infinitive upon another. If so, this would furnish another very striking proof of the Tacitean authorship of the
Dialogus, for none of the other examples can be accounted for on the same motive! — declamament: The word 'declamare' in the sense of a rhetorical exercise first came into vogue in the time of Cicero, as we learn from Cic. Brut. 90, 310 commentabur declamitans — sic enim nunc loquuntur and from Sen. Contr. I proem. 12 declamabat autem Cicero non quales nunc controversias dicimus . . . ipsa 'declamatio' apud nullum antiquum auctorem ante Ciceronem et Calvum inveniri potest qui declarationem a dictione distinguat; ait enim declamare iam se non mediocriter, dicere bene; alterum putat domesticae exercitationis esse, alterum verae actionis.

3 fictis nec . . . ad veritatem accendentibus controversiis etc.: On this subject, see notes c. 35 ext. — Ciceronian reminiscences in thought and diction are particularly abundant in this chapter. Cf. de orat. I 33, 149 equidem probo ista . . . ut, causa aliqua posita consimili causarum earum quae in forum deferuntur, dicatis quam maxime ad veritatem adcommodate, sed plerique in hoc vocem modo, neque eam scienter, et viris exercent suas et linguæ celeritatem incipient. III 30, 121 hanc ad consuetudinem exercitationis vos . . . cohortatus Antonius atque a minutis angustisque concertationibus ad omnem vim varietatemque vos disserendi traducendos putavit . . . non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procedenda lingua est, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate.

5 de bonis et malis, etc.: i.e. touching the good and bad things in life, the practical harm or usefulness of which constituted the theme of discussion in the 'genus deliberativum' referred to immediately below. So Cic. de orat. I 10, 42 nihil te de bonis rebus in vita, nihil de malis . . . didicisse et Orat. 33, 118 nihil de bonis rebus aut malis, nihil de virtutibus aut vitiis. The same enumeration occurs in Sen. Ep. 95, 58 continent vitam, bona et mala, honesta et turpia, iusta et iniusta.

Tacitus may have designedly written 'de bonis ac malis' to prevent the phrase from being taken in the sense of 'de bonis et malis' which, unless 'rebus' is added, generally serves as the Latin equivalent for ἐν διαφορᾷ. But the habitual confusion of 'et, ac, and aut' in our MSS. (e.g. c. 12 17 16 18 19 8 20 5) and the fact that the cod. D has et here, render it not improbable that this represents the original reading (see the passage from Seneca). We should thus also preserve the customary symmetrical grouping in all three pairs of opposites, for the very few exx. in Tacitus of a change of conjunctions are confined to adversative collocations. Cf. c. 24 4 ingenio
ac spiritu sed etiam eruditione et arte G. 27 lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt II. 181 manere ac deprehendi, an fugere et dispersi II. 08 pervigilias ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris III 20 armis ac manu ... ratione et consilio Ann. IV 1 largitio et luxus, saepeus industria ac vigilantia. In c. 18 ext. et — atque ... et — atque the grouping is perfectly symmetrical and in c. 22 is the variation is necessary. See note.

6 oratoris subjecta materia: A Ciceronian phrase. Cf. de orat. I 46, 201 omnis haec et antiquitatis memoria ... tamquam aliqua materies eis oratoribus qui versantur in re publica subjecta esse debet II 27, 116 ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: ut probemus ... ad probandum autem duplex est oratoris subjecta materia III 14, 54 atque ea est ei (sc. oratoris) subjecta materies Quint. II 21, 20 materiam rhetoricæ esse omnes res ad dicendum ei subjectas.

These passages can leave no reasonable doubt that 'ad dicendum' is out of place by the side of 'oratoris,' a view confirmed by the variants in our MSS: subjecta ad dicendum — ad dicendum subjecta, which unmistakably point to an interlinear gloss which subsequently came into the text in different places. The phrase was evidently taken from c. 37 29 'ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberen,' where it is quite appropriate, not to say essential to the context. — As est is here part of the verb, its emphatic position before enim is unjustifiable.

7 in iudiciis refers to the genus iudiciale (δικαίωµατος), in deliberationibus to the g. deliberativum (συµβολευτικόν), in laudationibus to the g. demonstrativum (εὐδεικτικόν), and de aequitate, de utilitate, de honestate correspond respectively to the de iusto et inustō, de bonis et malis and de honesto et turpi. Cf. Arist. Rhet. I 35 Auct. ad Herenn. I – III Cic. de inv. II 4, 12 de orat. (see below) Top. 24, 91 Quint. II 21, 18 III 4, 1 – 16. — fere 'chiefly,' belongs to 'disserimus.' In this sense, 'ferme,' which takes the place of 'fere' in the later writings of Tacitus, is not uncommon. Cf. II. IV 70 ut f. acerrima ... proximorum odia sunt Ann. II 2. 54 IV 5. 9. 58 VI 17 XII 26 XIV 20 XV 21. On 'fere principia,' see crit. note c. 20 2. — The entire passage is directly based upon Cic. de orat. I 31, 141 sed causarum quae sint a commun i quaestione seiunctae, partim in iudiciis versari, partim in deliberationibus; esse etiam genus tertium quod in laudandis aut vitaeperandis hominibus poneretur; certosque esse locos quibus in iudiciis uteremur, in quibus aequitatem quaereretur, alios in deliberationibus quae omnes
ad utilitatem dirigentur eorum quibus consilium daremus; alios item in laudationibus in quibus ad personarum dignitatem omnia referrentur.

9 sed . . . miscantur: Justice, utility and morals, though constituting the principal topics of discussion in the respective 'genera dicendi' to which they properly belong, are nevertheless all so closely interrelated as to render the treatment of one to the rigid exclusion of the other practically impossible. The same thought is brought out by Quint. III 4, 16 ne iis quidem accesserim qui (the authors referred to in § 9 ff.) laudativam materiam honestorum, deliberativam utilium, judicialem iustorum quaestione contineri putant, celeri magis ac rotunda usi distributione quam vera. Stant enim quodammodo mutuis auxiliis omnia. Nam et in laude iustitiae utilitasque tractatur et in consiliis honestas et raro judicialem inveniatur causam in cuius parte non aliquid eorum, quae supra diximus, reperiatur and again III 8, 1 deliberativas quoque mira quibusdam sola utilitate finitas. ac si quid in his unum sequer oporteret, potior fuisse apud me Ciceronis sententia (de orat. II 82, 334) qui hoc materiae genus dignitate maxime contineri putat. nec dubito quin i i qui sunt in illa priore sententia, secundum opinionem pulcherrimam, ne utile quidem nisi quod honestum esset, existimarint.

With the solitary exception of Philipp, Dial. Tac. . . quae genuina fuerit forma, Vienna 1887 p. 29 f., the emendation of Ursinus 'de utilitate, in laudationibus' has met with general acceptance. Philipp bases his objections upon unwarrantable inferences drawn from Cicer. de orat. II 10, 43 III 30, 121 Quint. III 8, 1 and X 1, 47 and ignores the tripartite enumeration 'de bonis et c.' which the 'nam' clause is evidently intended to illustrate. Ursinus' restorations, both here and in c. 5 16, where the existence of a lacuna has also unjustly been denied by Kiesling, Index school. Greiffswald 1884/5, are among the most certain emendations made in this treatise. — 'Ita tamen ut,' though again found in c. 16 22 38 7 and hence preferred by some editors, is palaeographically not so easy as the equally satisfactory 'sed ita ut' (disserimus). So e. g. Cicer. de orat. II 18, 64 habenda ratio est rei familiaris sed ita ut illiberality avariaque absit suspicio.

10 copiose et varie et ornate: Cf. Cicer. Orat. 9, 29 ornate vero et graviter et copiose dicere 33, 118 de orat. I 11, 48 composite, ornate, copiose loqui 13, 59 oratorem plenum atque perfectum esse cum qui de omnibus rebus possit copiose varie dicere.

12 pravitatemque vitiorum: The expression is not properly antithetical to vim virtutum, 'vis' being here, as often, synonymous
with 'intellectus.' 'Pravitatis' seems to have been merely added for the sake of stylistic libration. See note c. 1 21. — intellectum sc. cognovit. For a perfectly analogous construction, cf. c. 17 25 ad spatium temporis si ... referas ... si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum ... aevi. The expression closely approaches the so-called figura etymologica, on which see note e. 22 17.

There is, therefore, no valid reason for assuming a zeugma, as Philipp, p. 30, does, nor for inserting 'habet' before or after 'intellectum.' Schopen's emendation, accepted by Halm, Peter and Joh. Muller, is objectionable also, because 'intellectum habere' is always used in the passive sense of 'intelligi, significare' e.g. Quint. II 14, 2 III 6, 45 V 10, 1 VII 9, 2 VIII 3, 83 and Tac. G. 29 hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autunni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. See Kleiber p. 41 John ad loc.

13 nec in virtutibus nec in vitiiis numerantur: i.e. the Stoic ἀκαθόρα. Cf. Diog. Laert. VI 105 τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀφετῆς καὶ κακῶς ἀκαθόρα λέγοντων ὁμοίως Ἄριστων τῷ Χιρ. Indifferens, the Latin equivalent, coined by Cicero (see de fin. III 16, 53) seems to have been generally accepted by later writers. Cf. e.g. Sen. de vit. beat. 22, 4 Gell. IX 5, 5. — The entire passage was suggested by Cic. de orat. I 12, 53 Quis enim nescit maximam vim existere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitundis vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocaudis? Quae nisi qui naturas hominum (I 11, 48 natura hominum . . moribus) vimpque omnem humanitatis causasque eas, quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus persperexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.

17 exercitationibus versatus: 'possessed of a thorough training in these subjects.' On the meaning of 'versari,' cp. Nagelsbach, Stilist. § 109. — sive apud infestos etc : The author simply enumerates, without any attempt at antithesis, climax or symmetrical libration, some of the more common moods or dispositions which an orator is apt to encounter in an average audience. Cupidus can, of course, in the present context be understood only in malam partem, 'biassed.'

19 dicendum habuerit: On this construction, see note c. 8 11. — tenebit venas animorum etc: The orator should, like a skilful and thoroughly trained physician, after carefully diagnosing the psychical condition of his hearers, apply such remedies (adhibebit manum) from out his well-stocked (parato omni instrumento) and ever
available (ad omnem usum) oratorical storehouse, as will establish the necessary entente cordiale between him and his audience. For the figure, cf. Cic. de orat. I 52, 223 teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis, aetatis, ordinis et eorum apud quos aliquid agit ait erit acturus, mentes sensusque degustet.

20 prout cuiusque sc. iudicis or auditoris. Cf. Quint. XII 10, 56 nam id quoque plurimum refert, quo modo audire iudex velit atque 'eius vultus saepe ipse rector est dicentis' ut Cicero praecipit. — prout, not found in early Latin, Caesar or Sallust, occasionally in Cic. and Livy, not uncommon in Silver Latin, is particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. and Dr. H. S. II 654.

Throughout this paragraph, Tacitus is intent on pointing out that an orator, to be successful, must accommodate himself to the feelings and the temper of his audience, an opinion also shared by Cic. and Quint. II. cc. but apparently contradicted by Aper (see c. 6 17). With sunt apud quos etc. the author proceeds to give some of the reasons for this requirement, and enumerates some of the sources which may serve as models to the orator for the accomplishment of his purpose, in certain situations. The particular character of the lawsuit itself is clearly of no importance whatever in determining this mode of procedure. Andrensen's emendation 'cuiusque causa' (Emend. p. 159 f.) is, therefore, unnecessary. The passages, cited by him in support of this conjecture, from c. 23 23 Cic. de orat. II 27, 115 Brut. 80, 279 Orat. 36, 125 Quint. IX 4, 139, 147 (to which Cic. ad Att. XI 6 ext. prout res postulat Quint. V 12, 14 prout ratio cuiusque causae postulabit might have been added), are either quite irrelevant or only prove that the phrase 'prout res, (causa) postulat (post) is of common occurrence, but this fact does not justify a correction of the text, which cannot be shown to be corrupt or objectionable on internal grounds.

21 instrumento sc. dicendi. The word frequently occurs in this figurative sense. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 36, 165 Quint. XII 5, 1, 11, 24. In Tac. again H. I 88 instrumentum belli and of individuals Ag. 14 instrumenta servitutis I 22 pessimum principalis matrimonii instr. IV 7 boni imperii instr. Ann. XII 66 Locusta... inter instr. regni. See also note to c. 26 19.

22 sunt apud quos... meretur: The indicative after sunt qui occurs in Tac. only here and Ag. 28 fuere quos... illustravit. In the present passage, it may be accounted for on the ground that the author had two distinct and definite classes of hearers in mind. The construction is extremely rare in post-Aug. prose, though quite common in poetry. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 531–534 Kühner II 860 R.
V. III p. 502 f. note 507 Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* § 242 W. G. Hale, *Cum Constructions* p. 111 f. — *adstrictum et collectum:* 'concise and succinct.' *adstrictum* is synonymous with 'pressus, contractus.' Cf. Cic. Brut. 90, 309 quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia, but *collectum* is very rare in this sense, e.g. Sen. Ep. 100, 11 non erunt sine dubio singula circumspecta nec in se collecta nec omne verbum excitabit. The metaphor is taken from the folding of a dress, as is clear from c. 39 3 paenulas istas quibus *adstricti* et velut inclusi.

— *singula statim argumenta conclusens:* i.e. the speaker will adopt a more popular style, free from intricate syllogistic reasoning and enthymemes, which his hearers might have some difficulty in following with intelligence.

24 *dialecticae* sc. Stoicorum. For it was chiefly this sect which practiced the 'adstrictum genus dicendi' in contradistinction to the 'fusa oratio' of the Peripatetics. Cf. Cic. Brut. 25, 94 ille quidem ornator sed tamen *adstrictor.* fuit enim doctus ex disciplina Stoicorum 31, 120 ut Stoicorum *adstrictior* est oratio aliquantoque *contractior* quam aures populi requirunt sic illorum (sc. Peripateticorum Academicorumque) liberior et latior, quam *patitur consuetudo judiciorum et fori* 30, 114. — *dedisse proficiet* sc. oratori. On the perfect infinitive, see note c. 18 13.

Fidem, as all our MSS. have it, was doubtless due to 'scriptura continua' (fidemaretur) and, therefore, unmistakably points to 'fide' as the reading of the archetypon. But this genitive, while well attested for the poets (e.g. ap. Cic. de orat. III 26, 98 Hor. C. III 7, 4 Ov. Met. III 341 VI 506 VII 728, 737) is found only once in prose, viz. Plancus ap. Cic. ad fam. X 17, 3. It seems, therefore, somewhat hazardous to introduce this form into the text of *Tacitus,* as Sirker, *Tac. Formul.* p. 21 demands. For these genitive forms, in general, cp. Neue I 377 ff.

*fusa et aequalis:* *Fusa* 'smoothly' is synonymous with 'profuens, lenis, tractus.' Cf. Cic. de orat. II 15, 64 verborum autem ratio et genus orationis *fusum atque tractum* et cum lenitate qua-dam aequabiler profuens 38, 159 genus sermonis adfert non liquidum non fusum ac profuens sed exile, aridum, concisum ac minutum. — *aequalis* 'steadily.' The word is so used, not only in Quint. III 8, 60 id quoque aequálius erit non tumultuosus atque turbidius 9, 2 aequaliter *fusa* but also, according to all our MSS., in Cic. Orat. 36, 126 *aequaliter* toto corpore orationis *fusa* esse debet and 58, 198 sed omnis nec claudicans nec quasi fluctuans sed *aequaliter* constanterque ingrediens. Elsewhere Cicero has *aequa-*
biliter e. g. Orat. 30, 106 ieiunas igitur huius multiplicis et aequabiliter ... fuisse orationis de orat. II 54, 218 aequabiliter in omni sermone fuisse.

From the above passages, it must be clear that 'aequalia' and 'aequabilis' are synonymous, and that both rest upon equally good authority. Hence I can see no necessity for writing 'aequabilis' in our passage, against the unanimous testimony of the MSS. Arbitrarily to insist on uniformity in Cicero in favor of 'aequabiliter' and then to adduce his 'invariable' usage for the purpose of emending other recalcitrant readings, is hardly a legitimate mode of argumentation.


27 in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos: Loci is here not equivalent, as often, to 'loci communes' but used in the sense of 'lines of argument' τόποι. Cf. Cic. Orat. 14, 46 idemque (sc. Aristotleis) locos — sic enim appellat — quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheatur oratio de orat. I 13, 55 quibus de rebus Aristotelenum et Theophrastum scrisisses fateor ... etenim cum illi in dicendo incident loci ... ut de dis immortalibus, de pietate, de concordia, de amicitia ... de omni virtutis genere sit dicendum, where Sandys and Wilkins cite numerous other passages. — Observe the stylistic balance of these clauses: sunt apud quos ... apud hos — alios ... ad hos, with a symmetrically constructed 'oratio trinembris' in each: adstrictum et collectum et ... conclusens etc. — fusa et aequalis et ... ducta etc. (a — a — b ; ; a — a — b).

28 Academici pugnacitatem: On the εἰς ἓκατερα ἐπιχείρησις characteristic of the New Academy, see note c. 24 10. — pugnacitas is a post-Aug. word. Cf. e. g. Plin. N. H. X. 33, 51, 101 Quint. IV 3, 2 argumentorum pugnacitas. — Plato altitudinem: On altitudo = sublimitas, see note c. 21 16. In their high admiration of Plato's style, the ancients, barring a few ill-humored protests of Dionysius, are unanimous. Cf. Cic. de or. I 11, 47 principi longe omnium in dicendo gravissimo et elegantissimo III 4, 15 libros Platonis mirabiliter scriptos Brut. 31, 121 quis enim ulterior in

29 Epicuri ... et Metrodori: On Epicurus of Samos (342/1-270), see Zeller, Gesch. d. griech. Philos. III 1, 363 ff. and Sussemihl, Gesch. der griech. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit I p. 87-97. On Metrodorus of Lampscus (330/29-277 B. C.), his favorite disciple, and called by Cic. de fin. II 28, 92 paene alter Epicurus, see Zeller III 1, 368 note 3. and Sussemihl I p. 98-100.— honestas quadam exclamationes: The reference is to the pithy moral maxims of Epicurus, called προσφωνήσεως or ἀνακρανγάσματα ἑρᾶ, of which latter 'honestae exclamationes' seems to be a translation. Cf. Cic. de fin. II 16, 51 itaque, Torquate, cum diceres, clamare Epicurum non posse incunde vivi, nisi honeste et sapienter et inste viveretur. They formed part of the κώμαι δόξαι, on which see Usener, Epicurea p. 71-81 Sussemihl I 93 note 420 and E. Thomas, Eine Studie zu den Epicureischen Sprüchen in Hermes XXVII p. 22-35.

31 neque enim sapientem inquamus etc: It is not my contention, says Messalla, that the orator should be a professional
philosopher (sapiens) or lose himself in the dialectical subtleties practiced by the Stoics and their followers; what I do insist on, is that, while having a complete mastery over some branches of study (haurire), he should be also sufficiently conversant (libare) with them all, to enable him to utilise such knowledge, whenever occasion arises, as it must needs do often (incident enim). In this plea for a liberal education by the side of strictly professional training, Tacitus again voices the sentiments of Cicero e. g. de orat. I 50, 217 f. at hoc ne philosophi quidem ipsi ... dicere audent, geometerium aut musicam philosophi esse quia Platonem omnes in illis artibus praestantissimum fuisse fateantur. ac si iam placet omnes artes oratori subiungere, tolerabilius est sic potius dicere ... sit boni oratoris multa auribus accepisse, multa vidisse, multa animo et cogitatione, multa etiam legendo percucurrisse, neque ea ut sua possedisse sed ut aliena libasse. Plat. Prot. 312 B.

'comitem' is so clearly the only proper solution of the compendium citem, preserved in A, the word is so preeminently suited to the context, that the intrinsically and palaeographically improbable emendations of others (p. 41) may be dismissed without further comment. Cp. Vahlen, Comm. Momms. 1877 p. 607 and John's note ad loc. As for Seek's absurd conjecture (Hermes XII 509) and the far-reaching inference which he draws from it — difficile est satiram non scribere.

32 haurire: See note c. 28 29. — libare, though common in this figurative sense, is not elsewhere so used in Tacitus. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. I 34, 159, 50 218 (cited above) Tuscul. Disp. V 29, 82. Both verbs combined in Cic. de div. I 49, 110 haustos animos et libatos habenus. For a similar figure, cf. Sen. Ep. 36, 3 peribire liberalia studia, non illa quibus perfundi satis est, sed haec quibus tingendus est animus. Observe the different expressions for the antithesis between scientific knowledge on the one hand (haurire, comprehending, scientia) and superficial acquaintance on the other (libare, imbuebantur, notitia).

This doubtless intentional symmetry is an additional proof of the correctness of the reading libare.

ideoque = itaque. Very common in Quintilian e. g. X 1, 22 where see Peterson. In Tacitus only here and G. 26. Que joins an entire sentence as in c. 32 6 and 6 6, where other examples from Tac. are cited.

33 iuris civilis scientiam: The necessity of a profound study of civil law is repeatedly inculcated by Cicero e. g. de orat. I 36, 165.
40, 184. 44, 197 his ego de causis dixeram, Scaevola, eis qui perfecti oratores esse vellent, iuris civilis cognitionem esse necessariam 46, 201 Orat. 34, 120 Quint. XII 3 (necessariam iuris civilis oratori scientiam) and c. 32 ext.

Some MSS., both here and c. 30 20, where the same sciences are enumerated, exhibit the Greek endings (grammatice, musicæ, geometrice). But Tacitus, very unlike Quintilian in this respect (see Bonnell Lex. Proleg. XX-XXVI), habitually avoids Greek forms and inflections, no less than Greek words (on which see note c. 5 32), the only exceptions being perhaps the name Ozionae (G. 46) and the quasi-proper name megistanus (Ann. XV 27), a word of Persian origin, signifying magnates. On 'rhetorae,' see note c. 30 4.

34 imbuebantur, used of superficial training, as in c. 19 21 quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus at certe imbutus, where see note.

35 incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ... plerisque autem: i. e. 'For occasions may arise in which a superficial acquaintance with the law is all that's desired, nay I may say, this will generally, if not always be the case; in many instances, however, also a thorough knowledge of the above mentioned subjects will be necessary.'

36 haec ... scientia i. e. harum artium scientia. Cf. Cic. Orat. 33, 118 sine ea scientia (i. e. earum rerum) ... quam dixi ... explicari potest de orat. I 3, 10 ei scientiae (i. e. eius artis) 41, 186 huic scientiae (i. e. huius rei). Cp. Kühner II 44.

'incidunt' implies the idea of casual occurrence and hence 'plurimae quidem etc.' is added to prevent any misunderstanding of the speaker's real meaning. 'quibus iuris etc.,' the reading of all the MSS., is clearly distinguished from 'in quibus' below, for the law pertains to the entire case, a knowledge of music, geometry, etc. only to particular parts. Cp. John ad loc. and note c. 21 32. Bahrens (Comm. Crit. p. 88) understands 'haec scientia' to refer to the knowledge of the law, and regards 'notitia ... desideratur' and 'scientia requiritur' as a climax, an interpretation which he is unable to uphold without a number of arbitrary changes. Andreesen, overawed by the alleged difficulties of the passage, deletes the entire clause, from 'incidunt—requiritur.' It may be admitted that these words are not essential to the context, but how a scribe ever came to insert, on mere caprice, three lines, it were difficult to divine.

32. 1 sufficere ut is very rare. Cf. Plin. Ep. IX 21, 3 interim sufficet ut exorari te sinas; with 'ne,' ibid. 33. 11 and Tac. Ann. XVI 5; with 'si,' Plin. Ep. V 1, 9 Pan. 88, 2. Cf. Dr. H. S. II
NOTES.

272. 357 and see note c. 31 2. The impersonal use of ‘sufficiere’ is confined to post-Aug. Latin.—ad tempus ‘For the occasion.’ So also Cic. de orat. I 16, 69 quid est cur non orator de rebus eis eloquentissime dicat quas ad certam causam tempusque cognorit. The meaning usually given to this phrase ‘for the time being, for the moment’ (See Seyff.-Mull. Lael. p. 196, Tac. Ann. I 1 IV 19) seems less appropriate here.

2 uniforme: Apparently not met with elsewhere, except in late Latin e. g. Macrob. VII 5 Apul. Met. 11 Aurel. Vict. Epit. 9 Arnob. II 88 (uniformiter).—primum enim etc.: The thought was perhaps suggested by Cic. de orat. III 23, 86 omnes enim artes aliter ab eis tractantur qui eas ad usum transferunt, aliter ab eis qui ipsarum artium tractatu delectati, nihil in vita sunt aliud acturi.

3 longeque interesse: Longe is a poetic and post-Aug. equivalent for multum, multo. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 40 longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt. c. 33 10 longe magis... contineri 24 longe paratiorem G. 8 longe impatientius Ann. IV 40 longe acerius arsuras XII 2 l. rectius. For examples in other writers, see Lexica.

4 possideat...an mutuat: An in indirect question with ‘utrum’ omitted, is more common in Tacitus than in other writers. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. an (p. 77). No similar instance occurs in Quintilian. The same ellipsis after ‘interesse’ e. g. in Plaut. Most. I 1, 60 pluma haud interest, patronus an elnsus probrior sit. —The truth of the statement is well illustrated by the Dialogus itself which, in spite of palpable indebtedness to Cicero and others, has yet preserved a high degree of originality.

5 etiam aliud agentes: Genuine culture will manifest itself, even in those parts of a speech in which the orator was not consciously availing himself of his acquired knowledge. Most commentators take the phrase ‘aliud agentes’ to refer to the orator’s extra-forensic activity, his social intercourse and the like, but this interpretation is quite excluded by the clause ‘idque...fateatur.’ The phrase itself is originally colloquial usage but of common occurrence and opposed to ‘hoc agere,’ ‘to do something intentionally.’ Cf. Ter. Eun. 348 Hec. 826 Publ. Syr. 115 R. Cic. Rosc. Am. 22, 60 (where see Landgraf) pro Cluent. 64, 179 aliud agentem ac nihil eius modi cogitantem de orat. III 14, 51 Brut.
66, 233 Quint. X 1, 19 unde nos non id agentes furtim decor ille
discertibus traditus prosequatur 3, 25 (cf. Bonnell, Lex.). In
Tac.: Ag. 43 hic aliud agens populus et c. 28 28.

