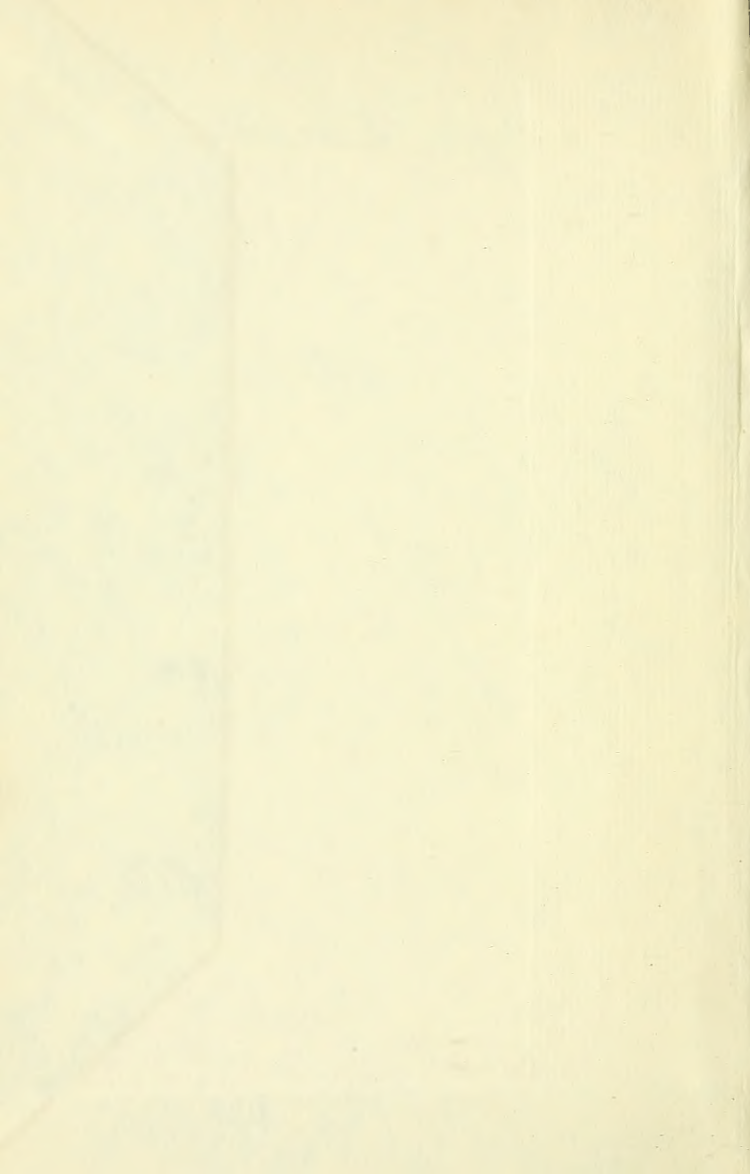