— eminet et excellit: The same words are grouped, but in inverse
order (see note c. 4 3) in Cic. de rep. II 28, 50 excellit atque
eminet vis Plin. Pan. 2 hoc magis excellit atque eminet. Seneca
seems disposed to deny the truth of this statement. Cf. Ep. 88, 36
‘at enim delectat artium notitia multarum.’ Tantum itaque ex
illis retineamus, quantum necessarium est . . . plus scire velle
quam sit satis, intemperantiae genus est. — idque: On initial ‘que,’
see note c. 6 6. — non . . . modo . . . et: On separated ‘non-modo,’ cf.
ote note c. 2 6.

7 legitime: ‘properly.’ In this sense, the word is common in
the Elder Pliny, but apparently not elsewhere so used, except once
in Iuv. XII 100.

8 per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse: On the use of ‘per’ after
verbs of motion, with an acc. of extent, see note c. 19 22. — The
figure seems to be taken from the fencing school. Cf. Quint. X 1,
4 sed athleta qui omnes iam perdidicerit a praecipore numeros
with Mayor’s and Peterson’s notes ad loc. — ut . . . ut . . . ut deni-
que: Cf. the anaphora in c. 30 29 38 12 and note c. 9 10. — oratorem
sc. eum. The omission of a demonstrative, pronoun in these and
analogous constructions is quite characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. e. g.
Ag. 11 positio caeli corporibus habitum (eum) dedit H. I 72 scelera
exercuit corrupto . . . Nerone, quaedam ignaro (eo) ausus Ann. I
5 talia agitantibus (iis) gravescere valetudo Augusti II 70 lenta
videri (ei) veneficia; festinare (eum) et urgere ut 82 in extremas
terras relegatum (eum) IV 60 gnarus praefecerem (eum esse) XIII
27 quos . . . non liberavit (eos) velut vinculo servitutis non attineri
 XV 20 de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum (eum esse)
and c. 5 15 (id) studium quo 17 28 (eos) oratores, quos 37 24 (eas)
orationes, quas.—On the a fortiori use of ‘orator,’ cf. note c. 1 6.

Andersen has justly abandoned his emendation ‘alium’ in place of
‘aliter,’ for inconcinnity of correlation in Tacitus constitutes no justifiable
ground for condemning an otherwise unobjectionable reading supported by
the unanimous testimony of the MSS.

11 armis instructus . . . artibus armatus: With the expression,
umquid armatus miles quantum in aciem exituro satis est . . . satis
enim vitae instructus, satis armatus est (sc. sapiens) and for the
military metaphor, see note c. 5 32 and Quint. X 1, 29.

The ease with which Tac. might have avoided the slightly mixed
metaphor, by transposing 'instructus' and 'armatus,' renders it highly
probable that the MSS. have preserved the original reading. The author's
reason for writing, as he did, seems to have been his dislike of the figura
eytologica. Cf. note c. 22 17. For an analogous inconcinnity, see Cic.
de orat. II 21, 88 cited by Blinde p. 40.

For the entire paragraph from deinde—exierit, Cicero was again
laid under contribution. Cf. esp. de orat. I 16, 72 f. sentio neminem
esse in oratorum numero habendum, qui non sit omnibus eis arti-
bus quae sunt libero dignae, perpolitus; quibus ipsis si in dicendo
non utimur, tamen apparci atque exstat, utrum simus earum rudes
an didicerimus: ut qui pila ludunt... et qui aliquid fingunt...
sic in orationibus... etiam si proprie ceterae non adhibeantur artes
tamen facile declaratur, utrum is, qui dicat, tantummodo in hoc de-
clamatorio sit opere iactatus an ad dicendum omnibus ingenuis
artibus instructus accesserit. 6, 20 (cited c. 30 26) III 22, 84
neque enim apud homines res est ulla difficilior neque maior neque
quae plura adiumenta doctrinae desideret.

13 huius... cotidiani sermonis: huius = nostri. So horum tem-
porum diserti (= c. 1 5) and c. 36 4 horum temporum oratores.
For other exx., see note c. 7 16.—Combined with 'cotidianus,' also
in Cic. in Pis. 26, 64 in hac cotidiana urbanaque vita. Ep. ad
Quint. frat. I 1, 6, 19 in his privatis nostris cotidianisque ratio-
72, 253 hunc... cotidiamum novisse sermonem.—Quintilian (XII
10, 40 ff.) also speaks of a class who insisted that 'nullam esse...
eloquentiam nisi quae sit cotidiano sermoni simillima,' but, unlike
Messalla, admits that their claims were not altogether unreasonable
'qua in disputazione nonihil veri est, ideoque non tam procul,
quam fit a quibusdam, recedendum a propriis atque communibus.'

14 pudenda: The gerundive of impersonal verbs such as piget,
pænitet and pudet is first met with in the Augustan poets and
from the time of Livy also occasionally in prose. 'Pudendus,' in
particular, first occurs in Virgil e.g. Aen. XI 55 pudendis vulneri-
bus and then in Liv. XXIII 3 XXV 6 XL 56. Cp. Dr. H. S. II
857. It is not uncommon in Quintilian, but never used by him as
an adjective. In Tac. again H. II 61. 90. 95 III 84 Ann. II 38
III 53 XV 44.
'Ius civitatis' for 'ius civile,' as the phrase is generally interpreted in our passage, or in the sense of 'publica iura quae sunt propria civitatis atque imperi' (Cic. de orat. I 46, 201), which John adopts, is nowhere met with in Latin writers. It invariably designates the right to enjoy or to obtain the privileges of citizenship, a meaning quite impossible here. Cf. e.g. Cic. pro Arch. 5, 11 pro Caec. 34, 08. 35, 102 Verr. II 4, 11, 26. All difficulty is at once disposed of by the simple insertion of 'suae' which easily dropped out (ius civitatis). So similarly the majority of the MSS. in Quint. X 1, 100 omit 'suae,' though essential to the context. — With the expression itself, cf. Cic. de orat. I 40, 184 haec igitur et horum similia iura suae civitatis ignorant.

16 praecepta prudentium, here virtually equivalent to 'philosophorum plaeita' (c. 19 n), as shown by 'sapientiae studium' to which it is added for the sake of nearer definition, on which see note c. 9 1. The substantive use of 'prudens,' no less than its occurrence as a synonym of 'sapiens' is extremely rare, but quite Tacitean. Cf. Ag. 25 specie prudentium H. III 58 consilia prudentium Ann. I 9 apud prudentes 47 prudentes (sc. consilii sui) II 23 officia prudentium (sc. rerum nauticarum) I 70 nihil... sapiens ab imprudenti... differre Ag. 27 sapientes (= prudentes) Sen. Ep. 90, 33 multa enim facit (sc. sapiens) quae ab imprudentissimis. — On the chiasmus at the close of an enumeration, cp. Proleg. p. cxvi; on the alliteration, ibid. p. cxvii. — With the thought, cf. Quint. XII 2, 8 sed quia deserta ab his qui se ad eloquentiam contulerunt, studia sapientia non iam in actu suo atque in hac fori luce versantur, sed in porticus et in gymnasia primum, mox in conventus scholarum recesserunt, id, quod est oratori necessarium nec a dicendi praeceptoribus traditur, ab ipsis petere nimium necesse est, apud quos remansit sqq.


18 detrudunt eloquentiam: i. e. they dethrone eloquence and degrade her to the position of a slave. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 11, 46 oratorem... excludi ab omni doctrina rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in judicia et contiunculas tamquam in aliquod pistrinum detrudi et compingi videbam Acad. Pr. 35, 112. — On the personification of eloquence, see also note c. 12 7.
detrudunt etc., though joined asynetically to the preceding, points out the direct result of the neglect of legal and philosophical studies. Hence the indicative, preserved in D in place of 'detrudant' of the other MSS., is the only admissible reading.

19 **expulsam regno suo**: For a similar metaphor, cf. Cic. de orat. III 32, 126 ex angustiis oratorem educere ausus es et in maiorum suorum regno collocare ad fam. IX 18, 1 amissos regno forensi. — **omnia artium domina**: With the personification, cf. Eur. Hec. 816 πεθὼ δὲ τὴν τύρανναν ἀθρόως μόνην Quint. I 12, 18 omnium regnum rerum oratio and similarly Cic. de off. II 19, 66 huic (sc. eloquentiae) a maioribus nostris est in toga dignitatis principatus datus.

20 **pulcherrimo comitatu**: 'stately retinue.' Cf. Cic. de orat. III 6, 23 quocunque ingreditur (sc. eloquentia) eodem est instructa ornataque comitata. The personification, momentarily abandoned in the phrase 'pectora implebat,' is again taken up in the following.— **circumcisae et amputata** 'curtailed and shorn,' forms the antithesis to 'pulcherrimo comitatu.' The metaphor is derived from the clipping of the vine or trees. Cf. Cic. de fin. V 14, 39 scientia atque ars agricolarum quae circumcidat, amputat. Both words are frequently grouped together by Cicero: de fin. I 13, 44 amputata circumcisaeque inanitate omni et errore de orat. I 15, 65 licet hinc quantum cuique videbitur, circumcidat atque amputet. Tusc. Disp. IV 26, 57 quae evellenda et extrahenda penitus, non circumcidenda amputanda sunt Acad. Pr. 45, 138 circumcidit et amputat multitudinem and so similarly Plin. Ep. I 20, 9 amputata oratio et abscura Gell. VII (VI) 5, 8 decisis amputatisque falsis opinonibus. The same metaphor, applied to speech, is also found in Greek c. g. Arist. Rhet. III 8, 6 κολοβως περιόδος Rhet. Gr. III 313 Sp. ἀποκκομμένων.

21 **sine ingenuitate** i.e. eloquence is no longer practiced for its own sake, in conformity with the dignity required of a Roman freeman, but has been degraded into a money-making profession (Andresen). Cp. the very similar complaint of Maternus in c. 13 9 lucrosae huius ... eloquentiae usuus recens et ex malis moribus natus, the passage from Tac. Ann. XI 5 there cited and note to 'sordidissimis.' — The word 'ingenuitas' is of comparatively rare occurrence. In Tac. only here and Ann. XIII 27 ingenuitatis iudicium and in Cic. de orat. II 59, 242 Acad. Post. 9, 33 in Verr. II
1, 44, 113 Plin. N. H. XXXV 10, 36, 66 Suet. Octav. 74. — *Sine* with a substantive serves as a substitute for a missing adjective. So e. g. Cic. pro Planc. 5, 12 Cn. Manlius non solum ignobilem, verum sine virtute, sine ingenio (where see Landgraf's note) and very frequently in Tac. e. g. c. 41 11 sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans G. 35 sine cupiditate, sine impotentiæ, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella H. I 9 invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate Ann. III 15 Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obtinatum clausumque vidit XIII 35 sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi. Cp. A. Gerber, *Philol.* XXXIV 628 note Kühner II 164 f. Nägelsbach, *Stilist.* § 75 R. V. III 525 f. note 512. See also note c. 34 21.

22 *una ex sordidissimis artificiis* = una omnim artificiorum sordidissima. ‘una’ is used by a kind of attraction for ‘unum,’ because the personification of eloquence and her degradation to a servile occupation, indicated also by ‘detrudent’ and ‘sine ingenuitate’ are throughout uppermost in the mind of the speaker. On these constructions, common in both Greek and Latin, see Kühner II 21 f. R. V. III 14 note 329. — *unus*, when added to a superlative, either in the genitive, or more rarely with a preposition, as here, imparts special emphasis. Cp. R. V. III 182 note 403°. — *sordidissimus* ‘vulgar, low.’ A characteristic epithet, illustrative of the contempt of the higher classes for handicrafts or professions, followed for the sake of pecuniary gain. Cf. Tac. H. I 4 III 74 Ann. IV 62 sordida mercede XI 6 and Sen. Ep. 108, 36 in a similar passage: qui philosophiam velut *aliquot artificium venale* didicerunt. — *primam et praeicipiam*: ‘Praeicipiam’ was probably added to prevent ‘primam’ from being taken in the numerical sense of ‘first,’ which would imply that Messalla was about to give other reasons, but this he had originally no intention of doing. See below. The same alliterative collocation occurs in Tac. Ann. VI 4 praeicipius olim . . . et tunc primus and in Quint. II 15, 1.

The MSS., as in Cic. Orat. 32, 115, vary between ‘ego’ and ‘ergo.’ The former seems far more suitable to the context, because of the implied antithesis with ‘si testes desiderantur,’ i. e. I myself believe this to be etc.’ but if etc.’ Again, this closing sentence intentionally recalls, by its very form, the question put to Messalla by Maternus in c. 24 ext. exprime nobis . . . causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus. Messalla, therefore, having partially complied with this request, very appropriately ends his speech: hanc ego etc. The latter collocation appears to me prefer-
NOTES.


24 si testes desiderantur: i.e. of the study of philosophy among the ancients, not that from law, as is clear from the illustrations that follow.

26 Platonis auditorem: This tradition, due probably to that love of synchronism so characteristic of the Greeks, is universally accepted by the ancients and may be traced back to Hermippos (3d cent. B.C.), a very untrustworthy source of biographical information. Cf. Plut. Dem. 5 Ερμίππος δὲ φησὶν ἄδειστοις ὑπομημάζειν ἵστως, ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεχελάκατι Πλάτωνι Pulemon ap. Diog. Laert. III 46 Schol. Plat. Phaedr. 261 a Pseudo Plut. X orat. 844 b Cic. de orat. I 20, 89 de off. I 1, 4 Quint. XII 2, 22, 10, 24. — Olympiodorus ap. schol. Plat. Gorg. 515 D and Cic. Orat. 4, 15 (where see Sands) Brut. 31, 121 appeal to the testimony of a letter of Demosthenes himself, but this particular correspondence, like most of the extant epistolary literature of the Greeks, is unquestionably apocryphal.

27 et Cicero: Observe the anacoluthon, for we expect 'et apud nos Ciceronem qui' but such studied symmetry would not have been in keeping with the ἤθος of this passage, which merely draws attention to two statements of fact.—The passage alluded to occurs in Orat. 3, 12 fatoet me oratorem... non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiiis extitisse. Cf. also Quint. X 1, 81 philosopheum, ex quibus plurimum se traxisse eloquentiae M. Tullius confitetur XII 2, 23 nam M. Tullius non tantum se debere scholis rhetorum quantum Academiae spatiiis frequenter (in writings now lost) ipse testatur.—his ut opinor verbis refert: 'ut opinor' or 'ut arbitror,' especially when introducing quotations and in dialogue generally, does not imply any real doubt in the mind of the speaker, but is here designed to avert the impression of accurate learning in familiar conversation. Cf. c. 25 3 qui primum, ut opinor, controversiam movit 37 8 ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Auctor librī et tribus Epistularum composita Cic. Brut. 15, 58 est igitur sic apud illum (sc. Enniium) in nono, ut opinor, annali Tusc. Disp. III 9, 19 quae apud Homerum Achilles queritur, hoc ut opinor modo. There follows an exact translation. Quint. XI 1, 59 in libro, ut arbitror, septimo dixi... quartus liber continet. Cp.

'officinis,' accidentally omitted in the MSS., is necessary, for 'rhetorum' cannot be made dependent upon 'spatius.' The instrumental abl., especially in the case of 'spatius,' seems to me also out of place. I insert 'ex' before both nouns, on the basis of the original passage. 'Consequi ex aliqua re' is quite common, e.g. Cic. pro Pomp. 1, 2 ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus Quint. VII 2, 4 ex qua (sc. poena) minus incommodi consecuturum quam ex facto gaudii. On the repetition of the preposition in adversative clauses, see crit. note c. 10 25.

29 *sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves:* The same phrase occurs in Plin. Ep. I 19, 1 magnae et graves causae V 8, 6 egí m. et g. causas. — Both adj. are used as synonyms also in Tac. H. II 59 quamvis magnis transibat, inpar curis gravioribus.

30 *vobis aperiri aquum est:* On the so-called dativus subjectus see note c. 4 8.

*Quoniam* like 'quando' is frequently intensified, esp. in Cicero, by 'quidem.' See Landgraf, pro Rosc. Am. 11, 31 R. V. III 291 note 432*. But the further addition of 'iam' renders it somewhat doubtful, whether 'quidem' is here in its proper place. I am strongly inclined to think, that it originally belonged after 'magnae,' having been accidentally transferred to the line below, after 'quoniam.' 'Magnae quidem' would then be equal to 'magnae illae quidem,' on which see note c. 3 8. Cf. also the exactly similar passage in c. 34 18 nec praeceptor dearat, optimus quidem (i.e. opt. ille quidem) et electissimus. — Andreessen strangely takes 'quidem ego' as an anastrophe (!) of 'ego quidem.' I have been unable to find a parallel instance of this hyperbaton in Tacitus.

31 *in consuetudine:* On these prepositional phrases, see note c. 18 17.

32 *si haec audierint:* This phrase again betrays the non-historical character of the dialogue. Cf. note c. 14 20.

33 *dum . . . lando:* *Dum* with the ind. pres. in oratio obliqua or within a subj. clause is rare in classic Latin. In Cic. only once, in a translation of a verse of Simonides (Tusc. Disp. I 42, 101). It occurs sporadically in Livy e.g. XXIV 19, 3, is not uncommon in Silver Latin, but *never* found e.g. in Quintilian, Pliny and Suetonius. Most frequent, if not the rule, in *Tacitus:* G. 12 H. I 33 III 38, 70 V 17 Ann. II 81 XI 33 XIII 15 XIV 58 XV 2. 45. 59 XVI 5. Cp. Dr. *H. S.* II 605 f. *Stil* p. 68 Kühner II 1035 f. note 2 R. V. III 341 note 450, with the literature there cited. — On the attitude of the Romans toward the study of philosophy, see note c. 19 10.
34 ineptiis meis plausisse: ‘foolish hobbies.’ On the various meanings of ‘inaptiae,’ see e.g. Cic. de orat. I 24, 111 ‘indiscretions’ II 4, 18 ‘folly’ III 49, 187 ‘want of taste’ Catull. XIV b Mart. II 86, 9 XI 1, 13 = nugae Plin. IV 14, 8 longa praefatione vel excusare vel commendare ineptias (i.e. de suis hendecasyllabis) ineptissimum est. Neither ‘inaptiae’ nor the adj. ‘ineptus’ occurs elsewhere in Tacitus.—With this closing remark, cp. Cassius ap. Tac. Ann. XIV 43 ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.

Ch. 33–36. Maternus draws attention to the manifest incompleteness of Messalla’s treatment of the subject, and requests him to supplement it by giving also an account of the manner in which the youth of the period, after completing their theoretical education, acquired a thorough practical training, a requirement equally essential to a successful oratorical career (—c. 33 12). Messalla complies by showing that such forensic experience was gained by constant personal attendance in the law-courts themselves and by actual association with the most renowned speakers of the day (—c. 34). This inspiring and instructive method is thereupon contrasted with the modern pernicious practice of moot-courts, conducted within the walls of the school-rooms of good-for-nothing rhetoricians and dealing with fictitious, grotesque and far-fetched themes. Thus brought up in a purely artificial atmosphere, the youth of the day are helpless, when called upon to take part in real forensic or judicial encounters (—c. 35). The close of the speech is lost.

33. 2 peregrisse ... incohase: The same antithesis occurs in Quint. VI 4, 1. altercationis praeccepta poterant videri tune incohanda cum omnia ... peregrissem.

3 vestigia ac linamenta: A double metaphor. Vestigia occurs a number of times in a figurative sense in Tacitus e.g. Ag. 16 quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit 2 patris ... vestigia prernere, but ‘linamenta,’ though common in Cicero (Orat. 56, 186 Brut. 87, 298), is used in but one other passage in Tac. and then in its regular meaning of ‘outlines.’ i. 16 picturam et linamenta colorum inimitetur. — Peter well observes that ‘ostendisse’ in place of ‘tradidisse’ still further emphasises the incompleteness of Messalla’s previous exposition. Cf. Ag. 13 divus Iulius ... potest videri ostendisse posteris non tradidisse (sc. Britanniam). — On the repetition ‘videris ... videaris.’ See note c. 1 8.
5 adversus 'as compared with.' Cf. Ann. XII 15 nec fuit in arduo societas potentiam Romanam adversus rebellem Mithridatem ostentantibus XV 19 labores educandi adversus fraudem . . . adoptionis numerant. Ann. III 29 and XV 63, cited respectively by Peter and Wolff, are quite different. This usage seems not to occur elsewhere, except in two passages in Livy: VII 32 quid autem esse duo prospera . . . bella Sannitium adversus tot decora populi R. and XXIV 8 adversus veterem . . . imperatorem comparabitur.

6 fecundissima: In this figurative sense, the word is post-Augustan. In Tacitus again: H. I 51 II 92 IV 50 Ann. VI 27 XIV 13 but not used absolutely as here.

7 quem ad modum in comparative clauses is extremely rare in Tacitus. Cf. Ann. III 55 ut quem ad modum temporum vices ita morum vertantur VI 24 ut q. . . . complevisset, ita . . . essolveret. See note c. 36 32. — iunvenes iam et forum ingressuri: The et is epexegetic, on which see note c. 7 16.

The words of Messalla at the beginning of the following chapter, as well as the clear antithesis between 'artibus instrui' and 'excitationibus' strongly favor 'ingressi' as the original reading. Writing 'ingressuri' we should also expect 'et iam forum,' as suggested by Ernesti, or 'et forum iam.'—Cornelissen's easy emendation 'conformare' commends itself on two grounds: it is more closely allied in meaning to 'alere' and avoids the υποτετον υποτετον. The word is used in the same figurative sense in Tac. Ann. IV 8 orbatos sibi et posteris conformaret. Cf. also Hor. A. P. 307 alat formetque poetam, but Cic. de orat. II 28, 123 has alueru confirmaro.

11 abnues = negabis. The acc. with inf. after 'abnuere' in this sense is still rare in Cicero e. g. de leg. I 14, 40 but more common in Livy. In Tac. e. g. H. III 54 abluenti vera esse quae adferret Ann. XV 22 abnuentibus consulibus ea de re relatum. Cp. Woelfflin, Archiv IV 581.

12 significare vultu videntur: We must supply 'se non abnuere' not 'eloquentiam contineri,' as is clearly indicated by 'vultu.'

13 cum Aper . . . adnissent: The phrase was perhaps suggested by Cic. Fragm. Hortens. 4 Or. quod cum uterque nostrum adnissent.—quoque . . . idem: The same pleonastic collocation, if such it be, is found e. g. Quint. XII 3, 4 idem Graecos quoque factitasse. Cp. Binde, De T. dial. quaest. crit. Berl. Diss. 1884 pp. 28–41. Maternus had previously inferred the acquiescence of Aper and Secundus only by their negative attitude, now they both gave positive assent.
NOTES.


15 docendo: On the modal abl. of the gerund, see note c. 11 6.

16 institui erudirique: Combined also in Cic. Verr. II 3, 69, 161 eos (sc. liberos) instituere atque erudire ad maiorum instituta . . . debuisti.

17 quamquam ‘of course.’ On this use of ‘quamquam’ at the beginning of a sentence, cf. note c. 28 8.—ipsis artibus inest: Tacitus invariably construes ‘inesse’ with a dative in his later writings, and so generally in Silver Latin; Cicero, on the other hand, always has a preposition, with the single exception of de off. I 42, 151 quibus autem artibus . . . prudentia maior inest. Cp. Dr. H. S. I 416. But the ‘m’ of quamquam immediately preceding may possibly have caused the omission of ‘in,’ so that T. would be here still following Ciceronian usage, as in c. 11 15 and 30 4, where see notes.

The numerous variants in our MSS. seem to me due to the fact that ‘varias,’ having been accidentally omitted, was placed above the line and on being reintroduced into the text caused the confusion now existing. As ‘varias’ is more closely allied to ‘tot’ than ‘reconditas,’ I have had no hesitation in accepting John’s transposition (Fleck. Jahrb. 1888 p. 574), but I now prefer to read ‘ac’ for ‘aut,’ for ‘varias’ and ‘reconditas’ constitute no logical alternative but are simply enumerative. ‘So many, so various and abstruse subjects.’ ‘Ac was either confused with ‘aut’ (cf. crit. note 31 5) or omitted after ‘varias’ (aca) as an apparent dittography. —With the asyndeton, cf. e. g. Liv. V 54, 5 tot tam valida oppida XXV 37, 13 tot tam inopinata and Dr. H. S. II 12 f.

19 nisi ut = nisi ita ut. So Quint. V 10, 57 Plin. II 11, 16 Suet. Claud. 35. In Tac. perhaps in but one other passage: Ann. IV 38 alii modestiam . . . quidam ut (= ita ut) degeneris animi interpretabantur.—scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus: The ancients generally regarded three things as essential to complete culture (1) φύσις, natura, ingenium, facultas (2) ἐπιστήμη, μάθησις, scientia, doctrina, ars (3) μελέτη, γιόμασις, ἀσκησις, exercitatio, declamatio. In our passage the last category seems to be subdivided into (a) meditatio μεμελετημένος λόγος ‘theoretical exer-
cises' (b) usus 'actual forensic experience.' Cp. Arist. ap. Diog. Laert. V 18 φίλαρχος, μαθήματος, δικαίωσις. Dionys. Halic. ap. Syrian. (Rhét. Gr. IV 41 W.) Ps. Plut. de educ. 4 Rhet. ad Her. III 16, 28 f. Cic. de invent. I 2 Quint. III 5, 1.—Other examples of climax in Tacitus are c. 30 24 32 8. 21 34 8 Ag. 41 infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus. These instances ought perhaps to be distinguished as κλίμακα διανοιας from the following which are chiefly phraseological (κλίμακα λήξως): H. II 32 Italiam ... transitu exercitus vastam, non frumentum usquam exercitui nec exercitum sine copiis retineri IV 74 nam neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma sine stipendii neque stipendia sine tributis. For exx. in other writers, cp. Sandys, Orat. 39, 135 Volkmann, Rhet. p. 403 and esp. Gerber, Die Spr. als Kunst II 197 ff.

John ad loc., following Sauppe (Philol. XIX 282), deletes 'eloquentiae' as an interpolation, perhaps caused by the preceding phrase 'facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri.' This is possible, and it must be admitted that the word is not essential to the context. But when John bases his condemnation upon the supposition that it is not likely that 'usus eloquentiae' would be here put down as the ultimate outcome of theoretical instruction rather than the result of actual experience, he seems to me to misinterpret the passage which does not imply any such contradiction to c. 34 s, but simply inculcates the necessity of rounding out one's theoretical education by subsequet (accedat) practical training, i.e. scientia and meditatio together with the requisite amount of native talent (facultas) must be supplemented by 'usus eloquentiae' before the orator is thoroughly equipped for his future career.

20 per quae = quibus. See note c. 24 5.

21 et perciendi quae proferas et preferendi quae perceperis: i.e. the character of one's theoretical knowledge will determine the expediency of its particular use and so inversely what the orator carries out in practice, will depend upon the thoroughness of his theoretical training. In other words, theory and practice are reciprocally related and must always go hand in hand, one being incomplete without the other. This opinion is apparently not shared by Quintilian. Cf. XII 6, 4 est tamen proprius quidam fori profectus, alia lux, alia veri discrimininis facies, plusque, si separens, usus sine doctrina quam citra usum doctrina valeat, but see also X 1, 1 ff. The obscurity of the phrase, admitted by the author himself (cf. also c. 42 4), was doubtless due to his desire to formulate an artistic epigrammatic antithesis. It is an example of
the figure termed \textit{antimetabolē}, commutatio, which is defined by the Auct. ad Her. IV 28, 39: commutatio est cum duae sententiae inter se discrepantes ex transiectione ita effertur ut a priore posterior contraria priori proficiscatur e.g. poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse, which is a translation of a saying ascribed to Simonides ap. Plut. Quaest. Conv. IX 5 \textit{γραφεῖα μὲν ἄντι φθεγγόμενη ἡ ποίησις, ποίησις δὲ σιγώσα ἡ γραφεῖα}. Cf. Cic. de orat. I 39, 180 Brut. 39, 144 (Scaevola) iuris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium iuris peritissimus pro Cluent. 2, 5 ut et sine invidia culpa plectatur, et sine culpa invidia ponatur. In Tacitus e.g. c. 39 2 ridiculum videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur H. I 1 ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet II 37 ut qui pacem bellis amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent III 73 quae iusserat, vetare, quae vetuerat, iubere et perhaps 28 18 where see crit. note. This figure is also very common in modern writers e.g. Shakespeare, Hamlet, 'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, 'tis true, which may be added to the many exx. cited from the English, French and German by Gerber II p. 212–216. See also Sandys' note to Cic. Orat. 39, 135 and Volkmann \textit{Rhet.} p. 416.

22 \textit{scientiam ab exercitatione separat}: This was done, for instance, by Cicero's brother, as we learn from de orat. I 2, 5 solesque nonnumquam hac de re a me in disputationibus nostris dissentire, quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artium eloquentiam contineri statuum, tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinae segregandam putes et in quodam ingeni atque exercitationis genere ponendum, and was especially characteristic of the Stoics: de orat. II 38, 159 III 18, 65. Cp. Seyff.-Müll. Lael. II 10 (p. 46 ff.).

23 \textit{concedet} with acc. cum inf., as in c. 12 19.—\textit{plenum} with the abl. for the more usual genitive. Tacitus uses both constructions. Cp. Lex. Tac. s. v. Dr. II. S. I 559. Quint. IX 3, 1 cited to note c. 3 14 and Plin. Ep. II 1, 7.

24 \textit{instructum ... longe paratiorem ... venturum}: Cf. Cic. Verr. I 3, 7 paratum atque instructum ad iudicium venire Orat. 5, 20 ad pernovendos ... animos instructi et parati Brut. 76, 263 paratus ad causas veniens. —\textit{longe} = multo. Cf. note c. 32 3.

25 \textit{videntur} 'are generally held to be.' Cf. Cic. de orat. I 12, 54 totus hic locus philosophorum proprius videtur, where some inferior MSS. read 'putatur,' an evident gloss of 'videtur.' See Wilkins l. c. So similarly \textit{δοκεῖ} in Gk.
34. 1 ergo marking the resumption of a theme, after a digression or interruption. Cf. Tac. G. 45 Ann. XIV 3 XV 33. 50. — foro et eloquentiae: Hendiadys.

3 deducetur a patre etc. On this practice, cf. Cic. Lael. 1 ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga ut quod possem et liceret a senis latere numquam discederem Brut. 89, 305 f. Quint. X 5, 19 quare iuvenis qui rationem inveniendi eloquentiique a praecipitoribus diligenter acceperit . . . exercitatio- nem quoque modicam fuerit consecutus, oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat, quem sequatur, quem imitetur: iudiciis interit quam plurimus et sit certaminis cui destinatur frequens spectator: XII 11, 5 frequentabunt vero eius (sc. Domiti Afri) domum optimi iuvenes more veterum . . . hos ille formabit quasi eloquentiae parens . . . sic ad se Caelium deductum a patre Cicero profitetur (pro Caelio 4, 10) sic Pansam, Hirtium, Dolabelam (ad fam. IX 16, 7 VII 33) in morem praecipitoris exercuit cotidie dicens audiensque Plin. Ep. II 14, 3 at hereule ante memoriam meas . . . ne nobilissimis adulescentibus locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente. See also note c. 2 7.

4 principem in civitate locum obtinebat: Cf. c. 38 11 primum obtinent locum Ann. I 13 principem l. III 75 principem in civitate locum . . . adsecutus IV 38 XI 16 pr. loc. implere. 'principem,' as John well observes, must here be understood in a relative sense, for all the youths could not attach themselves to one orator. Translate: 'who held a leading position in the commonwealth.'

5 sectari = adsectari, on which see note c. 1 18; for the meaning, cf. note c. 2 7. — dictionibus: Translate: 'public utterances,' for the usual meaning 'orations' (Cic. de orat. I 15, 64. 33, 152 Quint. II 4, 27) is inapplicable here, as 'altercationes' and 'iurgia' are also included. The speeches made by these orators in the senate are designedly omitted, because their young followers could not be present at these meetings.

altercationes . . iurgias: Alteratio designates the tilts between the contending parties, usually consisting of short questions and quick repartee and as such opposed to perpetua or continua oratio. Cf. Liv. IV 6, 1 res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset Tac. II. IV 7 paulatim per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt. The subject is treated by Quintilian in a special chapter (VI 4). Cf. also Cic. ad Att. I 16, 8
Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu cum oratone perpetua, plenis-sima gravitatis, tum altercatione. The orator Crassus is said by Cicero in Brut. 43, 159 to have had no equal in this field: iam in altercando invent parem neminem. _Iurgiis_, because these encounters easily led to personal abuse. Cf. Quint. l. c. asperrima in hac parte dimicatio est, nec alibi dixeris magis mucrone pugnari, but he adds 'bonus altercator vitio iracundiae careat. _ne turbidus et clamosus tantum sit altercator._—Both nouns are found together in Suet. Tib. 2 nonnulli in altercatione et iurgio tribunos plebis pulsaverint. —On the repetition 'interesse—interesset,' see note c. 1 8.

7 ut sic dixerim: According to Woelflin _Philol. XXVI_ 139 the classical 'ut ita dicam,' occasionally found in Silver Latin, took the form 'ut sic dicam' or 'ut ita dixerim' which in turn was probably due to a confusion with 'ut dixerim,' as Nipp. Ann. XIV 53 suggests. Both forms were then combined in 'ut sic dixerim.' This construction is perhaps first met with in Val. _Max._ VI 2 init. and is especially characteristic of Tacitus and Quintilian. Cf. c. 40 10 Ag. 3 G. 2 Ann. XIV 53 Quint. Pr. 23. 1 6, 1. 12, 2 II 13, 9 V 13, 2. 11 1X 4, 61 VI 3, 93 Plin. Pan. 42. —The logical perfect subj. in subordinate clauses is very rare and chiefly post-Augustan. Cf. Cic. Phil. XIV 6, 7 Liv. VIII 18, 3 Quint. X 1, 77 Plin. Ep. V 1, 10 and Tac. II. II 50 V 7 Ann. VI 22. Cp. in general, Woelflin l. c. Dr. _H. S._ II 699 _Stil_ p. 13 Gantrelle, _Style_ § 77 Schmalz _Syntax_ p. 518 E. Wolff _Die Sprache d. Tac._ p. 24 J. P. Lagergren _De _... _elwent. C._ _Plinii_, Upsala 1872 p. 168 Nipp. and Furneaux ad Ann. XIV 53.

8 pugnare in proelio: Tacitus avoids the figura etymologica, on which see c. 22 17. —_constantiae_ 'self-possession.' Used of the orator e. g. by Ascon. in Milon. p. 42. Or., cited c. 37 27.

10 in media luce: 'In the full light of publicity.' A common metaphor. Cf. e. g. Cic. Brut. 8, 32 forensi luce caruit intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo ... est postea consecutus de sen. 4, 12 Quint. I 2, 18 ante omnia futurus orator cui ... in media rei publicae luce vivendum est, adsuescat ... non reformidare homines neque illa solitaria et velut umbratica vita pallescere XII 2, 8 in hac fori luce and similarly Cic. de leg. III 6, 14 mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum non modo in solem atque in pulverem sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit. —
aliquid as shown by its position belongs to both adverbs, so statim below. Cf. c. 11 7. — contrarie ‘inconsistent.’ The meaning ‘irrelevant, zweckwidrig’ usually given to this phrase here, although not intrinsically impossible, seems to me less in keeping with the context, while the version in Lex. Tac. s. v. ‘sibimet ipse contradicit atque ita causae suae nocet’ is acceptable only in part, for the ‘adversarius’ would not likely have protested (exprobrat) on seeing opposing counsel injure his own case, but he would be quick to point out contradictions. The following passage from Quintilian (VIII 3, 57) also favors the above rendering: rerum vitia (i.e. in oratione) sunt stultum, commune, contrarium, supervacuum. — quo minus ‘but that.’ On this use of ‘quo minus’ as an epexegetic adversative conjunction, see note c. 3 15.

12 index respuat: Cf. Quint. VI 4, 19 est inprimis acuti videre quo index dicto moveatur, quid respuat. ‘Respuere’ and ‘aspernari’ are also grouped in Cic. in Pis. 20, 45 auribus respuat, animo aspernatur de orat. III 25, 99 de fato 20.— With the entire passage, cf. Quint. XII 6, 5 nonnulli senes in schola facti stupent novitate cum in judicium venerunt. At illic et index tacet et adversarius obstrepit et nihil temere dictum perit et, si quid tibi ipse sumas, probandum est.

13 igitur: On the position, cp. note c. 3 1.

14 quamquam: On the subj., see note c. 8 6.

15 causis et judiciis ‘civil and criminal cases.’ Cf. Cic. Brut. 27, 105 Carbo est in multis judiciis causisque cognitus Div. in Caec. 1, 1 in causis judiciisque publicis. See John ad loc.

16 habeantque: que = etiam. See note to ‘hodieque’ (l. 35).

NOTES.

18 ita not = 'itaque,' as the Lex. Tac. erroneously takes it. See below.—optimus quidem = optimus ille quidem. Cf. note c. 38 and crit. note c. 32 39.

19 faciem ... non imaginem: i.e. the real countenance not a mere counterfeit. Cf. Cic. Orat. 3, 9 perfectae eloquentiae speciem animo videmus, effigiem auribus quaerimus Tusc. Disp. III 2, 3 consectaturque nullam eminenter effigiem virtutis, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriae Quint. X 2, 11 necesse est minus sit eo quod imitatur, ut umbra corpore et imago facie Apul. Met. 10, 27 mulier ... supprimens faciem, praetendens imaginem.

20 rudibus: rudis is a foil or perhaps a wooden stick used in fencing exercises. In a figurative sense also in Cic. de opt. gen. 6, 17 non enim in acie versatur (sc. Isocrates) et ferro sed quasi rudibus eius eludit oratio. Tacitus, as often, omits the apologetic particle.

'sed,' the reading of our MSS. is unintelligible and probably arose out of the wrong solution of a compendium. 'Sic,' followed by 'ut,' is correlated to 'ita' above. 'In this way, there lacked not — thus it was that.' An original 'nec' would scarcely have been corrupted into 'sed.'

21 auditorium ... ex invidis et favaentibus: The prepositional phrase, denoting the material out of which an audience is composed, is here joined as an attributive directly to the substantive. Cf. e.g. Tac. H. IV 76 nullas esse Ceriali nisi e reliquis Germanici exercitus legiones Cic. in Verr. II 4, 27, 62 pocula ex auro Liv. I 34 ex virtute nobilitas, and so often with other prepositions as 'a, de, sine.' Usually, however, some verb such as 'compositus, mixtus, constitutus' is added. E. g. Tac. H. IV 37 mixtus ex Chattis Usipis Mattiacis exercitus 79 (cohors) ex Cha nuis Frisisisque composita. The present instance is particularly noteworthy, because the prepositional clause is added as an attributive adjective, a collocation apparently found only with 'sine,' on which see note c. 32 21.

'Semper novum' is, in my judgment, an interpolation, for this epithet was, of course, quite as applicable to the audiences of the speaker's own day as to those of the Republic. Hence the phrase has no place in the present context, which deals only with points of difference between the two periods. This suspicion derives strong external support from the fact that the MS. variants (p. 45) also unmistakably point to a supralinear gloss which subsequently intruded into the text in different places.

22 nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur: With 'nec bene,' understand in thought 'simularentur' i.e. the praiseworthy utter-
ances were openly recognised, while those deserving of censure were not intentionally disavowed. The ellipsis of an affirmative expression to be supplied from a negative, a species of zeugma, is characteristic of Tacitus. E. g. H. I 8 Rufus vir facundus et pacis artibus (sc. expertus) belii inexpertus Ann. I 55 ipsi tempus fore quo crimina et innoxios (sc. ab noxiis) discernet XII 64 Agrippina quae filio dare imperium (sc. quibat, poterat), tolerare imperi-
tantem nequibat XIII 56 deesse nobis terra ubi vivamus (sc. potest), in quo moriamur non potest. On this usage in other
writers, see Seyff.-Müll. Lael. 16, 59 (p. 387 f.) Madvig, de fin. II 8, 25 Kühner II 1043 f. This interpretation gives an unobjection-
able sense, it is in conformity with Tacitean usage and calls for no
alterations in the text.

23 duraturum: On fut. act. part. = adj. see note c. 9 22.
24 in diversis subselliiis 'on the benches of the opposition.'
Diversus = adversus is quite common in Tacitus. Cf. Lex. Tac.
s. v. p. 305. So also Quint. XI 3, 133 diversa subsellia but 132
adversis subselliiis. With the thought, cf. c. 37 ext. — inde quin
immo: For this anastrophe see note c. 6 7.

The repetition of the preposition in a comparative clause after 'quam' is
the rule in Tacitus (e. g. c. 20 11 Ag. 5. 32 H. II 44, 54, 76, 77 Ann. III 12, 55 XV 6) and so generally in Latin prose. Exceptions are very rare. E. g.
Liv. III 19, 4 non in plebe coe corenda quam senatu castigando vehemensior
R. V. III 731 note 570 that the ellipsis of 'in' after 'quam clauses' is
confined to a few instances in poetry is, therefore, substantially true, for the
'm' of quam easily caused the omission of the preposition in here as perhaps in the few exx. cited as exceptions.

25 fidelius: 'More strongly, lastingly.' Fidelis in Tac. only here
and Ann. XV 67, and both times in the comparative. Otherwise 'fidus, fidissimus' is used, and twice (Ann. I 57 XII 13) 'magis
fidus.' In the same sense also in Quint. I 4, 5 nisi oratoris futuri
fundamenta fideliter iecerit VI 4, 14 quod fideliter firmum est.

As Messalla began with a recapitulation of his first speech (qui foro . . .
studii) so here in like manner, before passing on to another topic, he gives
a brief summary of his arguments, retaining, it will be observed, their exact
sequence (oratorum . . . experimentis). So again in c. 35 7 (locus . . . ad-
ferat) and in c. 5 19 (vel ad utilitatem etc.) the mode of treatment is care-
fully outlined by way of preface. This evident design on the part of the
author will suffice to refute the conjectures of Classen and Bachrens
(see p. 45).
27 fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum 'in the forum, in the law-courts.' For a similar objective genit. cf. c. 37 17 ambitu comitiorum Ann. II 34 ambitum fori III 31 XV 25 Syriae executio, where see Nipp. Cie. pro Flacc. 2, 5 Cretae vitia pro Sest. 5, 13 quaestura Macedoniae ad Quint. frat. I 1, 25 itinerum atque agrorum furta. Cp. also Dr. H. S. I 468 f. Stil p. 31 f. 

28 alienis experimentis 'by the experience derived from others.' The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ag. 19 doctus per aliena experimenta. Cf. note c. 29 17.

29 in coulis: So H. I 37 II 35 IV 77 Ann. III 29.

30 populi aures 'likes and dislikes.' aures is frequent in the D. in the sense of 'opinion, judgment, taste.' Cf. c. 9 5 19 8. 23 21 11 a. iudicium 27 28 34 16 ipsius populi a. and so H. I 90 (genus orandi) crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum Ann. XIII 3 ingenium ... temporis eius auribus accommodatum.

— accusationem susceperat: Cf. Liv. XLV 37 Ser. Galba in L. Paullo accusando tirocinium ponere et documentum eloquentiae dare voluit Cic. pro Cael. 30, 73 voluit vetere instituto eorum adulescentium exemplo qui post in civitate ... clarissimi cives exstiterunt, industriae suam a populo Roman0 ex aliqua illustri accusatione cognosci. While a successful defence was considered more difficult, an accusation was apt to be attended with greater renown. See Quint. V 13, 3 accusationibus etiam mediciores in dicendo suffecerunt, bonus defensor nemo nisi qui eloquentissimus fuit. nam, ut quod sentio, semel finiam, tanto est accusare quam defendere, quanto facere quam sanare vulnera facilius XII 7, 1–3. Among the speeches of Cicero, there are but few 'accusationes.'

31 solus ... et unus: Unus in other writers seems always to precede, when joined with 'solus.' Cf. Cic. in Pis. 40, 96 te unum solum pro Sest. 62, 130 in Verr. II 2, 5, 13, 75, 185 Hor. Ep. I 6, 1 una ... solaque Plin. Pan. 76 unus solusque. Cp. note c. 17 13.

32 nono decimo ... L. Crassus C. Carbonem: Cf. Cic. de orat. III 20, 74 quique qui omnium maturrime ad publicas causas accesserim annosque natus unum et viginti nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in iudicium vocarem de off. II 13, 47 L. quidem Crassus, cum esset admodum adulescens (Brut. 43, 159) ... sibi ipse peperit maxumam laudem ex illa accusatione nobili et gloriosa, et, qua aetate qui exercerent, laude adfici solent, ut de
Demosthenes accipimus, ea aetate L. Crassus ostendit id se in foro optume iam facere, quod etiam tum poterat domi cum laude meditari. The defendant, C. Papirius Carbo (see c. 18 3), committed suicide before sentence was pronounced upon him (Cic. ad fam. IX 21, 3 Brut. 27, 103 Val. Max. III 7, 6).


The MSS. all have *nono decimo* . . . L. Crassus etc., which date, as Lambinus and Brotier pointed out, conflicts with the express testimony of Cic. l. c. Nipperdey, *Rhein. Mus.* XIX 577 ff. (=Opusc. 323 ff.), has, therefore, substituted *uno et vicensimo.* That the trial of Carbo (see also note c. 18 3) took place *after* his consulship in 120 B. C. (C. I. L. I p. 534) is clear from a comparison of Cic. de leg. III 10, 35 and de orat. II 40, 170, and as Crassus (see Cic. Brut. 43, 101) was born in 140 B. C., it follows that he was not *nineteen* but *twenty-one* years of age in 119 B. C. — In the second date the MSS. are again at variance with the facts, as Cassoninus and Lipsius observed, for according to the unimpeachable testimony of Suetonius l. c., Caesar (born July 13, 100; see Viole t. p.109) must have been at least 23, not 21 years old, when he accused Dolabella. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the dates given in our MSS. involve two chronological errors, but the propriety or justification of emending the text accordingly, must be very seriously questioned, for apart from the intrinsic improbability of two palpable errors in the MSS., the corrections proposed destroy the chronological sequence (19–21–22–24) evidently designed by the author. Under these circumstances, we are forced to the conclusion that the dates here given are due to Tacitus or rather to the source which he consulted. This is rendered the more plausible, as the chronological data concerning the speeches of famous orators seem to have been of a *particularly conflicting* character, as we must infer from an interesting passage in Gell. N. A. XV 28, on which see Proleg. p. xcvii where some reasons are also advanced for believing that Tacitus is directly indebted for the erroneous information in question to Mucianus.

*altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem:* *C. Porcius Cato,* a relative of Cato Uticensis, was tribunus plebis in 56 and accused by Pollio (born 76 B. C.) for maladministration. He was defended by Calvus and M. Scaurus and acquitted, July 3, 54 B. C. Cf. Cic.

35 non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium: According to Quint. XII 6, 1 Calvus, who was born in 82 B.C., began his oratorical career some time before he had reached the quaestorian age (i.e. the 27th year). The present allusion must, therefore, be understood of the first accusation of Vatinius in 58, when Calvus was 24 years old, which perfectly agrees with the statement ‘non multum aetate antecedens’ (sc. Crassum Caesarem Pollionem). This indisputable inference, as well as ‘hodieque . . . legimus,’ below, admirably confirms the conjecture that this first speech against Vatinius, though never actually delivered, was subsequently put in writing. See note c. 21 10. — With the phrase ‘non multum etc.,’ cf. Cic. Brut. 21, 82 aetate paulum his antecedens Quint. X 1, 103 paulum aetate praecedens eum. — Observe the studied symmetry in the collocation of the proper names, the praenomen being added in the first and third groups and omitted in the second and fourth. In the historical works of Tac. a different principle obtains, for of the names here mentioned all, with the exception of C. Cato and Doblabella, had already been introduced to the reader. Cp. note c. 18 17. — insecuti, in its technical sense ‘to prosecute,’ Gk. διώκειν.

‘his’ and ‘his’ (EV) are habitually confounded in our MSS., so that the context is the only guide to follow. In the present instance, his, which John alone of commentators advocates, is, in my judgment, though syntactically perfectly admissible, utterly out of place, for his orationibus could only signify ‘the orations still extant,’ a very superfluous remark in view of the following clause, and John himself translates, as if the reading were ‘illis.’ Cp. also c. 30 ext. itaque hercule eiusmodi libri extant etc., where John, if consistent, ought also to have changed ‘eius modi’ into ‘huius modi.’

hodieque ‘still, to-day’ in the sense of ‘hodie’ or ‘hodie quoque’ ‘noch heutzutage’ first occurs in Vell. Pat. e.g. I 4, 2 and thereafter frequently in Silver Latin, particularly in the Elder Pliny, Seneca and Suetonius. Cp. Dr. H. S. II 46 Woelflin, Philol. XXVI 160 Peterson, Quint. X 1, 95 and esp. the excellent article in Schmalz, Antiq. I p. 597. In Tacitus again: G. 3 quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, where ‘hodieque’ is taken by some less correctly, it would seem, in the sense of ‘et hodie’ ‘und bis auf den heutigen Tag.’
The same confusion between ‘hodieque’ (CDEV) and ‘hodie quoque’ (AB) is found e.g. in the MSS. of Livy: I 17, 9 XL 12, 10. It was probably due to a wrong solution of a compendium; in any case, ‘hodieque’ was more likely to have been changed into the more familiar and less ambiguous ‘hodie quoque’ than the reverse.

35. 1 at nunc: The same phrase, here marking the transition to the modern as opposed to the ancient educational methods, occurs c. 29 1.

The words ‘sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas’ (l. 5), as well as the expression ‘in rhetorum scholas’ (c. 31 2), leave no doubt that the emendation ‘in scholas istorum’ restores the original reading. The variants in our MSS. arose, as John ingeniously suggests, out of a gloss ‘sc. in scholas,’ designed to explain the unintelligible reading ‘in scholasticorum.’

2 rhetores . . . quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse: i.e. in the earlier half of the middle of the second cent. B.C. See the edict in Gell. XV 11 and Suet. de gramm. 25: C. Fannio Strabone, M. Valerio Messalla coss. (161 B.C.) senatus consultum de philosophis et de rhetoribus factum est. M. Pomponius praetor senatum consultum. Quod verba facta sunt de philosophis et de rhetoribus, de ea re ita censuerunt, ut M. Pomponius praetor animadverteret curaretque, uti (ut si—Suet.) ei e republica fideque sua videretur, uti Romae ne essent. This measure was ineffectual, as may be inferred from Suet. l. c. rhetorica quoque apud nos . . . sero recepta est, paulo etiam difficilior, quippe quam constet non-numquam etiam prohibitam exerceri.

4 Crasso et Domitio censoribus etc. L.-Licinius Crassus, the orator and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were censors in 92 B.C. This edict has also been preserved by Gellius and by Suetonius II. cc. Renuntiatum est nobis, esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt, ad quos iuventus in ludum conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos rhetorae, ibi homines adulescentulos dies totos desidere. Maiores nostri, quae liberos suos discere et quos in ludos itare vellent, instituerunt. Haec nova, quae praetor consuetudinem ac morem maiorum fiunt, neque placent neque recta videntur. Quapropter et his qui eos ludos habent, et his qui eo venire consuerunt, videtur (visum est—Gell.) faciundum, ut ostenderemus nostram sententiam, nobis non placere. That this radical measure was also unsuccessful appears to be certain, and it is doubtless, therefore, but accidental that
we do not hear of the opening of a rhetorical school till 81 B.C.,
to which year Hieronymus (Ann. Abrah. 1936) notes: Vultacilius
Plotius Latinus rhetor, Cn. Pompei libertus et doctor scholam
aperuit. — Roman educational regulations were based upon the
‘mos maiorum’ not upon well-defined laws, a fact which called
forth the censure of Polybius. Cf. Cic. de rep. IV 3, 3 nostrorum
institutorum neglegentiam accusat, nullam certam aut destinatam
legibus aut publice expositam aut unam omnium esse voluerunt. —
The phrase ‘ludum impudentiae’ is cited from Cic. de orat. III 24,
93 ff. where Crassus justifies his course in this affair at some
length: etiam Latinis . . . hoc biennio magistri dicendi exsisterunt,
quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram non quo, ut nescio quos
dicere aiebant, acui ingenia adultessecentium nollem, sed contra
ingenia obtundti nolui, corroborari impudentiam . . . 94 hos vero novos
magistros nihil intellegebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent . . . hoc
cum unum traderetur et cum impudentiae ludus esset, putavi esse
censoris, ne longius id serperet, providere. Cp. also Athen. XIII
610 'Ρωμαίοι δ’ οἱ πάντα ἁπτοτε ἥξισαλον τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Ρώμης ὡς
dιυφθείροντας τοὺς νέους.

6 ut dicere institueram 'But as I was saying.' A frequent
formula of resumption, for the more colloquial 'coepi dicere' e.g.
Cic. in Verr. II 2, 16, 41 verum ut institui dicere 27, 65. 3, 10, 24
pro Cæc. 5, 15. See John ad loc. This usage is not met with
elsewhere in Tacitus nor in Quintilian.

The preposition before 'quibus' could only have been legitimately
omitted, if the antecedent were in the same case. Cp. R. V. III p. 728
note 575.

non facile dixerim: These expressions are very common in
Cicero and Tacitus, but comparatively rare in other writers. Cf.
H. III 28 haud facile discarerem 78 haud f . . . . adsignaverit
Ann. II 83 h. f . . inierit III 22 h. f. dispenerit IV 34 h. f. dixerim
XV 49 nec. f. memoraverim. Quint. uses it but once: I Prooem. 15
facile conceerisem.

7 utrumne occurs again c. 37 10. It is met with first in Sisenna,
then in Cato, Hor. (Sat. II 3, 251. 6, 73), but once in Cicero (de
invent. I 31, 51), not in Livy, and rarely, with the exception of
Seneca, in Silver Latin. Only twice e.g. in Quint. (III 3, 13 XII
1, 40). Cp. Dr. H. S. II 496 Kühner II 1016, 8 R. V. III p. 304.
'Utrum' is also extremely rare in Tac. Cf. G. 28 Ann. I 58 (in a
speech). — With Messalla's exaggerated statement, cp. the admirable discussion of Quint. I 2 (utilius domi an in scholis erudiantur), particularly § 4 f. 16 sed ut fugiendae sint magnae scholae (qui ne ipse quidem rei adsentior, si ad aliquem merito concurritur) non tamen hoc eo valet ut fugiendae sint omnino scholae. aliud est enim vitare eas, aliud eligere.

The plural after disjunctive particles in indirect questions seems to occur in but a single passage in Latin: Suet. Oct. 86 dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Verranius Flaccus imitandi tibi sint? for in the other instance cited by Dr. H. S. I 179 from Liv. XXX 32, 2 Roma an Carthago iura gentibus darent, ante cras inam nocem scitos, the subjects are clearly taken, as often, in the sense of Romani, Carthaginienses. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in removing the intolerable solecism by writing ' adferat' for 'adferant.' This plural, it may be added, cannot be defended even on the ground that it agrees with the nearest subject. See also note c. 37 26.

8 nihil reverentiae i. e. As both teacher and pupil are virtually on the same low level of culture and intelligence, the school is not calculated to generate the respect which a superior learning and skill on the part of the instructor would be certain to impart. The complaint of a lack of respect for the schoolmaster is as old as Plaut. e. g. Bacch. 121–169. 379. 438–498 but especially common in the imperial age. Cf. also Quint. II 2, 8 quem discipuli, si modo recte sunt instituti, et amant et verentur 9, 1 discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut praecceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament et parentes esse non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant Plin. Ep. VIII 23, 3 quotus quisque vel actati alterius vel auctoritatis ut minor cedit? statim sapiunt, statim scient omnia, neminem verentur, imitantur neminem atque ipsi sibi exempla sunt Iuv. VII 203 ff. qui praecceptorem sancti voluerunt parentis esse loco etc. with Mayor's notes.

9 nemo nisi aequo imperitus intrat: The incomplete comparison must be supplied in thought by 'atque (or et) alter.' This ellipsis with 'aeque' is extremely common. Cf. e. g. Plaut. Mil. IV 2, 73 Aetna mons non aequo altus Ter. Phorm. III 3, 32 Cic. ad fam. IV 6, 1 de fin. IV 23, 63 Liv. XXIX 19, 2 Suet. Tib. 2 extant et feminarum exempla aequo i. e. ac virorum. In Tac. also: H. I 7 eademque novae aulae mala aequo gravia, non aequo excusata 29 si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aequo apud bonos miserum est, occidere. John ad loc. takes intrat in the sense of 'passing in and out,' i. e. aequo imp. intrat et imp. exit, comparing
c. 20 8 adfluens. But this interpretation places the emphasis upon a very secondary element in the thought. Translate: For there is nothing of respect in a school-room, into which all (teacher and pupil) who enter are equally ignorant, nothing of progress in the pupils themselves etc.

With the exception of sed (set) which was corrupted out of est by metathesis (cf. crit. note c. 12 14), the much disputed passage appears to me perfectly sound. John, followed by Wolff, writes ‘ut in quem . . . intrat,’ but has to have recourse to a ‘Erneuerung eines altlateinischen Gebrauchs’ like ‘sunt qui with ind.’ (!) and to a ‘Freiheit des Modus des Tacitus.’ The other emendations proposed seem to me equally improbable and unnecessary.

10 cum pueri etc. Quint. II 2, 14 shares the same view: pueros adolescentibus permixtos sedere non placet mihi. nam etiamis vir talis, qualem esse oportet studiis moribusque praepositum modestam habere potest etiam iuventutem, tamen vel infirmitas a robustioribus separanda est et careendum non solum crimine turpitudinis, verum etiam suspicione.

11 pari securitate i.e. there is no one present who by virtue of superior attainments could accurately and properly criticise the work done. Cf. Quint. II 2, 9–13.

12 contrariae: The very exercises themselves run counter to the intellectual needs of the pupil, the practical aim of his training being lost sight of. — nempe enim: ‘for as you all know.’ Nempe simply strengthens ‘enim.’ This collocation is found in Plautus e.g. Trin. 61 (So Ritschl, Trin. Proleg. p. 75 for the MS. reading ‘namque enim’) and was revived in Silver Latin. Cf. Quint. II 13, 9 VIII proem. 6 Plin. Ep. III 16, 8 Pan. 62. In Tacitus only here. For analogous pleonasmus, cf. e.g. itaque ergo (Ter. Eun. 317 Liv. XXVIII 12) ita sic (Liv. II 10) dein de postea (Cic. Tusc. Disp. IV 1, 2) Tac. G. 10 et illud quidem etiam. Cp. Kühner II 1052 f. and R. V. III 839 f. note 613 a–b. with the literature there cited.

13 rhetorae: On the Greek acc., see note c. 30 4. — suasoriae et controversiae: Suasoriae belong to the genus deliberativum (συμβουλευτικῶν), controversiae to the genus judiciale (δικανικῶν). The epideictic branch is here omitted, because rhetoricians regarded its treatment as unimportant and beneath their notice. Cf. Quint. II 1, 2 facultatem tradere officii sui ducunt idque intra deliberativas judicialesque materias (nam cetera ut professione sua minora de-

14 suasoriae quidem et si etc.: Translate: 'Though the 'suasoriae,' it is true, are given over to boys, owing to a belief (tamquam) that they are more elementary and require less skill, the 'controversiae' are assigned to the more mature,—good heavens! what stuff they are made of, how contrary to actual happenings they are concocted!' Tacitus means to say that the themes of suasoriae are bad enough, but being confined, from a mistaken notion of their character, to a lower grade of instruction, they possibly work less havoc than the equally objectionable controversiae, whose pernicious influence naturally strikes a deeper and firmer root in minds that are more mature, and thus incapacitates them for the forensic career, upon which they are so soon to enter.

The editors of the Dial. have with astonishing unanimity deleted 'et si,' found in all the MSS., without even attempting to explain the origin of the alleged corruption. The objection to 'et si' seems to be based upon the assumption that 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae' are contrasted. But this is not the case, as Vahlen, Proem. Berol. 1881 p. 81, was the first to point out. 'Tacitus noluit suasorias et controversias pari ino confungere, sed hoc dici, in suusorii quidem, et si minus damnun sit, qua minoribus attribuantur, controversias plus nocere, in quibus robustiorum ingenia contundantur et hebescent.' See also John ad loc. Andreen's note involves a petitio principii. He remarks that, 'where 'quidem' serves like μέτω to introduce a contrast, the second member is either followed by 'autem' (βδ), as in c. 8 21 18 22 25 14, or the adversative particle is omitted,' for which ellipsis he cites—the present passage! To my mind, this exception clearly proves that no contrast is here intended. 'If, however,' he continues, 'quidem has a concessive force (which it unquestionably has here), it is either followed by 'tamen' as in c. 9 26 or by 'sed' as in c. 5 31 8 8.' This is but partially true, for not only is the ellipsis of adversative particles very common in Tacitus (see the exx. cited in note c. 6 79) but instances of the omission of 'sed' after a concessive 'quidem' are particularly frequent! Cf. e. g. Tac. H. I 77 Vitellio quidem . . . bello opus erat, Otho . . . munia imperii obiibat Ann. I 42 illum quidem . . . imperium Romanum IV 29 hi quidem statim exempli: in patrem ex servis quasitem VI 28 antiquitas quidem obscura: inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus CCL anni fuerunt. For many other exx. from Seneca, Curtius, Quintilian and Pliny, cp. Ant. Ludwig, Prag. Philol. Stud. III (1891) p. 65 f.
14 *tamquam plane leviore*: Cf. Quint. II 1, 2 ad prosopopoeias usque et ad suasorias, in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est, inrumpuit... hinc ergo accidit ut, quae alterius artis prima erant opera, facta sint alterius novissima, et actas iam altioribus disciplinis debita in schola minore subsidat. — *tamquam* introduces the opinion of the rhetoricians. Cp. note c. 2 2. — On *plane* with comparative, see note c. 27 4.

15 *robustioribus*: 'more mature,' opposed to 'pueri.' For the same figurative sense of the word, cf. G. 13 magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam *adulescentulis adsignant*: ceteri *robustioribus* ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur and so frequently in Quint. e.g. I 1, 8 priora illa ad pueros magis, haec sequentia ad robustiores pertinebunt X 5, 1 puerorum... robustioribus studiis (cf. Bonnell, Lex. Quint. s. v.).

16 *per fidem* without some intervening words like deum, deum atque hominum, is very rarely met with. Cf. e.g. Petron. 100, 5 per fidem, inquam, pater, cuius haec navis est? Apul. Met. 6 *quam vellem*, inquit, per fidem nutum meum precibus tuis accommodare and perhaps Plaut. Amphit. I 1, 220 pro or per (p. R.) fidem. See also Verg. Aen. II 142 per si qua est... fides. The oath was a very ancient one and still common in Plutarch's day. Cf. Νύμα 16 τὴν Πάσιν ὅρκον ἀποδέξασθαι 'Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον ἣ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦν.

17 *compositae = fictae*. See note c. 12 19. — *sequitur ut*: 'and furthermore, in addition to,' i.e. as if these exercises were not bad enough in themselves, they are rendered still more intolerable by bombastic delivery. On this use of 'sequitur ut' in transition, cf. e.g. Cic. Orat. 23, 75 sequitur ut cuiusque generis nota... quaeratur de off. I 27, 93 de nat. deor. II 32, 80 Quint. IV Pr. 6. — *materiae abhorrenti* etc.: Cf. c. 31 3 fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis Quint. II 10, 3 sint ergo et ipsae materiae quae fingerentur, quam simillima veritati et declamatio... imiteatur cas actiones in quorum exercitationem reperta est 12 quare declamatio, quoniam est indiciorum consiliorumque imago, similis esse debet veritati X 2, 11 f. iis (sc. orationibus) quae in exemplum adsimulimus subest natura et vera vis; contra omnis imitatio facta est... quo fit, ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant quam orationis, quod in illis vera, in his adsimilata materia est 5, 14 declamationes vero... si modo sunt ad veritatem accommodatae et orationibus similis, non tantum
dum adulescit professus, sunt utilissimae... sed etiam cum est consummatus ac iam in foro clarus V 12, 17-20 and Chassang, de corrupta post Ciceronem a declamatoribus eloquentia, Paris. 1852.

18 declamatio: ‘Bombastic delivery.’ Cf. l. 21 ingestibus verbis. With the thought, cp. Quint. II 12, 9 IV 2, 37. 39 XI 3, 184. On the ordinary meaning of the word, cf. c. 312.—tyrannicidarum praemia: The great popularity of these particular themes was doubtless due to the fact, that they afforded the only opportunity in an age of despotism for the expression of anti-monarchical sentiments, under the seemingly innocent guise of school exercises, although some emperors occasionally resorted to harsh measures in suppressing even these. Thus Caligula, according to Cass. Dio LIX 20, 6, banished one Carinus Secundus ὅτι λόγον τινὰ ἐν γνωσίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων εἴπε and Domitian (Cass. Dio LVII 12, 5) Μάρτιον ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστήν ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἴπε τι ἄκου ἀπέκτεινε (91 A.D.). Cf. in general, Luc. Bis acues. 32 τυράννων κατηγορίας... Ἰκφυόντα Quint. VII 8, 3 qui duos uno tempore tyrannos occidit, duo praemia petit 3, 7; 4, 21; 7, 2. 5 Iuv. VII 150 ff. declamare doces... perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos, where Mayor cites other passages. For extant treatments of this subject, cf. Ps. Quint. Decl. 253. 282. 288. 345. 374. 382 Calpurn. Decl. 1. 13. 22 Sen. Contr. I 7 Exc. Contr. IV 7 Liban. p. 798–817. 921–4 κοινὸς τόπος ὑπὲρ τυραννοκτόνου.


It cannot possibly have been the author’s intention to make the sweeping condemnation involved in ‘quidquid’; in fact, magna ex parte contraria alone disproves this. I, therefore, have accepted Andersen’s easy emendation ‘quidquid aliud,’ which he himself has now unjustly abandoned.—On this favorite collocation in Tac. cf. note c. 59 and Binde p. 34.
20 in foro: On the ellipsis of 'sed,' see note c. 6 19.
21 ingentibus verbis persequantur 'harangue with mighty bombast.'

As 'prosequi' and 'persequi' are repeatedly confused in our MSS. (cf. Schmalz, Anteb. II 376), there seems no reason for departing from the classical usage, even though 'prosequi oratione, verbis' is frequently met with in post-Augustan writers.

22 cum ad veros indices ventum: The sentence may be completed by supplying some phrase like 'they become silent, or make a fiasco' i.e. from lack of actual experience. Cf. Sen. Contr. IX praef. 5 itaque velut umbroso et obscuro prodeuntes loco clarae lucis fulgor obcaecat sic istos e scholis in forum transeuntes omnia tanquam nova et invisitata perturbant nec ante in oratorem conroborantur quam... puerilem animum scholasticis deliciis languardum vero labore durarunt. Petron. 1 nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, *cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos* et ideo ego adullescetulos existimo stultissimos fieri quia nihil ex eis, quae in usu habemus aut audiant aut vident Quint. II 10, 9 nihil ergo inter forense genus dicendi atque hoc declamatorium interiit? si profectus gratia dicimus, nihil... quae nos, quamlibet per alia in scholis exercitati simus, tirones in foro inveniunt. For concrete illustrations, cp. the incidents related by Sen. Contr. VII praef. 7 f. of Albucius, who after an unsuccessful encounter with L. Arruntius remarked: quid habeo quare in foro dicam, cum plures me domi audiant quam quemquam in foro? cum volo dico, dico quamdiu volo, assum utri volo and IX praef. 3 Latronem Porcium, declamatoriae virtutis unicum exemplum cum pro reo... Rustico Porcio propinquo sui dieceret, usque co esse confusum, ut a solocesimo inciperet, nec ante potuisse confirmari tectum ac parietem desiderantem quam impetravit, ut iudicium ex foro in basilicam transieretur etc. The same anecdote is also alluded to by Quint. X 5, 18.

C. 35. 36.

We have no criterion to decide between 'cogitans,' the reading of the X class, and 'cogitare,' of Y. The former, however, looks suspiciously like an attempt to round off the sentence. — 'nihilo' is preferable to 'vel' (AB), because more in keeping with the sene of the passage. It is also supported by the Ciceronian parallel. 'vel' may have arisen out of 'nil.'

Ch. 36—40 7. After the conclusion of Messalla's speech, Secundus continues the discussion by drawing attention to the fact that one of the chief causes of the decline of eloquence may be found in the untrammeled freedom of speech and action enjoyed by democratic Athens and republican Rome. In those days of popular autocracy, oratorical ability was the only means to political honors, and the frequent sensational trials of illustrious defenders, conducted in the inspiring presence of great multitudes, could not but give an additional impetus to the development of a superior eloquence. Finally the very mode of legal procedure, in the days of the Roman Republic, with its liberal time allowance and its publicity, was also highly conducive to the growth of oratory. This happy state of affairs is contrasted with the deplorable restrictions placed upon the orators of the speaker's time. The great change was, it is admitted, the inevitable historical result of a monarchical régime, but the tranquillity and order thus secured, however desirable in themselves, were necessarily subversive of the very conditions essential to oratorical excellence.

36. 1 magnum eloquentiam siquit flamma etc.: This beautiful simile was perhaps suggested by Cic. Brut. 24, 93 Quem (sc. Galbam) fortasse vis non ingeni solum sed etiam animi et naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat efficiebatque, ut et incitata et gravis et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilm prehenderet motusque omnis animi tamquam ventus defecterat, flaccescet oratio ... ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris exsinguatam.

The evidently intended climax seems to me rudely destroyed, if we accept the MS. reading 'urendum clarescit.' Andreason translates 'erblanzt im Verzeihen' (so similarly Peter) and adds by way of explanation 'wie die Flamme dann zugleich am hellsten glänzt, wenn sie am verheerendsten (!) auftritt' etc. I cannot admit either that this is physically true or that 'urendum' can have this meaning. In my judgment, the brightness of the fire is the immediate effect of 'motibus excitatur,' in which case the thought 'and it brightens as it burns' is but an otiose repetition which I am loth to attribute to the author. The proper climax is brought out by the easy change of 'clarescit' into 'calescit,' i.e. 'Eloquence like fire is
fed by its material, it is fanned into brightness by breezes and waxes warm in the burning.' Cf. c. 22 12 tarde *commotetur*, raro *incitescit* 36 22 ut *frigidissimos* quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia *excitare et incendere* potuerunt Civ. pro Pomp. 2 de harusp. resp. 19, 41 *excitandos inflammadosque* de nat. deor. II 10, 20 agitacione *excitatus* . . . cum motu atque exercitacione *reculescunt*.

2 *eadem ratio . . . in nostra quoque civitate*: The same explanation, Secundus says, by which I accounted for the supreme excellence of Attic eloquence, holds good for republican Rome. — That Secundus had previously spoken of the Greek orators, is made evident by 'nostra quoque civitate.' A discussion of Greek oratory might seem irrelevant at first sight; it was, however, foreshadowed by the remark of Messalla in c. 15 13 ff. quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi anget questionem quia video etiam Graecis accidisse etc. An explanation of this remarkable coincidence, after having once been pointed out, was imperatively called for, and the author very appropriately assigned this task to Secundus, the scholar and historian in the company, but the exposition itself was lost together with the beginning of his speech.

4 *consecuti sunt* etc.: i.e. although the orators of our day have also acquired a fair share of influence (ep. Aper's speech, esp. c. 8 4. 17 ff.), so far as this is compatible with the more regulated and better organized order of things, existing under the present monarchical government, still the ancients believed that they could secure greater personal prestige by following an oratorical career than in any other vocation, for amid the anarchical condition of affairs and in the absence of a single ruler, the influence of the individual grew in direct ratio to his ability to control the wavering populace by his eloquence.

I am unable to see the slightest justification for the many violent changes which Androsen (Emend. p. 127-129 Critical Appendix to his edit. 8) has deemed fit to introduce into the text. His arguments rest partly upon the erroneous assumption that Messalla is the speaker, partly upon the supposition that the subject of 'videbantur' is 'horum temporum oratores;' whereas it is clearly 'antiqui,' as shown by *illa*. So similarly in c. 38 2 *illa* forum refers to 'veteres.' — 'sibi' belongs to 'adsequi' and 'plura' is predicative, the full comparison having to be supplied as in the above paraphrase. See also John's note ad loc.

5 *composita* 'settled.' Cf. c. 41 2 *compositae civitatis* Ann. IV 1 nonus Tiberio annus erat *compositae rei publicae.* 'compositus' and 'quietus' are also grouped together by Sen. Ep. 100, 8. — Ob-
serve that Maternus in c. 40 8 non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur significantly omits 'beata,' also substituting 'otiosa' in place of 'composita,' for he does not quite share the political optimism of Secundus, and affirms c. 41 1 quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. His acquiescence in the monarchical régime solely rests like that of Tacitus himself upon grounds of expediency. Cf. note c. 2 2 and Proleg. pp. xxxvi–xl.

6 perturbatione ac licentia correspond respectively to 'mixtis omnibus' and 'moderatore uno carentibus.'

7 mixtis omnibus: Omnibus is a subst. neut. plur. as in c. 19 20 pervulgatis iam omnibus. See also note c. 21 1.

8 saperet: 'was thought wise, credited with political sagacity to just the extent, that' — erranti populo: 'wavering, fickle populace,' now bestowing its favor upon one leader, now upon another. Cf. Cic. de off. I 19, 65 qui ex errore imperitae multituidinis pendet, hic in magnis viris non est habendus. c. 40 20 donec erravit, generally quoted as a parallel, seems to me slightly different. — The alliteration was probably unintentional here. — hinc: 'out of such conditions arose.' On this use of 'hinc,' cf. Tac. Ann. III 27 secu-
tae leges ... dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob prava per vim latae sunt. hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis. On the usual omission of 'esse,' see note c. 10 33. Observe the anaphora, esp. frequent in these closing chapters. e. g. l. 1 15 tanto. 17 plus. 18 ff. hi ... hos ... hos ... hi. 26 ff. cum. 37 2 ff. ne. 24 nec. 34 ff. quo. 38 8 ff. omnia. 39 2 ff. quantum. 10 ff. cum. 40 18 ff. omnia. 20 f. donec. 21 f. nulla. 41 13 ff. quid. Cp. Proleg. p. cxvi.

9 leges adsiduae et populare nomen: 'decrees without end and consequent popularity.' Adsidus is a more emphatic equivalent of 'frequens, creber, continuus.' Cf. c. 4 2 frequens et adsidua ... contentio 30 9 infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et ... adsi-
duae exercitationes 38 17 continuum ... otium et adsidua ... tranquillitas 40 1. — The et is epexegetic, on which see note c. 7 10.

10 pernotatantium in rostris: With this hyperbole, cf. Cic. Brut. 89, 305 hi quidem (sc. Q. Varius, C. Carbo, Cn. Pomponius) habi-
tabant in rostris de orat. I 62, 264 qui habitaret in subsellius pro Mur. 9, 21 in foro habitant. With the thought we may compare
Lucil. fragm. incert. 2. — *accusationes* ... *reorum*: 'Accusations of malefactors.' The same collocation occurs again in Tac. Ann. XI 5 continuus inde et saevus accusandis reis but apparently not elsewhere. The expression is not genuinely tautological, for 'reus' originally signified simply any party to a suit. Cf. Aelius Gallus ap. Fest. s. v.: reus est qui cum altero litem contestatam habet, sive is egit, sive cum eo actum est Cic. de orat. II 43, 183 reos autem appello non eos modo qui arguuntur sed omnes quorum de re disceptatur 79, 321 Liv. VI 24 orare ut reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximereiner Tac. Ann. II 24 cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret H. IV 6 agmen reorum ('offenders').—With the thought cf. c. 37 14 his accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum.

11 *adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae*: i. e. 'handed down as a kind of testamentary injunction from family to family.' In this legal sense, 'adsignari' seems to be post-Aug. John ad loc. aptly cites Quint. IV 2, 62 huic parti ... adsignata et velut dedita IX 4, 29 verbum in clausula positum adsignatur auditori et insigitur XII 10, 41 cum sua cuique (sc. verbo) sint adsignata nomina. —Tacitus may possibly refer to the long-standing enmity between the elder Gracchus and the Scipios. Cf. Liv. XXXVIII 52 ff., esp. 57 cited in note c. 40 3. Cp. also what Tac. says of the Germans, G. 21 suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est.

12 *procerum factiones*: The following words render it probable that Tac. here has particularly in mind the factional quarrels in the senate, of which Roman history furnishes abundant illustrations. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 27 pulso Tarquinio *adversum patrum factiones* multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis.

*adversus*: Pfitzner's assertion (Die Annal. d. T. krit. bel. p. 86) that as a nearer definition of 'certamina' or similar expressions, *adversus* is used, when the activity of both sides is implied, but *in*, if one party remains inactive, is not confirmed by the *exx.* in the Lex. Tac. Cf. e. g. Ann. II 56 discordes sunt adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum *invidia* with XVI 18 unde *invidia* Tigellini quasi *adversus* nemulum (sc. Petronium). —On the repetition of 'adsi du a,' see c. 1 8.

13 *distrachebant*: Cf. Tac. Ag. 12 olim regibus parebant (sc. Britanni) nune per principes factionibus et studiii distrabantur Ann. I 4 rem publicam ... distrabant. — *exercebant tamen* etc.: Cf. c. 38 2 eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat.

16 **quanto ... tanto**: A positive by the side of the comparative in such clauses is found in the minor writings only c. 37 37 where see, but common in the later works. Cp. Nipp. Ann. I 68 Dr. *Stil* p. 73 Woelflin, *Philol.* XXV 108 R. V. III 171 note 402.

17 **anteibat** with acc. is still rare in Cicero (e.g. Acad. Post. 9, 35 Brut. 64, 229), who uses the verb absolutely, as Caesar, or with the dative. Beginning with Nepos, Sallust and Livy, the accusative becomes the more usual, and so in Tac. who has the absolute construction eight times, but the dative only once: Ann. V 3. See Lex. Tac. s. v. and Heraeus to H. I 45. Cf. also Tac. Ann. XV 50 quem ... in animo principis anteibat.

17 **plus apud principes gratiae**: Cf. c. 13 6 in quo (sc. secessu Vergili) neque apud Augustum gratia caruit.

18 **plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem**: Cf. c. 13 6 apud populum Romanum notitia. The collocation 'notitia ac nominis' occurs again in c. 11 11, where see note. The alliteration 'apud principes ... patres ... plebem,' has the effect of emphasising the three salient elements in this anaphoric enumeration. So similarly c. 20 6 and 26 8, where see notes. It seems intrinsically improbable that Maternus who claimed the above distinctions for the poet, in order to offset Aper's glowing description of the rewards of oratory, should in this chapter in almost identical language and with unmistakable enthusiasm attribute the same to the orators! In the mouth of Secundus, on the other hand, these utterances are appropriate. — *hi* is properly used, because the plural idea is contained in 'quisque.'

19 **clientelis ... etiam exterarum nationum**: According to Cic. de off. I 11, 35 tanto opere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patronum essent more maiorum and App. B. C. II 4 goes so far as
to say ἀπόσιμος πάλαι τις ἐν Ρώμῃ προστάτης. The reference
in our passage cannot, therefore, be to this custom, for Secundus is
speaking only of the honors which orators were wont to achieve,
and the well-known names of patroni, such as the Marcelli (Sicily),
Fabii (Allobroges), Fabricius (Samnites), which Peter cites, are not
known to us as orators. I am rather inclined to see, with Wolff
ad loc., an allusion to the words of Aper c. 3 18 cum te tot coloni-
arum . . . clientelae in forum vocent, where see note. Cf. also
c. 41 4.

19 f. hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi
coelebant i.e. in order to have influential orators to protect their
interests during their absence (cf. e.g. Cicero’s speech pro leg.
Man.) and to secure their powerful aid in case of accusations (e.g.
for extortion in the provinces), when they return. Maternus, in
opposition to Secundus, deprecates the homage received by orators
under such conditions, not regarding it as anything to be proud of.
Cf. c. 41 3 ff. quis enim nos (sc. oratores) advocat nisi aut nocens
aut miser? quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit nisi quod
aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam pro-
vincium tuemur nisi spoliatum vexatamque.

20 f. hos . . . consulatus vocare ultero videbantur: The boldness of
this personification is somewhat lessened by the addition of ‘vide-
bantur’ which has the force of ‘quasi.’—U’ltero ‘without effort on
their part,’ see note c. 5 23. Cp. the saying ‘The office must seek
the man, not the man the office.’—This admiring comment, if at-
tributed to Maternus, would be irreconcilable with the low estimate
of such honors expressed in c. 13 3 licet illos certamina et pericula
sua vel ad consulatus evexerint.

21 f. hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant: privatus as op-
posed to ‘magistratus.’ Cf. Cic. de inv. I 25, 35 privatus an cum
potestate Tac. Ann. VI 2 (8) privatos an e magistratibus XV 21
olim quidem non modo . . . consul sed privati etiam mittebantur.
But in the imperial age, it often simply designated the ‘subject.’
Cf. Tac. Ag. 39 privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli
Mayor to Inv. XIII 41. —potestas is here somewhat loosely, as
also elsewhere in Tacitus, used as a synonym of ‘potentia, vis.’
Cp. notes c. 5 23 19 23 and Lex. Tac. s. v. —Cicero’s struggle with
Antony may furnish an instance in point.

22 consilio et auctoritate: Combined also in Tac. G. 12 con-
silium simul et auctoritas adsunt H. II 44 consilio precibus auc-
toritate flexerat, but H. II 18 quo plus auctoritatis esset consiliiis. The same collocation is common in Cic. e. g. pro Caec. 18, 52 but not found in Quintilian.

23 qui quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant: The speaker passes on from the political honors which eloquence secured or facilitated to a consideration of its indispensability in all the walks of life.— On the anastrophe of the conjunction, cf. note c. 67.

With the reading ‘quin immo sibi persuaserant’ (so B), this conviction would be predicated of the ancients generally, thus involving another change of subject, which, though common enough, is here rendered improbable by the following explanatory clauses: nec mirum etc. cum etiam inviti . . . producerentur etc. It seems to me far more suitable to the context to say, that those who aspired to a conspicuous position in the commonwealth, had the conviction forced upon them, that it was only by means of eloquence that they could hope to satisfy their ambition. This meaning is secured by retaining ‘ipsi’ and reading ‘qui quin,’ an ingenious emendation of John (Fleck. Jahrb. 1888 p. 570) which he has unjustly, I think, abandoned in his note ad loc. Perhaps the unintelligible reading of C ‘quidem qui’ (l. 22) owes its existence to a misplacement of the ‘qui’ before ‘quin.’

25 nec mirum: On the ellipsis of the copula, usual with this phrase, cf. note c. 19 17.

26 cum parum esset . . . nisi qui: The use of a negative conditional sentence after negative expressions like ‘parum est’ and the like, where the strictly logical sequence of thought would rather require an adversative coordinate clause, is peculiarly idiomatic. Cf. Plaut. Trin. 249 non satis id mali ni etiam amplius quod ecbibit Merc. IV 2, 1 Ter. Phorm. IV 5, 12 non satis est tuum te officium fecisse, id si non fama adprobat Cic. pro Quinct. 4, 17 non satis erat in tabulis inspexisse, quantum deberetur nisi ad Castoris quaesisses quantum solveretur pro Rosc. Am. 17, 49 parum miseriae sit quod aliis coluit nisi etiam quod omnino coluit crimini fuerit (where see Landgraf p. 316) Verr. II 5, 60, 157 parumne multa . . . pericula subeunda, nisi etiam hae formidines ab nostris magistratibus . . . impendebunt de rep. I 2, 2 nec habere virtutem satis est nisi utare Liv. VI 14, 11 nec iam . . . contentos esse nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant 40, 18 XXXVIII 54, 9 XLII 3, 6 Vell. Pat. II 76, 4 parum habebat summa acceptisse . . . nisi in id ascendisset Sen. Ep. 86, 13 parum est sumere unguentum nisi bis die terque renovatur 89, 20 hoc quoque parum est nisi latifundiiis vestris maria cincinnisti de benef. II 12, 2
parum ... insolens fuerat qui de capite consularis viri soccatus audiebat, nisi in os senatoris ingessisset imperator epigros suos Quint. V 10, 121 non magis hoc sat est ... nisi corpus ... natura iuvatur. So also in Greek e. g. Hom. λ 158 Soph. Antig. 308 Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 75. The regular construction occurs in c. 23 16 parum est aegrum non esse [sed] fortem ... volo. Cp. on this usage, Hand, Tursell. IV 400, 5 John ad loc. and Vahlen, Prooem. 1878/9 p. 7.

28 in aliquam invidiam aut crimen: The same collocation occurs in Tac. H. III 75 invidiam crimemque adgnovisse. The statement itself, regarded, be it observed, by the speaker as one of the many advantages possessed by the ancients, cannot possibly have been put into the mouth of Maternus, because of c. 11 15 nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueitur quam eloquentia (= sua voce).

29 respondendum habent: On the gerundive with 'habere,' see note c. 8 11. — testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis: testimonia i. e. in behalf of others. — quoque must not be taken with 'testimonia,' but belongs properly after 'publicis.' An exactly similar instance of a misplaced 'quoque' occurs in Tac. Ann. XI 13 comperto quoque Graecam litteraturam, where editors have followed Lipsius in emending the text to 'Graecam quoque,' and perhaps we ought to transpose the word here, the false position being due to the accidental omission of 'iudiciis,' on which see below. But in Liv. X 14, 9 quoque aperta pugna has also been allowed to stand. Cp. R. V. III 232 note 417b Antib. II 426 Dr. Stil p. 95. — Personal attendance, says Secundus, was in those days compulsory also in public trials, but now even this requirement has been done away with. See Quintilian (cited below) and Tac. Ann. II 35. John supposes that in the republican period written testimony may have been accepted in private suits only, a privilege subsequently extended to public trials as well. But this hypothesis is not based upon historical evidence, as John himself admits; it takes 'quoque' as belonging to 'testimonia' and is in any case refuted by 'magna etiam necessitas accedebat,' which, without an express statement to the contrary, can only refer to private and public trials.

'in publicis' is the reading of all the MSS. As the phrase is unintelligible by itself, and as the mention of public trials is essential to the
context, as has been shown, it follows that ‘iudicia’ is a necessary emendation. On what methodical grounds the deletion of ‘in publicis’ and the retention of ‘iudicia’ which is not found in the MSS., can possibly be justified, I confess not to understand.

30 non absentes nec per tabellam dare: per tabellam ‘in writing.’
Cf. Curt. VI 9, 27 absens diceret causam Quint. V 7, 1 maximus tamen patronis circa testimonia sudor est. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas aut a praestentibus. . . . nemo per tabulas dat testimonium nisi sua voluntate. Our passage has been overlooked by Cramer, Archiv VII 401.—coram et praeentes: The two synonyms are combined (cf. also Seyff.-Müll. to Cic. Lael. 1, 3) to establish a symmetrical antithesis with the preceding.—On the meaning of ‘coram,’ cf. Cic. de leg. agr. III 1, 1 coram potius me praeente dixisset ad Att. VII 15, 1 sed ut loquerer tecum absens . . . cum coram id non licet Tac. H. IV 65 coram (‘face to face’) adire ad locum Veledam negatum Ann. IV 54 nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta. Cp. Nipp. and Furseaux ad loc. and Lex. Tac. s. v.

31 ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna necessitas accedebat:
The longing regret at the changed condition of affairs implied in this phrase seems to me quite incompatible with the statement of Maternus in c. 13 18 remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi.

32 quo modo . . . sic contra: quo modo in comparative clauses, while still rare in Cicero and altogether avoided by Livy, is far more common in Tac. than ‘quem ad modum’ (on which see c. 33 7). Cf. c. 25 10 39 6 41 9 Ag. 34 G. 19. 41 H. IV 8. 42. 64. 79 Ann. IV 35. 70 XIV 54 XV 21 XVI 16. 31. See Dr. H. S. II 632 Stil p. 70 and Heraeus, Tac. H. III 77.

34 mutum et elinguem: The same collocation e. g. in Liv. X 19 quod ex muto atque elingui facundum etiam consulem habetem Suet. Vit. 6 prope mutum et elinguem Gell. V 1, 9 mutus adeo et elinguis diu habitus est.—Observe the stylistic symmetry of this closing period (a : bb :: aa : b). See also notes c. 12 ext. 15 ext. 34 ext.

37. 1 rubore = pudore is common in Tac. e. g. G. 13 H. I 30 IV 7. 62 Ann. XI 17 XIII 15 XIV 55.

2 clientulorum: This diminutive is a vox Tacitea, occurring only here and in Ann. XII 36 incidentibus regis clientulis (so Walther), a reading now confirmed by the accurate recollation of
the Mediceus made by Andresen. *Cp. Progr. Ascan. Gymn.* 1892 p. 8 f. Peter's assertion that the word is found a few times in later writers cannot be verified.

4 *non suffecturi honori*bus* incompetent to hold office.* Cf. Suet. Octav. 43 pro magistratibus qui non sufficerent and Tac. Ann. I 13 quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipiscì principem locum suffecturi abnuerent, where 'suffecturi' seems to be used absolutely, as in G. 13 sed arma sumere non ante cuquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit.— *'non impetraent* designates the result of their indolence (inertes), 'impetratos (sc. honores) etc.' that of their incompetence.

5 *nescio an* occurs in Tac. only here and Ann. III 53. On the syntactical use of the phrase, see R. V. III 308 f. notes 440 f. with the many references there cited.

6 *haec vetera:* i.e. the speeches of the republican period. For 'vetus' in this restricted sense, see Tac. Ann. IV 32 veteres populi Romani res compositua and note c. 19 9.

'vetera' as a neuter substantive occurs also in Hor. Ep. II 1, 23 sic fator veterum, which parallel disposed of the emendations of Baehrens and Andresen.

*et ... manent et contrahuntur:* i.e. These oratorical documents are still preserved in the private libraries of antiquarians and are even now being issued in abridged selections by Mucianus and thus rendered more generally accessible. Only with this interpretation of 'contrahere,' as John well points out, is the contrast indicated by 'et ... et' brought out. Cf. Quint. X 7, 31 Ciceronis ad praesensmodo tempus aptatos (sc. commentarios) libertus Tiro contraxit, opp. to 'in libros digesti' (§ 30), where see Peterson and perhaps XII 11, 16 quaelibet enim ex iis artibus ... in pauros libros contralii solet.

7 *cum maxime* 'at present.' Cf. note c. 16 29.— *Muciano:* C. Licinius Mucianus, the Warwick of Roman history, was in command of Syria in 67, three times consul suffectus (c. 66 A. D. 70 and 72) and chiefly instrumental in placing Vespasian upon the throne. He died between 75 and 77. See Proleg. p. xxv f. His character is repeatedly sketched by Tacitus e.g. H. I 10 L. M. vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus . . . attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam propre ab exule fuit quam postea a princepe . . . malis
bonisque artibus mixtus; nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. palam laudares, secreta male audiebant II 5. 84 III 8. Besides the historical compilations here cited, he was the author of another work (Travels in Syria?), from which Pliny (and perhaps Josephus) has preserved some very untrustworthy information. Cf. Teuffel § 314, 1 and L. Brunn, de C. Lib. Muc. Leipz. 1870.

8 ut opinor does not express any genuine doubt as to the actual number of books already published, but simply serves to avoid an air of learning in what purports to be an informal conversation between friends. Cp. note c. 32 27. — Actorum libris: 'Acta,' as the context shows, must not be taken in its technical sense of Acta populi, or acta senatus, publica, diurna, urbana ἔκφρασθα, on which see Mommsen Röm. Staatsr. III 1017 Teuffel § 216 Wilkins in Smith, Dict. Ant. s. v. and esp. E. Hübner, Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl. III 5 pp. 558–632, but as a general title, virtually equivalent to 'Actiones' (cf. c. 17 22 32 11). The work of Mucianus probably contained an epitomised selection of the more noteworthy speeches delivered in the assembly, the senate, the forum and the law-courts, with sundry biographical and chronological notes of interest, and it has been plausibly conjectured that many of the oratorical fragments preserved in Cassius, Fronto and Macrobius were taken from this identical compilation. To the same source, I am disposed to attribute the information given in c. 34 ext. and the learned item in c. 38 15 f. where see notes and cp. also Proleg. p. xcvi.—tribus Epistularum: These were probably miscellaneous excerpts similar to the 'Electa' in 160 bks. made by the elder Pliny (Plin. Ep. III 5, 17). Cf. also Fronto, Ep. ad Antonin. 2, 5 (p. 107 N.) memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistulis ea dumtaxat, quibus inesse aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel de re publica disputatio; praeterea si quid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpti.

9 Cn. Pompeium: On his oratorical ability, Cic. Brut. 68, 239 maiorem dicendi gloriam habuisset nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. erat oratone satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat; actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem (See note c. 21 20) Vell. Pat. II 29, 3 eloquentia medius Quint. XI 1, 36 abunde disertus rerum suarum narrator. Plut. Pomp. 1 πεθανότης λόγου.
10 **M. Crassum**: Cic. Brut. 66, 233 mediocrer a doctrina instuctus, angustius etiam a natura ... labore et industria et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In huius oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abiecta ... nullus flos tamen neque lumen ullam ... omnia fere ut similiter atque uno modo dicerentur pro Mur. 23, 48 vir summa dignitate et diligentia et facultate dicendi Plut. Crass. 3. — non ... modo — sed ... quoque: On this correlation, see note c. 2 6. — **viribus ... armis**: The same collocation e.g. H. II 74 IV 23. 68 Plin. Ep. II 7, 2.

11 **Lentulus**: Among the many Lentuli known to us, only such, of course, as were contemporaries of Cicero are here alluded to. Cf. Cic. Brut. 66, 234 *Cn. autem [Cornelius] Lentulus [Clodianus. cons. 72] multo maiorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat quam quanta in eo facultas erat ... nec abundans verbis ... calebat in agendo, ut ea, quae dearent, non desiderarentur ... sic Lentulus ceterarum virtutum dicendi mediocritate actione occultavit, in qua excellens fuit. 235 P. *Lentulus* [Sura] cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebant formae dignitatem ... in hoc nihil prae- ter actionem fuit cetera etiam minor quam in superiore. 70, 247 *Cn. autem Lentulus Marcellinus* nec umquam indisertus et in consolatu (56 b. c.) pereloquens visus est, non tardus sententiis, non inops verbis, voce canora, facetus satis. 77, 268 Duo praeterea Lentuli consulares, quorum P. [Cornelius Lentulus Spinther. cons. 57] ... quidquid habuit ... totum habuit e disciplina; instrumenta naturae dearent ... *L. autem [Cornelius] Lentulus* [Crus. cons. 49] satis erat fortis orator, si modo orator. — **Metellos**: Brut. 70, 247 duo etiam Metelli, *Celer* (cons. 60) et *Nepos* (cons. 57) non nihil in causis versati nec sine ingenio nec indocti ad Att. VI 3, 10 orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas contra M. Servilium. — **Lucullus**: *L. Licinius Lucullus* (born c. 114 cons. 74 died 57) called by Plut. Luc. 33 διαιτής σινέυ. His less famous brother *M. Terentius Licini- anus Varro* (cons. 73) is mentioned among the political orators by Cic. Brut. 62, 222. — **Curiones**: ‘Familia Curionum, in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt’ (Plin. N. H. VII 133) viz. (1). *C. Scribonius Curio* (praet. 121) according to Brut. 32, 122 sane illustris orator, cuius de ingenio ex orationibus eius existimari potest (2) *C. Scrib. Curio* C. F.: Cf. Brut. 58, 210 erant ... quibus videretur illius aetatis tertius Curio (cons. 76 died 53 b. c.)
quia splendidioribus fortasse verbis utebatur et quia Latine non pessime loquebatur usu ... domestico; nam litterarum admodum nihil seiebat 59, 213 f. 216 (3) C. Curio C. F. (trib. pleb. 50 died 49 n. c.): Brut. 81, 280 ita facile solutaque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas ... ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius ... parum a magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Lucan. I 269 vox quondam populi IV 819.—Excepting Q. Metellus Celer (see above), the fact that the persons here mentioned left written speeches, is known to us only from this passage. —Peter's unqualified assertion that the author is chiefly indebted for the above information to Cicero's Brutus is amazing, in view of the explicit statement of Tacitus to the contrary that it was taken from Mucianus (ex his intellegi potest). —The very intimate knowledge of the history of Roman oratory displayed in this chapter (see also c. 38 13 ff.) is quite incompatible with the supposition that the poet Maternus is the speaker, while, on the other hand, it is in the highest degree appropriate to the historian Secundus.

13 nec quemquam: In Tac. 'nec quisquam' is never separated by an intervening word; 'neque q.,' barring three exceptions (H. IV 61 Ann. III 36 IV 11), always. Cp. Spitta p. 117 Woeßlin, Philol. XXVII 119.

14 sine aliqua eloquentia: 'without eloquence of some kind or other,' i.e. irrespective of its quality. On this force of 'aliquis,' see Seyff.-Müll. Lael. p. 199, and on its use after a negative, cf. note c. 6 7. The thought is a virtual repetition of c. 36 24 f.


16 multum interest utrumque: Cf. c. 32 3 longe interesse possidedat quis ... an. On 'utrumque,' see note c. 35 7.

17 formula: Cf. note c. 20 3. —interdicto: Interdictum is a decree of the praetor calling upon the parties in a suit to conform to certain injunctions or abstain from doing certain acts. It is, in particular, either an order of restitution or of production or of abstention ('Restitutas, exhibeas, vim fieri veto'). Cp. Smith, Dict.
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NOTES.

Ant. I 8 1017–1021. — dicendum habeas: Cf. note c. 8 11. — de ambitu comitiorum: e.g. Cicero’s speech pro Murena.—On the objective genitive, see note c. 34 27.

18 expilatis sociis: e.g. the speeches against Verres. With the phrase cf. Cic. pro Pomp. 19, 57 ad expilandos socios . . . legatos eduxerint. de off. II 21, 75 at vero postea tot leges . . . tot rei tanta . . . expilatio direptioque sociorum. ‘expilare’ does not occur elsewhere in Tac. and is extremely rare in post-Aug. Latin, though common in Cicero.—civibus trucidatis e.g. Cicero’s speech pro Milone, pro Rabirio.

The artistic liberation of periods, perhaps the most characteristic stylistic feature of the Dialogus, is rudely destroyed by the universally accepted reading of the MSS. Apart from this, the use of ‘et’ after an asyndeton, still extremely rare in the minor writings, in the present instance conflicts with one of the four conditions, under which Tac. permits this departure from earlier usage (in all about seventy times):

(1) If the asyndetic members belong closely together, another may be joined to them by ‘et,’ provided it contains a new thought or more general idea or sums up. E.g. G. 30 6 (Halm) 44 5 H. I 36 12 II 95 9 IV 1 14 Ann. I 25 6 IV 32 19 38 10.

(2) If the last clause is composed of two parts, joined by ‘ac’ or ‘que.’ E.g. H. I 50 12 V 12 4 Ann. XI 35 15.

(3) If the last clause is amplified. E.g. H. I 51 28 Ann. I 32 13 II 56 8 XV 55 5.

(4) If the last clause, whether amplified or not, is not in what may be called syntactical symmetry with the preceding. E.g. H. II 59 11 III 9 14 Ann. I 3 3 XIII 8 18.

Now ‘sociis’ and ‘civibus’ belong as closely together as in Ann. IV 38 socios eives et deos ipso precor or as ‘formula et interdictio.’ We have, therefore, a clear violation of Rule I. The equilibrium evidently intended by the author (a : bb : : a : bb) is at once restored and the stylistic objection removed by the simple insertion of ‘aut’ before ‘expilatis,’ its omission having been caused by the preceding ‘aut.’ Cp. Am. Jour. Phil. XII 454–456.

19 siueit . . . ita, for the more usual ‘ut . . . ita.’ Cf. note c. 11 7. With the thought, cf. c. 41 6 atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicare.

21 crescit enim etc.: For ‘crescere’ (in Tac. only here and H. I 33 IV 70, 76) or ‘erebresco’ (H. I 39 II 67 III 34 IV 12 Ann. III 60), we find ‘glicosere’ used exclusively in the Annals (19 times), in the Hist. only II 8, 83 IV 25, 43. See Woeltlin, Philol. XXVII 144 and Lex. Tac. s. vv.—On the thought, cf. Tac. Ann. III 69 excitari quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum, hebesere alios.
Schiller: Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen höheren Zwecken.—Andresen translates 'vis ingenii' by 'Darstellungsvermögen.' I can see no warrant for this rendering, either in the context or in the phrase itself.

22 claram et inlustrem: Also grouped in Cic. de rep. VI 11 inlustri et claro quodam loco de div. II 3, 8 exempla clara et inlustria Plin. Ep. VI 29, 3 claras et inlustres (sc. causas). Cf. also Quint. X 1, 67 clarius inlustraverunt.—On the repetition 'inlustrem . . . inlustrant,' see note c. 1 8.

'24 nec = 'nec ideo.' So often in a conclusion. Cf. e. g. c. 12 13. poetis et vatibus abundabat qui ... defendenter. nec ullis etc. G. 8 inesse (sc. feminis) ... sanctum alicquid et providum putant nec ... responsa neglegunt Ann. IV 35 suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerrunt ... qui ... etiam me meminerint. For other exx., cf. Lex. Tac. s. v. p. 922b.—opinor: A parenthetical 'opinor' is generally used with a tinge of irony, and thus distinguished from 'ut opinor.' Cp. Anton, Studien II 186, cited to c. 32 27.—Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores composit: Demosthenes began his suit against his guardians (Aphobus, Demophon, and Therippides) in 363 B.C., at the age of twenty-one. He obtained a verdict against them, but eventually secured but a small amount of his patrimony. Of these so-called ἐπιτροπικοὶ λόγοι, five speeches, partly supposititious, have come down to us, viz. κατὰ 'Αφόβου, I. II. πρὸς 'Αφόβου ψευδομαρτυρῶν Φάνη, πρὸς 'Ονίτώρα έξοιλης I. II. The ill-success of these early attempts of the orator is sneeringly alluded to by Aesch., Ctesiph. 173 τὰ πατρίων καταγελάστως προίμενος. Cp. also Plut. Dem. c. 6.—Secundus probably spoke of some of the more famous speeches of Demosthenes, in the portion now lost, so that it was not necessary to complete the antithesis here, the more so, as he was chiefly intent on illustrating his argument by Roman examples.—Peter remarks that 'composit' not 'habuit' is used, because the speaker has in mind the extant written speeches and the reputation which they even at the present day possess, but in that case we should also expect 'circumdant' in place of 'circumdederunt.'—On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun (eas), cf. note c. 32 8.

26 P. Quintius defensus: The earliest speech of Cicero, delivered in 81 B.C., in his twenty-sixth year.—On the use of the perf. pass. participle for an abstract noun, see note c. 29 12.—aut = et, hence
the plur. pred. Cp. notes c. 18 3 35 7. — Licinius Archias: Defence of the poet Archias, accused of illegal enrollment as a Roman citizen, delivered in 62 B.C. The speech is still, but unjustly, in my opinion, held in very low estimation by many modern scholars. — Catilina: The four speeches against Catiline were delivered Nov. 8, 9 Dec. 3, 5, 63 B.C. — On the ellipsis of 'sed,' see note c. 6 19.

27 Milo: Unsuccessful defence of T. Annius Milo, the assassin of P. Clodius Pulcher. The original speech delivered in 52 B.C., for we possess only the orator’s later elaboration, was still extant in the time of Asconius Pedianus. Cf. in Milon, p. 42 Or. Cicero cum inciperet dicere exceptus est acclamatione Clodianorum qui se continere ne metu quidem circumstantium militum potuerunt. Itaque non ea, qua solitus erat, constantia dixit. (Plut. Cic. 35). Manet autem illa quoque excepta oratio. Scripsit vero hanc quam legitimus ita perfecte ut iure prima haberi possit. This verdict is fully endorsed by modern critics. — Verres: Only the first of the six orations against Verres was actually spoken (Aug. 5, 70 B.C.), although the five remaining speeches (de praetura urbana, de iurisdictione Sicilicensi, de frumento, de signis and de suppliciis) maintain the fiction of having been delivered in court in the presence of the defendant. — Antonius: i.e. the fourteen so-called Philippic orations against M. Antonius. I (Sept. 2, 44) III. IV (Dec. 20) V (Jan. 1, 43) VI (Jan. 4) VII (End of Jan.) VIII (Beginning of Feb.) IX (Middle of Feb.) X (End of Feb.) XI. XII (Middle of March) XIII (Mar. 20) XIV (Apr. 22). The second and most famous was never spoken, but purports to be an extemporaneous answer to Antony’s bitter inveotive against Cicero, delivered in the senate, Sept. 19, 44 B.C. — hanc ‘the present, still existing.’ Cf. note c. 12 9. — On the celebrity of the Philippics, see Iuv. X 124 f. ridenda poemata malo | quam te conspicueae, divina Philippica, famae, volveris a prima quae proxima Sen. Suas. 7 ‘Deliberat Cicero, an scripta sua conburat, promittente Antonio incolumitatem, si fecisset,’ a hackneyed theme in the schools of rhetoric. Cp. Mayor to Iuv. l. c. — famam circumdederunt: The same phrase occurs in Tac. Ag. 20 egregiam famam paci circumdededit II. IV 11 qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdederunt, and similarly IV 45 planctum et lamentum et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata cum contumelii ac probris. Ann. XIV 15 nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum
circumdedit quam illa colluvies 53 tu (Nero) gratiam immensam . . . circummedisti (sc. mihi, Senecae) Ps. Quint. Decl. 18, 6 auctoritatem circumdare et so in Greek e. g. Isocr. Arch. 3 μοι τὴν
ὑμᾶς πείσῃ τοιαύτας αἰσχύναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλῶν.

28 non quia tanti fuerit . . . ut: i. e. I do not wish to be understood as believing for a moment that . . . simply for the sake that. The supposition is purely imaginary and merely designed to prevent any possible misinterpretation of Secundus' own views. Hence the subj. after 'non quia' (= non quo or non quod, neither of which occurs in Tac.) is necessary. Cp. note c. 9 13. John ad loc., Reuss, De coniunct. caus. ap. Tac. usu, Halle 1876 p. 18 and in general, Dr. H. S. II 686. — Tanti is here used absolutely and not as a correlative of 'ut,' which is final. Cf. e. g. Cic. Cat. II 7, 15 est mihi tanti . . . dummodo Quint. VII 2, 42 an etiam tanti putaverit poenam subire XII 8, 4 cum dicturis tanti suae non sint (cited by Peter ad loc.) Cic. Cat. I 9, 22 sed est tanti, dummodo Ov. Met. II 424 sunt iurgia tanti and Tac. Ann. VI 2 (8) neque sibi vitam tanti si armis tegenda forter. — ferre = gignere. In this figurative sense, the word is comparatively rare, except with expressions denoting time. Cf. Cic. Brut. 12, 45 haec aetas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit Tusc. Disp. I 42, 101 tales innumerables nostra civitas tulit. Hor. C. I 12, 42 Curium tuit et Camillum | saeva paupertas III 6, 46 aetas . . . tulit | nos nequaiores Quint. III 7, 3 quos priora temporae tulerant X 1, 76 cum deceam (sc. oratores) simul Athenis una aetas tulerit 123 quo in genere (sc. philosophia) paucissimos adhuc eloquentes litterae Romanae tulerunt. In Tac.: c. 37 33 40 23 (where see note) Ag. 12 fort Britannia aurum . . . gignit et Oceanus margarita. With 'aetas,' H. IV 84 Ann. III 55. 75 VI 22; 'tempora,' Ann. VI 7; 'dies,' Ann. XVI 33.

29 subinde = identidem, viz. c. 36 6. 14 37 20. Subinde does not seem to occur before the time of Livy; in Silver Latin it is very common. Cf. the exx. in Kleiber p. 67.

32 melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari: Cf. Tac. H. II 37 ego ut conesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia . . . ita neque . . . sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantum vulgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem bellis amore turberaverunt bellum pacis caritate deponerent, which passage, with its libration of clauses and elaborated antithesis, at the same time shows that
Tacitus even in his historical works occasionally wrote in his earlier manner.

33 proeliatores: An extremely rare word, first met with in Val. Max. III 2, 24 quod ad proeliatorum ... fortitudinem attinet. Then in Iustin. XV 4 ext. and again in Tac. Ann. II 73 and in his imitator, Amm. Marcell. XIX 7, 8. Its exact analogue 'pugnator' is equally rare e. g. Liv. XXIV 15 Plin. N. H. XXX 15, 49, 142 Suet. Caes. 39 ext. Sil. Ital. XV 598.

34 quo ... quoque ... tanto for quanto ... tanto, though the regular correlation in the historical works of Tacitus, is found in the minor writings only here and c. 6 10. Dr. Stil p. 73 cites the present passage as an instance of the complete form! Cf. also Ter. Phorm. II 2, 14 quo magis novi, tanto saepius Cic. ad fam. X 23, 5 quo magis ... tanto maiores in general Woelflin Philol. XXV p. 118 Archiv I 93 ff.

35 quoque ... quoque = et quo. See note c. 8 12.—intulerit ietus et excusavit: This 'collocatio verborum' is common in Tacitus. Cf. Ag. 33 inventa Britaniana et subacta G. 11 aut incohatur luna aut impletur H. I 47 omisisset offensas an distulisset III 9 aut corrumpierit hostem aut terreret Ann. II 38 sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint XIII 12 qui attulissent salutem et qui acceperissent XVI 24 tentaretne defensionem an sperneret and so similarly c. 34 30 f. sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem Ag. 17 aut victoria complexus est aut bello 42 nec Agricola consilium deereat nec Domitianum exemplum. See Weinkauff, p. 100.


37 altior et excelsior: Combined in Cic. Tusc. Disp. II 4, 11 te natura excelsum ... et altem ... genuit (see note c. 4 3) Plin. Ep. IX 26, 1 altis et excelsis adiacent praerupta. Cp. also c. 34 22 ff. 40 2. — nobilitata: Cf. e. g. Tac. H. I 2, 7 nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus Cic. pro Flacco. 26, 63 spectata ac nobilitata virtus Liv. I 16, 4 illam alteram (sc. 5am) ... nobilitavit. — On the positive by the side of the comparative, in the same clause, cf. Tac.
Ann. II 5 quanto aciora in eum studia militum et aversa patruim voluntas III 43 quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium; in adversative clauses, note c. 36 16. — in orae hominum agit = 'in fama esse, versari.' Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I 49, 116 Harmodius in ore est et Aristogiton Tac. H. II 73 erat in ore famaque Vespasianus 78 nec quicquam magis in ore vulgi Ann. XIV 56 mea avaritia. . . . in orae omnium versabitur Plut. Thes. 20 πάντες. . . . διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. The phrase is generally regarded as a reminiscence of Sallust who uses it, however, in the sense of 'in conspectu.' Cp. Schönfeld, De Tac. studiis Sallust. p. 30 Heraeus H. III 76. But this meaning is out of place here, partly, as John well observes, because the phrase 'in the light of publicity' does not admit of a comparison (altior), partly because forensic oratory naturally has its sphere 'in conspectu hominum' or 'in media luce' (cf. c. 34 10), as opposed to 'declamatio' conducted within the walls of the schoolroom. — agit expresses the activity of eloquence, the personification being kept up throughout. On the military metaphor, see Proleg. p. cxix (17); on the personification of 'eloquentia,' cf. c. 32 19 and note c. 12 7. 'The more blows eloquence deals out, the more she receives in return; the worthier her antagonists and the fiercer the battles she engages in, the more will her prowess win universal admiration, the more glorious will be her renown.'

There ought to be no doubt that the combined emendations of Latinius, Lipsius, Boetticher and Orelli have succeeded in restoring the words of Tacitus which have been variously corrupted in the MSS. 'Nobilissimus criminebus' arose out of 'nobilissimadiscriminis' (Vahlen, Procem. Berl. 1881 p. 9). The same scholar (p. 10) is disposed to retain 'ipsae' on the sole ground of an alleged analogous inconcininity in c. 38 18 ab ipso tamen Pollione, but see note ad loc.

38 secura velint, periculosa extollant: Men, says Secundus, naturally desire peace and safety (cf. Tac. H. IV 76 et neminem adeo in arma pronom ut non idem pretium quietis quam periculo malit Ann. I 2 cunctos otii pellexit . . . tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent), but by a strange contradiction, they nevertheless admire perilous achievements, although these are possible only under conditions, destructive of the very things they fain would enjoy. Exactly the same observation and couched in almost identical language is made by Ps. Plut. Περί παιδ. ἐγώ γὰρ τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπαινεῖται μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐπίκινδυνον καὶ
NOTES.

\(\theta\nu\nu\delta'\zeta\tau\alpha\). Cf. also Plin. Ep. IX 26, 3 eloquentiam nihil magis quam ancipitia commendant; sunt enim maxime mirabilia quae maxime periculoosa.

The MSS. have ‘secura velint,’ a reading universally rejected since the time of Rhenanus. As John (Berd. Phil. Wochenchr. 1886 No. 46 and ad loc.) has shown, an antithesis is imperatively called for. This fact in itself disposes of the conjectures of Rhenanus and Walther. The remaining emendations, with two exceptions, all imply a lacuna between ‘secura’ and ‘velint,’ not a very probable supposition. Against Baehrens’ and Vahlen’s restorations, it may also be urged that the desire of seeing others in danger cannot be given as the cause of ‘altior et excelsior etc.’, nor does Lucret. in the famous passage of the second book (1 ff.), which would have to be regarded as Tacitus’ model, speak of desire but of satisfaction: Suave mari magno turbantibus sequora ventis | e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem. The passage cited by Vahlen from Sen. de bel. IV 12, 2 abire in partem alteram possim et securus spectare aliena certamina, at best but proves that the thought occurs elsewhere. Finally, Vahlen’s and Halm’s reading is too rhythmical (\(\angle \_\_\_\_, \angle \_\_\_\_, \angle \| \_\_\_\_\_, \angle \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_) to be acceptable. The only emendation of the many proposed (p. 50) which seems to me entirely free from objections and in every way satisfactory to the context, is that of John, the remarkable Greek parallelism cited above furnishing an additional argument of considerable weight in its favor.

38. 2 veterum iudiciorum quae: i.e. quae forma iudiciorum. veterum, though part of the grammatical antecedent, is excluded by the addition of ‘nunc.’ A systematic search would doubtless reveal numerous instances of an analogous inconcinnity in ancient as well as modern writers. Cf. e.g. Nep. Paus. 3 non enim mores patrios sed etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit (Andresen), Tac. G. 24 nudi iuvenes, quibus (sc. iuvenibus) id iudicium est Overbeck, Pompeji I p. 7 Die verhältnismässig wenigen Skulpturwerke Pompejis, deren Herculanum eine ungleich grössere Reihe bietet (John) and so similarly below I. 6 where see note. c. 28 18 eiusdem familiae suboles qua is not a case in point. Cf. note ad loc. Another instance occurs in Quint. X 1, 17 certius iudicium quod.

The reading of the MSS. est ita erit (est ... E tuerit—V est ita [est] erit) is unintelligible, but no plausible emendation has as yet been offered, for ‘exit’ which has met with great favor, violates the consistent usage of Tacitus which does not allow a subj. with ‘etsi.’ Cf. 30 4. 13 Ag. 5 G. 5 Ann. III 46 V 3 VI 29, 45 XI 35. The same objection applies to ‘qua etsi aptiorem statueris’ which at the same time involves too violent a change. ‘aptior est veritati’ misinterprets Secundus’ meaning, for, as the following sentence shows, he does not regard the legal procedure of his time as more fitting in the abstract, but only from a practical point of view. Perhaps ‘existit’ (Bennett) or ‘exitit’ represents the original reading.
3 nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas cogebatur: Cf. Plin. Ep. VI 2, 6 an nos sapientiores maioribus nostris? nos legibus ipsis iustiores, quae tot horas, tot dies, tot comperendinationes largiuntur? hebetes illi et supra modum tardi? nos apertius dicimus, celerius intellegimus qui paucioribus clepsydris praecipitamus causas quam diebus explicari solebant? — 'perorare' is simply a strengthened 'orare' and signifies, as often, the formal oration or the 'plaidoyer' proper. Cf. e. g. Cic. de fin. IV 1, 1 (cited to l. 6) Tac. Ann. II 30 certabant cui ius perorandi daretur III 17 cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent Plin. Ep. I 20, 8. As the appropriate place for such speeches was at the close of the evidence, the term by an easy transferene came to designate a summing up.

4 liberae comperendinationes erant: Postponements extending over the second or third day. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 12, 27 statuerent non potuisse utrum diem tertium an perendinum... dicit oportet. For the form 'comperendinatio,' not met with in pre-Aug. writers, Cicero uses 'comperendinatus' (Verr. II 1, 9, 26). — Modum... sumebat is simply an amplification of the preceding, but was added to emphasise as strongly as possible the unrestricted freedom of action enjoyed by ancient advocates. This is in direct opposition to Aper's view (c. 19 9 ff.), who had extolled the modern practice which confined the pleader to the immediate point at issue. The technical character of this entire discussion with its learned and concrete illustrations is again, unless we suppose Tac. to have been incredibly careless in the ἡδονικα of his dramatis personae, at variance with the theory that the poet Maternus is the speaker.

'horas' is omitted in most MSS., but written above the line in A, and preceded by the letter s. (i. e. scilicet) in C. This points unmistakably to 'paucissimas horas perorare' or 'paucissimas perorare horas' as the original reading of the archetypon. The latter seems preferable, 'horas' easily dropping out after 'orare.' Dr. E. Thomas suggests (by letter) that 'horas' is an explanatory gloss and that we have here an ellipsis similar to the one discussed in note c. 21 s Calvi (sc. librum) in Asidium legit, but this interpretation, though ingenious, seems less natural and somewhat hazardous without the support of parallel illustrations. — dicendi has no MS. authority, for A, according to Andresen's re-examination of this codex, also reads 'dicendo.' There can, therefore, be no doubt that 'in dicendo' is the original. 'in' having dropped out, because of the preceding 'm,' 'dicendo' was changed to 'dicendi' e. g. in the worthless cod. Parisinus and in the oldest printed editions. Cf. c. 7 s quantulaecunque in dicendo facultatis
QUINT. VIII 5, 32 hanc in dicendo voluptatem X 1, 17 potentissima in dicendo ratio Suet. Galb. 3 modica in dicendo facultas and exactly analogous, Cic. de rep. II 1, 1 modus in dicendo.

5 et numerus ... neque patronorum finiebatur: In the earlier period, the number of patroni at a trial rarely exceeded four, but toward the close of the Republic, it had risen as high as twelve. Cf. Ascon. Ped. Argum. in orat. pro Scaro (18–20 Bait.): defende-runt Scaurum sex patroni, cum ad id tempus (54 B.C.) raro quis-quam pluribus quam quattuor uteretur ac post bella civilia ante legem Iuliam ad duodenos patronos est perventum.

6 finiebatur = definiebatur. Cf. G. 19 numerum liberorum finire Ann. XIII 38. 49 num. fin. and note c. 1 18. — primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit: This was done in the lex Pompeia de vi et ambitu, passed in 52 B.C., when Pompey was consul sine collega, ‘corrigendis moribus delectus’ (Tac. Ann. III 28). The trial for ‘bribery’ was limited to four days, three for the deposition of testimony, one for the speeches of counsel, the defendant being allowed three hours, the plaintiff two. Cf. Cic. Brut. 94, 324 lege Pompeia tribus horis ad dicendum datis de fin. IV 1 cum ego te lac nova lege videam codem die accusatori respondere et tribus horis perorare Cass. Dio. XL 52 χρόνον τε τῷ διώκοντι δύο ώρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς διόσθαι έκλεψεν. Cp. Drumann, Röm. Gesch. II 351 f. This law was, in the days of the younger Pliny, either no longer in vogue, or, what is more probable, originally applicable only to cases ‘de vi et ambitu.’ Cf. Ep. II 11, 14 dixi horis quinque. nam XII clepsydris quas spatiosissimas accep-eram, sunt addita quattuor IV 9, 9 egeram horis tribus et dimi-dia, supererat sesquiHora. nam eum e lege accusator sex horas, novem reus accepisset, ita dissererat tempora reus inter me et eum ... ut ego quinque horis, ille reliquis uteretur. That some such restrictions in criminal trials, had existed long before the lex Pompeia, is clear from certain passages in Cic. e.g. Verr. I 1, 11, 32 (70 B.C.) si utar ad dicendum meo legitimo tempore II 1, 9, 25 hic tu fortasse eris diligens, ne quam ego horam de meis legitimis horis remittam nisi omni tempore quod mihi lege concessum est, abusus ero, but they possibly had become a dead letter, when Pompey’s law was enacted. In any case, I can see no reason for accusing Tacitus of an error, as Marquardt, Privatleb. 771 is disposed to do, for the author is not speaking of the introduction
of the clepsydra. — It may also be observed, that this passage enables us to fix the much disputed date of Cicero's de legibus to within a few months, viz. end of Jan. and beginning of April 52 B.C. Cp. Berl. Philol. Woch. No. 31/32 (1892). — Haec cannot refer to the entire preceding clause, for the 'numerus patronorum' was not, so far as we know, regulated by the lex Pompeia. Cf. note l. 2.

7 imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae: The figure, common in both Greek and Latin, was probably first used by Isocrates. Cf. Suidas s.v. "Εφορος: ὃ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης τὸν μὲν θεότομον ἵππ χαλινῶν διώκει, τὸν δὲ Εφορον κάντρων. Cic. de orat. III 9, 36 quod dicebat Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere Brut. 56, 204 ad Att. VI 1, 12 Quint. II 8, 11 Plin. Ep. IX 26, 7 laxandos esse eloquentiae frenos Lucian, Harmod. 82 χαλινῶν τινα ἰμβρίβληκεν αὐτῷ ἥ φιλοσοφία. In Tac. also Ann. V 3 velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt (sc. Tiberius et Seianus).

8 omnia in foro, whereas trials are now conducted within the walls of 'auditoria et tabularia' (c. 39 5) which were originally designed for quite different purposes. — omnia legibus: Cf. Aper's remark (c. 19 23) ubique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt, where see note. — omnia apud praetores, for now the Senate and the Emperor have usurped many important judicial functions, formerly belonging to the praetor. On the ana phora, see note c. 36 8.

9 negotia: 'cases.' Cf. note c. 3 20. — exereri: exactly equivalent to our technical use of 'try.' Cf. Ann. IV 19 cuncta quae stione maiestatis exercita. No other precisely parallel instances are known to me.

10 causa centumvirales: The jurisdiction of the Centumviri was always confined to civil suits, which the republican orators could afford to neglect, but when the more important 'iudicia publica' had been relegated to the Senate and the Princeps, the cases that came up before the centumviral court furnished the only opportunity for a display of eloquence. Cf. note c. 7 6.

12 obruebantur 'thrown completely into the shade.' Cf. Tac. Ag. 17 Cerialis . . . alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset.

14 ut . . . liber apud centumviro dictus legatur: Legatur has hitherto always been taken in the sense of 'is now read.' But, apart from the fact that this involves the absurd assumption that such speeches were necessarily of too inferior a character to merit
perusal, a supposition sufficiently refuted by the example of Pollio, the logical consequence of 'adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum . . . obruebantur,' expressed by the consecutive 'ut' clause, can only be that such speeches never existed. The evident meaning of the passage is, therefore, this: 'The splendid rewards which awaited the talented orator in great public trials, rendered him so completely indifferent to cases tried before the Centumviri, that as a natural consequence of this apathy, we do not read of the delivery of any speeches of eminent orators before this court, excepting Pollio's speeches for the heirs of Urbania etc.' For this extremely rare passive use of legor with the infinitive, cf. Prop. V 11, 36 in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar Cassiod. Var. IX 3 extr. gryphes surium iugiter leguntur essodere. It will also be observed that the interpretation just given disposes of the alleged inconsistency which Vahlen (Prooem. Berl. 1881 p. 10) and the commentators find in the construction 'ab ipso tamen Pollione,' in place of 'ipsae tamen a Pollione, 'and even Pollio himself (who is throughout the Dialogus counted among the 'magni oratores antiquorum') constitutes only an apparent exception to the practice of Cicero, etc., as his speeches for the heirs of Urbania were delivered at a time when etc.' On the nom. c. inf. in Tac. see Dr. Stil p. 63.

15 pro heredibus Urbaniae: The points at issue are known to us from Quintilian who refers to this trial repeatedly: IV 1, 11 VII 2, 4 est et illud . . . coniecturae genus, cum de aliquo homine queritur, quis sit, ut est quaesitum contra Urbaniae heredes 'is qui tamen filius petebat bona. Figulus esset an Sosipater . . . an hic sit ex Urbania natus Clusinius Figulus' and esp. VII 2, 26 ut in lite Urbaniana petitor dicit, 'Clusinium Figulum filium Urbaniae acie victa, in qua steterat, fugisse, iactatunque casibus variis, retentum etiam a rege tandem in Italiam ac patriam suam Marrucinos venisse atque ibi adgnosei': Pollio contra, 'servisse eum Pisauri dominis duobus, medicinam factitasse, manu missum alienae se familias venali inmiscuisse, a se rogantem, ut ei serviret, emptum.' This ancient Tichborne trial seems to have been a cause célèbre and Pollio's speech was probably excerpted in the collection of Mucianus, whence Tacitus also took the date.

16 medi Di Augusti temporibus i. e. 15/14 B.C. See note c. 17 9. 20.

17 quies . . . otium . . . tranquillitas: These synonyms are variously combined in Tacitus e.g. Ag. 6 quieta et otio 21 quieti et
otiō 42 quietem et otium 40 tranquillitatem atque otium, but in the later writings, ‘otium’ or ‘quies’ is joined to ‘pax,’ e.g. G. 14 H. II 67 V 10.—G. 40 IV 73 Ann. XI 7. Cf. also Cic. de leg. agr. I 8, 21 summa tranquillitas pacis et otii and esp. Sen. N. Q. I 2, 8 significatūr quies acris et otium et tranquillitas.


I read ‘maxime’ with Haase, against ‘maxima’ or ‘maximi’ of the MSS. The careful libration in the preceding members (adj. — genit. — subet.) was abandoned, because ‘disciplina’ introduces a new idea, ‘maxime’ emphasizing its paramount importance among the causes that led to the result here described. Hence also the sing. predicate, agreeing with the last subject. Reading ‘maxima,’ which is, moreover, not a suitable attribute of ‘disciplina,’ we should have three evenly balanced subjects joined by et... et... et with the verb in the sing. — an unparalleled construction. ‘Maximi,’ which is defended by Vahlen (Prooem. 1881) on the basis of Sen. ad Polyb. 6, 5 principis maximi animo subici, is open to the additional objection that it destroys the equilibrium of collocation without separating the last member distinctly from those preceding. — ‘alia,’ found in some MSS., is an interlinear gloss, as shown by the ‘transposition alia variant,’ omnia alia — CDV alia omnia — E (omnia). Cp. the numerous illustrations of this kind of corruption given in Am. Jour. Phil. XII p. 444–452. That ‘alia’ is not necessary is clear from Petron. 4 primum enim sicut omnia sex quoque suas ambitioni donant (cited by Vahlen l. c. p. 9).

39. 1 ridiculum ... videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideō ut rideatur: Another instance of the figure ἀντιμεταβολή on which see note c. 33 20. — It may be observed that the host Maternus would not likely apprehend that any utterance of his would be turned into ridicule by his visitors. In the mouth of the over-cautious Secundus, however, such an apologetic qualification is very appropriate.

‘Videbitur’ for ‘videtur’ is called for by its antithesis: dicam tamen. If ‘ridear’ were the correct reading, we should rather expect ‘vel ita ut,’ for, as John ad loc. well remarks, “selbst ausgelacht zu werden, könnte er höchstens sich gefallen lassen, nicht aber beabsichtigen.” Andreesen, though he retains ‘ridear’ in his text, clearly translates ‘rideatur’: “wenn Euch meine Bemerkung ein Lächeln entlockt.”
3 paenulas: The paenula was a tight-fitting cloak (see 'adstricti' and Cic. pro Mil. 20, 54 paenula irretitus) usually worn in rainy weather and on travels. Cf. Lampl. Alex. Sev. 27 paenulis frigoris causa ut senatores ueterentur permisit cum id vestimenti genus semper itinerarium aut pluviae fuisse et the references in Mayor, Iuv. V 79, Marquardt, Privatleb. p. 170. The absurd inferences which Ernesti, Strodbeck, Eckstein and others have drawn from this passage may now be safely dismissed without further comment. Secundus simply wishes to stigmatise the want of dignity and propriety which characterised the pleaders of his day, even in their attire.

4 fabulamur, 'chat' used derisively in place of 'dicere.' Cf. c. 23 11 apud iudices fabulantes Quint. XI 3, 131 sinistra gestum facientes spatiantur et fabulantur (sc. oratores).

5 auditoria: i. e. halls, usually devoted to recitations and the declamations of rhetoricians. See note c. 10 25 and Smith Dict. Ant. s. v. — tabularia: i. e. the buildings where the public records were kept. Cf. Verg. Georg. II 502 insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit and Smith, s. v. — None of these localities, Secundus says, being originally intended for less worthy or dignified objects, are fit for the exercise of true oratory.

6 explicantur, 'are disposed of,' contemptuously for 'aguntur.' Cf. Plin. Ep. VI 2, 6 (cited c. 38 3), where it is used in its ordinary sense. — nobiles equos ... probant: nobiles is a standing epithet of the horse. Cf. e. g. Ov. Met. II 690 Sen. de clem. I 24, 2 Iustin. IX 2, 16. Tac. H. I 88 says, insignes equos. — probant 'test.' Cf. note c. 28 16. — cursus et spatio: 'spacious race-track.' Hendiadys. The same collocation is found e. g. in Plin. Ep. IV 12, 7 laudis suae spatio et cursu ... laetetur. — aliquis oratorum campus: aliquis = 'quidam.' So perhaps also G. 46 nec aliud infantibus ... suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur Cic. pro Arch. 8, 18 poetam ... quasi divino quodam inflari ... sanctos appellat poetas quod quasi deorum aliquo doneo ... commendati nobis esse videantur. Our passage clearly refutes C. F. W. Müller's distinction (Cic. Lael. XIII 47), followed by R. V. III p. 64 f. note 357, for 'aliquis campus,' according to him, could only mean some 'oratorical field, no matter which, but certainly a field,' 'quidam campus' a kind of field, something that resembles a field! See also John ad loc. — The metaphor is very common. Cf. e. g. Cic. de orat. III
19, 70 ex ingenti quodam oratorem immensoque campo in exiguum sane gyrum compellitidis 31, 124 tanto tam immensoque campo cum liceat oratori vagari Acad. Prior. 35, 112 campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias et in Stoicorum dumeta compellimus? where Reid cites numerous illustrations from other writers.

8 liber et soluti: This synonymic collocation is very frequent. Cf. e. g. Cic. Verr. II 2, 78, 192 Phil. V 15, 41 de rep. IV 4, 4 Tusc. Disp. I 27, 66 Sall. Cat. 6, 1 Plin. Ep. II 11, 4 VIII 17, 4 Paneg. 80. Not in Quintilian or elsewhere in Tacitus. — debilitatur ac frangitur i. e. first weakened and then broken. On this use of ‘ac,’ see note c. 4 3. The same verbs are often combined. In Cicero always in inverse order (on which see note c. 4 3). Cf. pro Flacc. 26, 62 de orat. I 7, 24. 26, 121 ad fam. V 13, 3 Plin. Ep. VIII 16, 3 debilitor et frangor. Cf. also Tac. Ann. III 67 exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat.

9 ipsum quin immo: On the anastrophe, cf. note c. 6 7.— curam et diligentis stili anxietatem: i. e. the effort involved in the careful stylistic elaboration of a speech. On this post-Aug. use of ‘anxietas’ and ‘anxius,’ cf. e. g. Quint. VIII prooem. 29 quaerendi iudicandi, comparandi anxietas, dum discimus adhibenda est Gell. I 3, 12 a Theorphrasto pensiculate et enucleate scripta sunt. . . . sed anxietate illa. . . . disputationis praetermissa genus ipsum rei tantum paucus verbis notavit XV 7, 3 cum librum epistularum Divi Augusti legemus duceremurque elegantia orationis neque morosa neque anxia. — Stili, ‘composition.’ Cf. e. g. Quint. II 4, 13 neglegens stilius X 1, 2, 7, 4 multus stilius 3, 5 tardus stilius.

— The genitive is objective.

10 contrarium experimur: i. e. we find that all our pains are useless, go for naught, for continual interruptions prevent us from following out the carefully prepared argument and compel us instead to speak ex tempore. — The passage is in perfect accord with the oratorical characteristics of Secundus as recorded by Quint. X 1, 120 adieciisset . . . ceteris virtutibus. . . . ut esset multo magis pugnax et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret 3, 12 mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae. — interrogat index etc.: Cp. Aper’s statement in c. 19 ext. nec expectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed sáepe ulтро admonent atque alio transgressientem revocant et festinare se
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testantur. — *saepe ... frequenter* belongs to the same category of correlations as modo — modo, *saepe* — *saepe*, *saepe* — modo, modo — interdum, modo — nonnumquam. Cf. Quint. III 8, 4 frequenter — nonnumquam — aliquando Dr. H. S. II 92 ff. Kühner II 680, 4 and esp. Woelflin, *Archiv* II 245 ff. IV 53 ff. 'Was heisst bald — bald?'

12 *probationibus*: These were of two kinds according to Aristotle, Rhet. I 2 τὸν δὲ πίστεων, αἱ μὲν ἄρχον εἰσον, αἱ δὲ ἄντεκοι. ἄντεκο δὲ λέγο, δόσα μὴ δὲ ἤμων πεπόρισται ἄλλα προϊτήρες, οἶον μέρτυρες βάσανοι συγγραφαὶ καὶ δόσα τουαίτα; ἄντεκο δὲ, δόσα δὲ τῆς μεθόδου καὶ δὲ ἤμων κατασκευασθῆναι δυνατῶν. So Cic. de orat. II 27, 116 ad *probandum* autem duplex est oratoris subiecta materies: una rerum earum, quae non excogitantur ab oratore, sed in re positae ratione tractantur, ut tabulæ, testimonia, pacta, conventa, quaestiones, leges, senatus consulta ... reliqua, si quae sunt, quae non reperintur ab oratore, sed ad oratorem a causa deferuntur; altera est quae tota in disputatione et in argumentatione oratoris conlocata est and Quint. V 1, 1 (de probationibus inartificialibus) 7, 1 — 37 (de testibus). — *testibus* is joined to the generic term 'probationibus' by 'et' in accordance with the usage pointed out c. 9 1.

Of the many emendations suggested for the untenable 'patronus' of the MSS., only 'prætor' (Orelli) or 'protinus' (Nolte) seems to me acceptable. 'Inpattern,' adopted by Halm and Baehrens, is not used absolutely, except a few times in late Latin, e. g. Macrobi. Saturn. VII 5 ext. nihil est impatieni us imperitia, nor has the word anywhere the accessory meaning of 'haste,' which it ought to have here.

13 *unus ... aut alter*: Cf. note c. 9 20.

14 *clamore plausuque*: The same collocation e. g. Tac. H. III 83 illos clamore et plausu fovebat Cic. de div. I 28, 59 pro Q. Gallio, fragm. 2 Liv. XXXIII 32 tantus cum clamore plausus est orts. — On the thought, cf. Cic. Brut. 2, 6 cum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingeni de orat. II 83, 338 quia maxima quasi oratoris scaena videatur contiones esse, natura ipsa ad ornatus dicendi genus excitemur; habet enim multitudo vim quandan talem ... sic orator sine multitudine audiente eloquens esse non possit. Quintilian, though he says (I 2, 9) optimus praecipit frequentia gaudet ac maiore se theatro dignum putat, apparently does not fully share the opinion of Secundus. Cf. IV 2, 37 quae quidem virtus (sc. ut iudex quae dientur quam facillime accipiat) neglectur a plurimis, qui ad clamorem dispositae vel
etiam forte circumfusae multitutinis compositi non ferunt illud intentionis silentium: nec sibi diserti videntur, nisi omnia tumultu et vociferatione concusserint. — tot pariter ac tam nobiles etc.: The anaphoric 'cum' clauses analyse the composition of the great audience which faced the orators of the Republic on important occasions. The higher (nobiles) and lower classes (clientelae, tribus), of the city and the representatives of municipalities crowded the forum, and took a personal interest in court trials. John and Andresen strangely contend, that we must supply in thought 'oratores' or 'advocati' after 'nobiles,' the former understanding the large number of patroni present, but as these never exceeded twelve (see note c. 38 5) 'coartarent' would be a ridiculous hyperbole. nobiles as a noun in the sense of the higher classes or 'patricians' is exceedingly common in Tac.: G. 25 H. II 38. 92 Ann. I 2 II 11. 56 III 55 XI 23 XIII 16. 18 XIV 53. On substantived tot, see note c. 8 25.

17 tribus: i.e. the commonalty, the poorer classes. So Plin. N. H. XIX 4, 19, 54 in herbis aliqua sibi nasci tribus negant, caule in tantum saginato, ut pauperis mense capiat Mart. VIII 15, 4 ditant Latias tertia dona tribus Flor. II 6, 25 equitam imitatae tribus. — Observe the symmetry of collocation: clientelae quoque ac tribus . . . etiam legationes ac pars Italiae, each of the two members joined by 'et' being made up of two elements joined by 'ac'; quoque joined to the first member of the first group corresponding to 'etiam' in the first member of the second group. Cf. note c. 17 12 and the passage from the Agricola cited below.

Halm was, therefore, wrong in writing 'tribus ac' on the authority of the reading in B.


20 satis constat: On this common phrase in Tacitus, cf. note c. 16 21. — C. Cornelium: Accused 'de maiestate' by P. Cominius

21 T. Milonem: Cf. note c. 37 27. — L. Bestiam: L. Calpurnius Bestia, trib. pleb. 62 B.C. one of the Catilinian conspirators (Sall. Cat. 17), was accused 'de ambitu' in 56 and unsuccessfully defended by Cicero. Cf. Ep. ad Quint. frat. II 3, 6 a. d. III. Id. Feb. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium ... maximo conventu. No fragments of this speech have come down to us. — P. Vatinium: Cf. notes c. 21 10 24 35. — concursus totius civitatis, equivalent to an abl. abs. 'concurrente tota civitate.' So c. 6 5 concursu ... hominum Ann. V 10 inventutis concursu VI 50 multo gratantum concursu XII 47 concursu plurium. The abl. of attendant circumstances is very characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. Dr. Stil. p. 29 R. V. III 688 note 569. — With the thought, cf. Cic. de opt. gen. 7, 22 ad quod iudicium (sc. Dem. et Aesch.) concursus dicitur e tota Graecia factus esse Brut. 84, 289 necesse fuisse cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia fierent.

22 constat ... defenso ut ... potuerint: The perfect subj. in a consecutive clause depending upon a verb of past time, still rare in pre-Aug. Latin, becomes more frequent with Livy and is thereafter esp. common in Tacitus and Suetonius. D. D. in his Unters. zum Sprachgeb. der röm. Hist. Güstrow 1860 p. 5 regarded 'potuerint' as dependant upon 'constat.' In H. S. I 268, it is recognised as a legitimate illustration of the above usage, but in Stil. p. 74 "ut mit dem Conjunctiv des historischen Perfects fehlt im Dialogus und in der Germania," he seems again to revert to his earlier explanation of this passage. Possibly, 'potuerint' is here merely the apodosis of an unreal condition, the suppressed protasis having to be supplied from 'frigidissimos.' "They might have inflamed
orators, were they never so frigid" (quoque = vel, as in c. 6 18 imperitorum quoque oculis exposita. Cp. also Binde p. 38 f.), and this interpretation seems to me, all things considered, to be the more plausible. — frigidissimos: 'frigidus' Gk. ψυχρός, though exceedingly common as an epithet of style (see e.g. Περί ὑψυκάς 3, 3 f.) is rarely applied to the writers themselves as e.g. Cic. ad Quint. frat. III 3, 3 accusatoribus frigidis utitur Brut. 48, 178 nimirum lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus. Cf. also Arist. Ach. 138 εἰ μὴ κατάνυψε χίον τὴν Θράκην ἀλπὶ ... ὁτ' ἐνδαδή Θεόννε ἤγωνιζε Θεσμ. 848 Plat. Euthyd. 284.

24 itaque eius modi libri extant etc.: The evident meaning of this disputed passage is this: Such is the inspiring influence of great trials, such the stimulating effect of intensely interested audiences, that even speakers of mediocre ability will in spite of themselves be impelled to higher efforts, and hence posterity bases its opinion of the accused and its estimation of the accusers almost exclusively upon the speeches delivered on these occasions, however acceptable in themselves other oratorical productions of the same speakers may have been.

The passage seems, therefore, perfectly sound, being virtually little more than a striking, concrete illustration of the truth of the general statements immediately preceding: 'splendor rerum ... et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant ... crescit cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii (c. 37 15, 21). Andreessen's emendation, though ingenious, is consequently not called for, not to mention that 'legerunt' in place of 'legunt' is sufficient to invalidate it. Cp. also John ad loc.

censeantur, in the sense of 'aestimare' is post-Aug. Cf. e.g. Val. Max. V 3, 3 Tac. Ag. 45 una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius censebatur Plin. Pan. 15 hie te commilitone censeetur Sen. Ep. 76, 8, 87, 7 Suet. de gramm. 10 Eratosthenes multiplices variaque doctrina censebatur.

40. 1 contiones adsiduae: Cf. c. 36 9 f. leges adsiduae ... contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris et Cic. pro Cluent. 34, 93 ff. tum in causa nihil erat praeter invidiam ... contiones cottidianas, seditiose ac populariter concitatas sqq. — datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi: ius cannot here well have the usual meaning of an official right conferred by authority, for that were an absurd interpretation in view of the rigid restrictions which always prevailed at Rome against 'ἀναματρί κομψίως.' See below. The word must therefore be taken in the sense 'privilege,
opportunity.’ The Dictt. do not seem to recognise this signification; it is, however, found e.g. in Tac. Ann. II 30 certabant (sc. accusatores) cui ius perorandi in reum daretur. vexandi is best taken in the sense of ‘attack,’ as in c. 1 20 multum vexata et inrisa vetus state 24 3 copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos Cic. Tusc. Disp. V 9, 29 vexatur Theophrastus et liberis et scholis omnium philosophorum de rep. IV 10, 11 quem illa (vetus comoedia) non attigit vel potius vexavit? — The statement seems a repetition in a more exaggerated form of c. 36 10 accusationes potentium reorum. In any case, this utterance, as well as the following, is quite unsuited to Maternus’ attitude.

2 ipsa inimiciiarum gloria: Cf. c. 36 11 aedisquae etiam domibus inimicitiae 37 ext. nobilitata discriminibus and esp. H. II 53 ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus magni (= magnorum virorum) inimiciitis claresceret (sc. Caecina).

3 Publico quidem Scipione: Tacitus probably has especially in mind the celebrated feud between the elder Tiberius Gracchus, Cato and the two Scipios, recorded in Livy. Cf. XXXVIII 54 Morte Africani crevere inimicorum animi, quorum princeps fuit M. Porcius Cato qui vivo quoque eo adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus erat 57 Gracchum (not Metellus Macedonicus, whom Peter c. 36 11 by a strange slip of memory cites) . . . iurasse sibi inimiciitas cum Scipionibus, quae fuissent, manere Gell. VI (VII) 19, 6 pater Tib. atque C. Gracchorum cum P. Scipione Africano inimicus gravis ob plerasque in republica dissensiones esset, iurasse palam in amicitiam inque gratiam se cum P. Africano non redisse Cic. de rep. I 19, 31 obtructatores autem et invidi Scipionis Val. Max. III 7, 1 IV 2, 3 V 3, 2 Plut. Cat. Mai. 15. — L. Sulla and Cn. Pompeio: The history of both of these men furnishes abundant examples of attacks on the part of political opponents.

On the necessity of inserting L. before ‘Sulla,’ see crit. note c. 18 17.

se . . . abstinerent: Se abstinere ab aliquo is extremely rare. Cf. Plaut. Curc. I 1, 37 Cic. Acad. II 17, 55 Sen. Contr. I 2, 9 Ps. Quint. 12, 1 Ps. Sall. in Cic. 3, 9 and perhaps Tac. H. V 4 sue abstinent [MS. sues = sue se?] but apparently not elsewhere in Latin. See Weinhold, Archiv VI 512. — ad incessendos principes viros ut est natura invidiae: The thought is a commonplace, both in Greek and Latin. Cf. e.g. Eurip. Beller. fragm. 294 Nk. ἐς ὀφθαλμῳ δ’ ὃ φθόνος πυθῶν φιλεῖ Lucret. V 1118 ff. Sall. Ing. 55 post gloriari

5 populi ... histriones auribus uterentur: Adverse criticism of public men, on the part of actors or poets, was never tolerated in Rome. Cp. the fate of Naevius (dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae Gell. III 3, 15 cum ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in primores civitatis, de Graecorum more dicta, in vincula Romae coniectus esset) and Caesar's punishment of Laberius (Gell. XVII 14, 2 Macrobi. II 3, 10. 6, 6. 7, 4 f. Sen. Contr. VII 3, 9). Cic. de rep. IV 10, 11 f. Quid autem hinc senserint Romani veteres etc. Pericle... violari versibus et exagitari in scaena non plus decuit quam si Plautus noster voluisset aut Naevius Publio et Gnaeo Scipioni aut Caecilius M. Catoni male dicere... contra duodecim tabulae... in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt; si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri [sc. fuste feriri] ad fam. III 11, 2 verumtamen maiestas etsi Sulla voluit, ne in quemvis impune declamari liceret Tac. Ann. IV 35 non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita. The passages cited from Cic. pro Sest. 57, 122. 58, 123 by Vahlen are irrelevant, as they refer to stage utterances in praise of illustrious citizens.

The evidence just presented leaves no doubt in my mind that Tacitus cannot possibly have made the statement conveyed by the words in the text, even supposing with Halm and others that 'et' for 'ut' is a mere scribal slip. 'Popull quoque' is also open to grave objections, for it implies the antithesis that the attacks upon public men were originally made either in private or in the senate, and that subsequently 'plurimi diserti' gave them greater efficacy by also incensing the populace against the individuals so assailed. This is, however, nowhere indicated and is rendered improbable by 'contiones adsiluas' preceding. The numerous attempts at emending the admittedly corrupt reading have so far, in my judgment, been unsuccessful.

Ch. 40 8–42. Maternus, in closing the discussion, endeavors to reconcile the opposing parties, represented by Aper on the one hand and by Messalla and Secundus on the other. He freely admits that the peculiar conditions of the Roman Republic were highly conducive to the rise of eloquence, but he reminds his hearers that such oratorical excellence was after all acquired at the expense of political stability and tranquillity. Eloquence, as history attests, has never thriven in law-abiding and peaceful communities; it is the offspring of license and would be as useless in a state where all was peace and virtue, as a physician among a people free from disease. Recall the past we cannot, nor were this a consummation to be wished; it therefore becomes the duty of all to rest content with the good which one’s own time undoubtedly offers, and to refrain from belittling that of some other epoch.

On the necessity of assuming a lacuna after 1.8, see Proleg. pp. lxxv–lxxx.

8 non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur: An unmistakable allusion to the words of Secundus in c. 36 4 f. composita et quieta et beata re publica, where see note. Cf. also c. 37 30 nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit.

Although the organic connection with the preceding has been lost in the lacuna, the parallel passages just cited and the antithesis in ‘alumna licentiæ’ render it all but certain that Tacitus wrote ‘re publica’ here or understood ‘res’ in that sense (see Dict. and note c. 21 21.) i.e. Eloquence is not the offspring of a ‘bene constituta civitas,’ but of anarchy.—‘Gaudere’ of abstract or inanimate things, though not rare (see note below), is also far less bold, when said of ‘res publica,’ which is often personified, than of so nondescript a word as ‘res.’ In c. 37 30, the preceding ‘rei publicae’ as well as ‘temporibus’ leaves no doubt as to the meaning of ‘re.’ The archetypen probably read ‘r. p.’ (see p. 60), the second letter having been accidentally omitted in our MSS.
probitate et modestia: On this collocation, cf. crit. note c. 51.

9 quae ... gaudeat: This use of 'gaudeo' is found in poetry, and in prose since Livy. E.g. Verg. Ecl. VI 29 Phoebus gaudeat ... rupes Liv. II 60, 3 praemio gaudent militum animi Quint. IX 4, 111 ante se brevibus gaudeat pyrrchichio vel choreo (sc. paean) X 7, 16 stilus secreto gaudeat XII 9, 2 oratio gaudebit quidem occasione laetius decurrenti.

10 alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocitant: Cf. Plut. de aud. 1 ἀνάρχια μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἵνοι τῶν νεών ἐλευθερίαν ἀπαίδευσιν νομίζοντι.—This alliterative collocation is frequent. Cf. Cic. Acad. Prior. 10, 30 ne maiorem largiar ... libertatem et licentiam Verr. II 3, 1, 3 licentiam libertatemque vivendi Quint. X 1, 28 nec libertate verborum nec licentia figurarum. For the antithesis cf. Quint. III 8, 48 quae in aliis libertas, in aliis licentia vocatur IV 1, 59 libertas feretur ... licentiam verbi notari non patitur IX 2, 27 quod idem dictum sit de oratione libera quam Cornificius licentiam vocat and esp. Tac. H. I 4 patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem novum II 10 in civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutationes inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta Ann. XI 7 falso libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi nihil sper nisi per discordias habeant IV 35 (cited note c. 40 5).

The Greek parallel no less than 'stulti,' proves that Maternus’ remark is an aphorism of general application and not, as Peter strangely contends, made with reference to the 'antiqui oratores' alone. Vocabant, the MS. reading, is, therefore, untenable. The only methodical emendation is vocitant, the corruption being, as in innumerable similar cases, due to an abbreviation which was subsequently misunderstood or not recognised. Cf. c. 23 5 vocabant — vocitant — Schurzeisch vocant — alii. 17 29 vocitatis — CDA vocetis — ABEV and the variants on p. 2. 5. 24. 26. 42. 48. 49. 51. The frequentative verb is very appropriate in general maxims. 'Vociurate' occurs in Tac. e.g. H. I 13 V 2.

11 populi incitamentum: Incitamentum of persons (eloquentia here) is found only in Tacitus, who is particularly fond of this otherwise extremely rare word. Cf. H. II 23 acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta, interfectores Galbae ... miscere cuncta Ann. VI 29 Scaurus ... damnationem anteiit, horante ... uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit and twelve other instances in Lex. Tac. The word occurs once in Cicero: pro Arch. 10, 23, in Curt. III 11, 5 IX 5, 4 Plin. Pan. 27 and in the imita-
tor of Tacitus, Amm. Marc. XXI 12, but not in Quintilian. — The phrase evidently alludes to c. 39.23 ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. — sine obsequio: On the use of 'sine' with a noun as a substitute for an adjective, see note c. 32 21. — sine severitate i.e. without proper dignity, 'gravitas,' such as becomes a Roman orator. Cf. note c. 39.3 quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae aetate paenulas istas.

The MS. reading 'servitute' is absurd. 'Veritate,' accepted by Halm and others, is not in conformity with the other epithets here applied to eloquence. 'Severitate' is a very easy and satisfactory emendation and its collocation with 'obsequium' is supported by Cic. ad fam. X 4, 6 omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate.

12 contumax adrogans: Also combined in Cic. Rosc. Com. 15, 44 contumacia et adrogantia ad Att. VI 1, 7 contumaciter, adrogan- ter Quint. VI 1, 14 contumax adrogans (sc. reus) and in Tac. Ann. V 3 adrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit. — With the view here set forth, cf. Brut. 12. 45 nec enim in constitu- entibus rem publicam nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac re- gnum dominatione devinitis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia de orat. I 4, 14 posteaquam imperio omni- gentium constituto diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adulscens non sibi ad dicendum studio omni eni- tendum putavit 8, 30 haec una res (sc. eloquentia) in omni libero populo maximeque in paucis tranquillisque civitibus praecipue semper floruit semperque dominata est II 8, 33 ut usum dicendi omittam qui in omni pacata et libera civitate dominatur Orat. 41, 142 quis unquam dubitavit, quin in re publica nostra primas elo- quentia teneretur semper urbanis pacatis rebus Quint. II 16, 1 ff.

The passages from Cicero only apparently contradict the statement of Maternus, for the orator understands by 'pax' and 'otium,' freedom from foreign wars; Maternus, on the other hand, is speaking of internal dissensions as the prerequisite conditions for the develop- ment of eloquence, and in this Cicero is substantially of the same opinion as Tacitus. Cf. e.g. de inv. I 1, 1 cum et nostrae reipublicae detrimenta considero et maxinarum civitatum veteres animo calamitates colligo, non minimam video per disertissimos homines invectam partem incommodorum de orat. I 9, 38 ego vero si velim et nostrae civitatis exemplis uti et ariarum, plura proferre
possim detrimenta publicis rebus quam adiumenta per homines eloquentissimos importata.


14 *accepimus* sc. fuisset. On this common ellipsis after 'accipio,' in the sense of 'audio,' cf. note c. 12 18. — *civitatum*: Both forms of the genitive plural (-um, -ium) are recognised by the ancients (e. g. Varro L. L. VIII 37, 66). The MSS. of Tacitus are inconsistent. Thus 'civitatum' is found G. 8 H. I 66 II 62 IV 66 Ann. III 43 XV 45; 'civitatium' in H. I 54. 78 IV 75 Ann. III 63 IV 14 XVI 30; in Ag. 27 and 29 the MSS. vary. In other nouns, ending in -as, the MSS. give only -um. Cp. Sirker, Tacit. Formentl. p. 14 and note to c. 28 6 (parentum). — *severissimae disciplina et severissimae leges*: The laws of Sparta and Crete possessed many points in common and hence they are very often mentioned together. e. g. Plat. Prot. 342 a. Polyb. VI 45 ff. Tac. Ann. III 26. — Similar repetitions are very characteristic of Tacitean style. Cf. e. g. c. 41 9 minimum usus minimunumque profectus 25 magnam . . . magnam G. 19 boni mores . . . bonae leges *ibid.* unum corpus unamque vitam H. I 40 magni metus et magnae irae 78 nova iura Cappadociae, nova Africæ IV 5 magnæ offensæ . . . magnæ gloriae 57 divo Iulio divoque Augusto Ann. V 4 novas contiones, nova . . . consulta VI 28 par oneri par meauti. On the nom. with inf. cf. c. 38 14; on the attributive position of the predicate, see Proleg. p. cxv.

15 *nec . . . quidem*: See note c. 29 15.

17 *Rhodii quidam*: The most famous were Apollonios ὁ μαλακός and Molon, both natives of Alabanda. The latter was Cicero's teacher in Rome and later in Rhodes (78 n. c.). The two are habitually confounded by ancient and modern writers. Cp. the exhaustive treatment of Susemihl, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit. in der Alex. Zeit*, II
488–494. 697. Other less known Rhodian rhetoricians were Arta-
menes, Aristocrates and Philagrios.

18 omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant: Omnes, as John ad loc. 
observes, is here equivalent to omnes, as in G. 11 de minoribus 
rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes. So multi = omnes in c. 41 16. This, as well as ut sic dixerim' (on which see 
ote c. 34 7), shows that we cannot justly, with Woelflin Philol. 
XXVI 140, regard the phrase as an imitation of the well-known 
non omnia possumus omnes' which Virgil (Ecl. VIII 64) borrowed 
from Ennius (or Lucilius?). — On the anaphora, here and again 
l. 20 f., see note c. 36 8. — Posse in the sense of pollere, valere 
occurr in Tacitus only here, c. 13 17 tantum . . . possunt 36 16 plus 
. . . poterat and Ann. VI 9 eo usque potuere.

20 donec erravit: i.e. as long as the Roman state, like a ship 
without a rudder, was being tossed about on a sea of troubles etc. 
Cf. note c. 10 20 errare mavis. Wendell Phillips, Toussaint L'Ouver-
ture: "He no sooner found himself at the helm of state, when 
the ship steadied' etc. — donec = quamdin. See note c. 8 17. — 
dissensionibus et discordiis: Grouped together also in Tac. Ag. 32 
norris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari and so similarly 'dis-
cordiae' and 'seditiones,' e.g. H. I 84 11 23. 86 Ann. VI 3. 16. —
The rhetorical accumulation of synonyms serves the purpose of 
strongly emphasising the anarchical conditions of the period in 
question.

21 se . . . confecit: 'spent itself, sapped its strength.' In this 
figurative sense, the word seems to be extremely rare. Cf. e.g. 
Liv. Proem. 3 festinantibus ad haece nova, quibus iam prudem 
praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Not found elsewhere 
in Tac., nor in Quintilian. — nulla . . . in foro pax etc.: With the 
symmetry in the 'collocatio verborum' (adj. — genit. or an equival-
ent prepos. phrase — substantive), cp. c. 38 ext. with crit. note. 
— nulla in senatu concordia, alluding to c. 36 11 procerum facti-
one. — in indicis moderatio: 'no self-control on the part of 
orators in the law courts.' Cf. c. 38 5 modum in dicendo sibi 
quisque sumebat.— nulla superiorum reverentia: i.e. sine obsequio. 
Cf. c. 40 3 ne a P. quidem Scipione . . . abstinerent. H. IV 80 
superbia viri, aequantium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis.

23 nullus magistratum modus: i.e. 'No restrictions placed 
upon the effusiveness of orators on the part of the magistrates.'
C. 40. 373

Cf. c. 19 ext. 39 10 ff. — Tului sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam: 'No doubt, as has been said (viz. c. 37 35 plures tamen bonos [= valentiores] proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt sqq.) such turbulent times produce a sturdier eloquence, . . . but.' Sine dubio, like 'no doubt, sans doute, ohne Zweifel,' points back to some thought already expressed (as here) or implied, and it is thus distinguished from 'haud dubie' which is merely a strong asseveration of a new thought. Hence Tacitus invariably adds an adversative particle after 'sine dubio,' by way of modification or qualification. Cf. Ag. 45 omnia s. d. . . . superfueru honorii tuo, tamam Ann. I 6 multa s. d. . . . Augustus . . . questus: ceterum 10 pacem s. d. post haec, verum cruentam II 51 victa est s. d. lex, sed XI 28 subbita s. d. metus . . . rursus. So also in Seneca (see the exx. in Kleiber p. 68) and esp. common in Quintilian (cf. Bonnell Lex. s. v.). This consistent usage would be alone sufficient to dispose of Maternus as the speaker in c. 36 ff., for, on that supposition, he would have made a very emphatic statement without the slightest reservation, only to repeat it shortly after for the purpose of neutralising its validity by a very important modification! — valentiorem eloquentiam: Cf. Tac. Ann. IV 21 orandi validus.

24 sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiorem: laetus, 'satisfactory, pleasing,' is frequently applied to plants. e.g. Verg. G. I 339 laetus operatus in herbis III 494 laetis moriuntur in herbis. Cf. the very similar thought in Eur. Hec. 588 K. ei γῆ μὲν κακῇ | τυχοῦσα καρδοῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχνη φίλη.

25 nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut patere tur et leges: i.e. The Roman people would gladly have dispensed with the eloquence of the Gracchi, seeing that it was productive only of pernicious laws. This disparaging criticism of the Gracchan reforms is in perfect accord with the view expressed by Tacitus in a passage of the Annals (III 27), where he even couples the Gracchi with Saturninus as among 'turbatores plebis.' — The peculiarly emphatic position of 'et leges' is paralleled in Tac. Ag. 4 recepta populi Romani consuetudine ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. — et = etiam is found in the Dialogus only in two other passages: c. 13 24 fatalis et meus dies c. 21 27 nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. fecerunt enim et carmina. In the Ag. (8 times) G. (16) Hist. (24) Ann. I–VI (26) XI–XVI (19). See
Lex. Tac. s. v. (p. 398 f.) and on its use in other writers, the exhaustive discussion of Anton, Studies etc. I p. 26-69, and R. V. III p. 233 note 419.

26 nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit: Cicero dearly bought his oratorical reputation by the wretched death he suffered in consequence. Cf. Sen. de remed. fort. 12, 4 H. si muti fuissent, Cicero et Demosthenes et diutius vixissent et lemius obissent Ps. Quint. Decl. 268 quid ego dicam quantum civitati profuerit eloquentia? sibi nocuit. Summos utriusque partis oratores videamus. Nonne Demosthenem . . . ; nonne Ciceronem in illis . . . rostris poenae suae expositum Iuv. X 118 ff. eloquio sed uterque (sc. Dem. et Cic.) perit orator . . . nec unquam sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli. Secundus had admitted in c. 37 19 ff. that the superior eloquence of the ancients was but a poor compensation for the anarchical conditions which alone had rendered its growth possible. This is true, rejoins Maternus, but it should also be added, that not even these orators themselves were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their reputation, for they all met with a violent end. See Andresen ad loc.

27 pensare = compensare is post-Aug. Cf. e.g. Vell. II 88 praematuram mortem immortali nominis sui pensavit memoria et often. In Tac. in this sense only here. On the simple verb for the compound, cf. note c. 1 18.

Maternus had occupied himself (c. 40) with an examination of the arguments of Secundus, which he had drawn from the political conditions of the Republic (c. 36-37 ext.). Beginning with c. 38, Secundus discussed the constitution of the law-courts. Accordingly Maternus, following the same order of topics, proceeds with a consideration of the statements in this second part of Secundus' speech. This symmetrically elaborated antithesis and the constant polemical allusions to subjects touched upon in c. 38 (see the following notes) are, in my judgment, absolutely inexplicable on the theory that Maternus was the speaker throughout. Cp. Proleg. p. lxxx ff.

41. 1 quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori etc. This is in answer to the words of Secundus c. 36 5 ff. horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas est, where see note, alluding at the same time to c. 38 10 omnia in foro . . . quod maius argumentum est etc. What little of forensic pleading, Maternus replies, still remains to modern orators, for causae centumviraes, as we have just been told, now hold the first place (c. 38 11) and are tried in 'auditoria'
and ‘tabularia’ (c. 39 5), rather proves, that we have not yet reached an ideal state, though we may admit that a more regulated order of things now prevails.

The emendation ‘antiqui . . . fori’ is eminently satisfactory, being both easy and admirably suited to the meaning called for by the context. Andresen, following Brotier and Ritter, inserts ‘ex’ before ‘antiquis’ and deletes ‘forum’ or ‘horum’ of the MSS. Nothing can be more unjustifiable on methodical grounds. Andresen refers in his latest edition to his Emend. p. 184, but nothing more than the mere conjecture itself is there given. Apart from the manifest inferiority of his reading to the one adopted in the text, I have serious doubts, whether ‘superest ex aliquo’ can be supported by parallel passages, nor do I, in any case, understand what is meant by ‘what is left of ancient orators’! Maternus is speaking of conditions, not of individuals.—‘superest antiquis oratoribus forum,’ accepted by some, absurdly implies that, in the speaker’s opinion, there were still orators of the old type (‘Redner des alten Schlages’) remaining, a point refuted by the entire treatise.

2 emendatae . . . compositae: The same collocation is found in Sen. Ep. 4, 1 emendato animo et composito.


6 spoliatum vexatamque: For the expression, cf. Cic. in Verr. II 3, 52, 122 agros . . . vexatos atque exinanitos . . . populantam vastatamque provinciam Liv. XL 35, 10 provincia spoliaretur. — With the thought cf. Tac. Ag. 19 Iuv. VIII 87–123 esp. 98 f. non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat pro damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victus and, in general, Mayor, Iuv. ll. cc. Marquardt Staatsw. II 103, 1 Friedländer I 4 258 f. — The entire passage ‘quis etc.’ is intended to offset the glowing description of Secundus c. 36 19 f., where see notes. — atqui melius fuisset non quier quam vindicari: The indicative with expressions like ‘melius, satis, longum est,’ is the rule; exceptions are, however, occasionally met with. E. g. Rhet. ad Her. IV 26, 36 non igitur satius esset Cic. de sen. 23, 82 nonne multo melius fuisset Sen. de ben. V 25, 3 indicare melius fuisset Tac. H. II 2 haud fuerit (potential) longum
NOTES.

... disserere. See also Nipp. Ann. I 42 Dr. H. S. I 303.—queri 'to have no cause for complaint.' So c. 15 ext. verebaris 'have no reason to fear.' Hor. Ep. II 1, 9 ploravere.—With the sentiment, cf. c. 37 10 quae mala sicut non accidere melius est etc. 32 melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari.

7 quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas etc.: This idea of a political Utopia was probably suggested by a similar passage in Cic. Hortens., cited by August. de trin. 14, 9 (= vol. IV 983 Or.): si nobis cum ex hac vita emigraverimus in beatorum insulis immortale aevum, ut fabulae ferunt, degere licet quid opus esset eloquentia cum iudicia nulla fient ... nec iustitia cum esset nihil quod appeteretur (= in qua nemo peccaret). See also c. 12 11 ff. 17 nominem causidicum, note l. 13 and cp. Mandeville's story of the Bees.—According to Dr. H. S. I 94 si aliquis (aliquando) occurs in Tacitus only here and H. II 32 etiam si aliquando obumbruntur. Cf., however, c. 9 29 si dignum aliquid elaborare 10 9 si picturam aliquam ... vidisset 17 20 si ... fatum aliquod ... pertransisset 41 21 si ... deus aliquis.

8 supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus: 'Inter innocentes' is redundant after 'in qua nemo peccaret' but was added for the sake of stylistic libration. Cf. Proleg. p. exxvii. The simile seems to have been a commonplace. Cf. e.g. Plat. Rep. 332 e μὴ καίμοντι γε μὴν ... ιατρός ἄχρηστος Matthew, 9, 12 οὐ χαίδων ἵχνων οὐ ἰακίσσωτες ιατροῦ—Ov. Ep. ex Pont. III 4, 7 firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona quærunt Sen. de clem. I 2. 1 primum omnium sicut medicinae apud aegros usus, etiam apud sanos honor est, ita clementiam quamvis poena digni invocent, etiam innocentes colunt.

9 quod modo enim etc.: Ênîm, as often, implies an ellipsis, on which use see note c. I 16. 'Of course, no such community exists and therefore orators are a necessary evil, but just as medicine is of little use and makes but little progress among a sturdy race of men, so too do orators achieve but little glory in a state that possesses loyal and law-abiding citizens.'

Particles like 'tamen, autem, enim, etiam' seem to have been peculiarly liable to corruption. Cf. in the Dial. e. g. c. 20 18 25 12 42 6. In the present instance, we find even so remarkable a discrepancy as inda—AB and tamen—œ. The former is unintelligible, but 'tamen,' though adopted by most editors, seems to me also objectionable. (1) Its meaning is quite unsuited to the context. (2) It is never used, like 'nám' or 'enim,' to
C. 41.

Indicate an ellipsis, which must here be supplied in thought; at least, I know of only one instance of an elliptical 'tamen,' viz. Val. Max. II 7, 14 utilissimo quidem exemplo, si tamen acta... aestimare permittitur (i.e. ita tamen utilissimo, si) but even this is not quite analogous. For these reasons, I have accepted Heumann's emendation.

**minimum... minimumque**: On the repetition here and below (l. 25), see note c. 40 18. — *que* is epexegetic. Cf. note c. 22 9. — *medentis*: Substantived participles (and adj.s.) are far rarer in the masc. sing. than in the plural, and particularly so as objective genit., as e.g. l. 13 (regentis). A third instance of a genit. sing. occurs in this same chapter l. 19 cognoscentis. For the plur. of 'medens' — the sing. is not elsewhere found in Tac. — cf. H. V 6 in usu medentium and Ann. XI 6 pretia medentibus, also Plin. Pan. 22, but not in Quintilian. In general, cp. Dr. *H. S. I* 48 f.

11 **saluberrimis corporibus utuntur**: 'salubris' of the human body, instead of 'sanus, validus' is first used by Sallust e.g. Jug. 17 genus hominum salubri corpore. It never occurs in Cicero, occasionally in Livy (e.g. I 31 salubriora... corpora III 8 corpora salubriora esse X 25) and in Tac. H. V 6 corpora hominum salubria Ann. II 33 salubritas corporum, but Ann. II 14 corpus... validum. The opposite confusion is sometimes made by careless speakers in English in the use of 'healthy' for 'wholesome.' — *utuntur* is joined to 'corporibus' by a slight zeugma.

13 **in obsequium regentis paratos**: Cf. Suet. Galb. 19 in omne obsequium paratos c. 31 27 in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos H. IV 32 videt Montanum praefecerem ingenio paratumque in novas res. With 'ad,' in Tac. only Ann. III 63 ad servitutem paratos V, 5 paratos ad ultionem, usually with the dative, which is not used by Cicero or Caesar. — *regentis* = erga regentem. Cf. G. 43 erga reges obsequium. Nipperdey regards 'regens,' both here, Ann. IV 33 Tiberio regente and XIII 3 regente eo, as the participle used intransitively. I see no reason, why we should not simply take it in the sense of 'princeps,' which the word has in numerous other passages, especially as this chapter furnishes two other exx. of the sing. part. substantive, 'medentis' above and 'cognoscentis' (l. 19). Sen. de clem. I 19, 1 excogitare nemo quiequam poterit, quod magis decorum regenti sit quam clementia 22, 3 constituit bonos mores civitati princeps... verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis Quint. III 8 47 stare iam rem publicam nisi uno regente non posse and Ann. XII 54 contemptu regement. In
an intransitive sense in Tac. H. II 81 inermes legati regebant. — quid enim: Under such circumstances, there will be no need for those privileges and opportunities, the loss of which Secundus had deplored, even if it were possible to grant them in these days.

14 longis in senatu sententiis etc.: Cf. c. 36 26 cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere. Maternus is here in virtual agreement with Aper (c. 19), but the latter, unlike Maternus, based his objection against long speeches chiefly on grounds of rhetoric and expediency. — optimi, 'οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ' as opposed to multi 'οἱ πολλοὶ.'

15 multis apud populum contionibus: Cf. c. 36 9 contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris 40 1 contiones adsiduae. — non imperiti . . . deliberent, as was the case among the Athenians. Cf. c. 40 18 apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti . . . poterant. 'Imperitus' is a common epithet of the 'plebs.' In Tac. c. 7 16 19 9 H. I 35 II 16 Ann. II 77. — With the thought, cf. also Quint. II 17, 28 imperiti enim iudicant . . . nam si mihi sapientes iudices dentur, sapientium contiones atque omne consilium, nihil invidia valeat, nihil gratia . . . perquam sit exiguus eloquentiae locus. — sapientissimus et unus: Cf. c. 36 7 f. moderatore uno carentibus etc. The reference is not necessarily to Vespasian. The view of Maternus coincides with that of Tacitus. Cf. Ann. I 9 non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur IV 33 nam cunctas nationes et urbes populos aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius (cf. e. g. Polyb. VI 3, 7 Cic. de rep. I 29, 45 II 23, 41) quand evenire . . . igitur ut olim plebe valida . . . sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitus et note c. 2 2. — Cicero, it may be remarked, would doubtless also have acquiesced in the establishment of the monarchy on similar grounds of expediency, as appears from de nat. deor. I 4, 7 cum . . . is esset rei publicae status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset.

17 voluntariis accusationibus etc.: This is in answer to the statement of Secundus in c. 40 1 datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi. Voluntariis is used, because during the Empire the initiative in such cases was usually taken by the Senate, at the suggestion of the princeps. Cf. Quint. VI 1, 35 fuit quondam inter haec omnia potentissimum quo L. Murenam Cicero accusantibus
clarissimis viris eripuisse praecipue videtur persuasitque, nihil esse ad praesentem rerum statum utilius quam pridie Kal. Ian. ingredi consulatum. quod genus nostris temporibus totum paene sublatum est, cum omnia curae tutelaeque unius innixa periclitari nullo iudicii exitu possint.

18 invidiosus et excedentibus modum defensionibus: 'invidiosus' that which brings 'odium' upon the speaker. Cf. Tac. H. I 33 si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum.

19 cognoscentis = iudicis. Cognoscentis as a noun seems to belong to the language of the law. Cf. Orelli 3151. 3185. In an intransitive sense also c. 19 24 H. IV 42 si cognosceret senatus and similarly Sen. Med. 194 si iudicas, cognosce. Tacitus is fond of legal terms. Cf. e.g. c. 5 13 arguam 16 14 inauditum et indefensum 36 11 asignatae 41 3 advocat et Schmalz, Berl. Phil. Woch. 35 (1893). — obviam periclitantibus est: 'obviam ire' used in bonam partem in the sense 'to come to the aid of, to meet an evil for the purpose of remedy or prevention,' seems to be peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. e.g. H. IV 46 cunctos . . . eisdem imperatoris milites appellant, falsa timori obviam iret Ann. IV 6 nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impedio diligentia poterat 64 ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti XIII 5 Ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori. The Lex. Tac. p. 350 strangely classes all these exx. under the head 'sensu inimico!'

20 in quantum opus est = utile est, expedit. In this sense 'opus est' is rare. Cf. e.g. Cic. de off. III 11, 49 se habere consilium re publica salutare, sed id sciri non opus esse Lael. 14, 51 atque haud sciám, an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino desesse amicos, with Seyffert's note (p. 352) Hor. Sat. I 9, 27 II 6, 116. — Maternus means to say that his friends exhibit a superior eloquence on the few occasions in which it was still possible to do so. See the parallel passage in c. 36 4 horum quoque oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita . . . re publica tribui fas erat. — prioribus saeculis: i.e. the republican period. Cf. c. 1 1 priora saecula opp. to nostra aetas and note c. 19 9. — ac deus aliquis etc.: Cf. Hor. Sat. I 1, 15ff. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat 'iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles, mercator; tu consultus modo, rusticus.' This illustration seems to have been first used by Ariston
of Ceos or Bion. Cp. A. Gercke, *Archiv f. Gesch. der Philos.* V p. 209. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume that the Dial. passage is a reminiscence from Horace. See below.

I cannot agree with Baehrens (*Comm. Crit.* p. 98) and John ad loc. that the clauses ‘vos . . . essent’ and ‘deus . . . mutasset’ express an alternative, for this would not only require ‘et’ for the second ‘aut,’ and ‘aut’ for the first ‘ac,’ but also the deletion of ‘tempora.’ John, moreover, himself admits that the first no less than the second miracle could only be realised by divine intervention. The second clause is, in my judgment, simply a varied reiteration of the preceding, as in c. 38 4 nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas et modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat. The deletion of the entire clause ‘deus . . . mutasset’ seems to me equally unjustifiable, for, though the Horatian parallel might have been recalled by some ancient reader, it is not sufficiently similar to have suggested a marginal gloss or interpolation in the form in which we find it in our passage. — vestra, as its position shows, is quite out of place. It was originally written above the line, being subsequently introduced into the text.

23 *modus et temperamentum*: Cf. Secundus’ words in c. 38 7 veluti frenos etc. c. 39 7 est aliquis oratorum campus etc. and l. 23 frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et *incendere* potuerint.

25 *bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur*: It is inconceivable that Tacitus put this advice into the mouth of Maternus, if the same speaker had delivered the eulogy on the superior character of the oratory of the Republic, contained in c. 36 ff. With the thought, cf. Tac. H. I 3 non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit, and Ann. III 55 (cited c. 15 2). — *citra* = sine, cf. c. 27 10. — *quisque* is the antithesis of ‘nemo’ preceding; ‘utrique’ would, therefore, have been out of place, even if we take ‘alterius’ in a strictly definite sense; ‘saeculum’ as in c. 1 1 is synonymous with ‘aetas’ and ‘tempora.’

42. 1 *cum Messalla*: ‘inquit’ is omitted as in c. 41 25 1 28 1.

— *quibus contradicerem*: Messalla the uncompromising ‘laudator temporis acti’ was not likely to acquiesce in the opportunistic doctrine advocated by Maternus in c. 41. It is to this chapter that ‘si qua obscura’ alludes.

2 *dies esset exactus*: ‘exigere’ in these and similar phrases for ‘conficere’ is poetic and post-Aug. In Tac.: H. I 78 exacto per secula die Ann. III 16 diem supremum noctemque exegisset Ag. 3 exactae actatis terminos 38 exacta iam aestate H. IV 84 triennio exacto. With ‘consumere’ H. IV 43 c. per discordiam dies.
5 conferemus here used absolutely, e.g. Plaut. Rud. II 3, 8 omnes sapientes decet conferre Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII 15, 2 omnia intima conferre discupio Plin. Ep. IV 10, 2 contuli cum peritis iuris. In Tac. perhaps also Ag. 15 agite inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere.

6 ego te ... Messalla ... criminabimur: The plural predicate with two distinct subjects in the sing., esp. in adversative clauses, is a most striking peculiarity of Tacitean style. It is met with first in Livy (e.g. I 6 Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ... capiunt but X 27 consules. Fulvio ut ex Falisco, Postumio ut ex Vaticano ... admoveant ... scribunt, and also Tac. Ann. XII I 1 below, are not quite analoguous), and after T. only in very late writers, such as Florus and Vopiscus. Cf. H. II 24 curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere 30 Caecina ut foedum ... ille ut tumidum ... irridebant 67 Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae ... parabant 92 Priscus Valentinis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant IV 60 obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas ... distrahebant Ann. I 68 Arm- nius integer, Inguilerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere II 53 avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant III 18 Valerius Messalinus ... Caecina Severus ... censuissent XI 32 Messalina Lucciianos in hortos, Silius ... ad munia fori digrediuntur [XII 1 luic Pallas, illi Callistus fautores aderant] 14 Izates Adiabenos, mox Abarus abscedunt 41 Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt 45 multitudinem hostium Pollio, iussa patris Rhadamistus obtendebant XIV 31 regnum per centuriones, domus per saevos ... vastarentur 53 alter bellorum socius, alter Romae ... praemia acceperant XV 7 quartam Fusilunanos ... duodecumam Calavius regebant 50 hic occasio ... ibi ipsa frequen- tia ... exstimalverant XVI 7 Cassius opibus ... Silanus claritudo generis praecelebant and perhaps XVI 20 quae cruciatibus ... ipse, patronus eius nece inmerita luere. Cp. Nipp. Ann. II 42 with Andresen's Appendix; Heraeus, H. II 30 Dr. H. S. I 174 Stil p. 14.

An original 'autem' was not likely to have been corrupted into 'cum'; the adversative particle is quite superfluous and it is omitted in Putoleanus. 'Cum' may possibly represent 'cunctia' or 'omnibus,' the compendium having been misunderstood (see crit. note c. 201). But, as an attributive of any kind is here both uncalled for and destructive of the liberation of this adversative asyndeton, I prefer to delete 'cum' altogether, which is at least as justifiable and methodical as to change it to 'autem.'
7 inquit: On the unusual position, cf. note c. 3 15. Regarding the omission of any mention of Secundus, see Proleg. p. lxxxiii.

8 cum adrisissent, discessimus: The commentators have ignored and most translators missed the nicety and significance of the change of persons. The author was throughout a passive listener, his youth preventing him from taking any active part in the discussion. This attitude is with admirable tact maintained to the end, as shown by the use of 'adrisissent' for 'adrisissemus.'—Discessimus, however, is a dramatic device intended to mark the formal close of the debate, as 'intravimus' (c. 3 1) had indicated its formal beginning.—For similar closing remarks, cp. Plat. Prot. καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν εὐαγρίᾳ, ὅταν βοῶλη, διέξιμεν· νῦν δ' ἡρα ἄδη καὶ ἐν ἄλλο τι τρέπεσθαι . . . ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐπημεν. Cíc. de orat. I ext. et, cum exsurgeret, simul adridens, 'neque enim' inquit etc. de nat. deor. III ext. sed quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem ut contra ista dicamus . . . haec cum essent dicta . . . discessimus.
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* Willmowitz, Aristotles und Athen 1 p.
225 note 77 has now determined by a most ingenious combination, that Hyperides was born about 300/80, for the date 400/320 given in his text is a mere misprint, as is clear from W's own argumentation. (Gud.)
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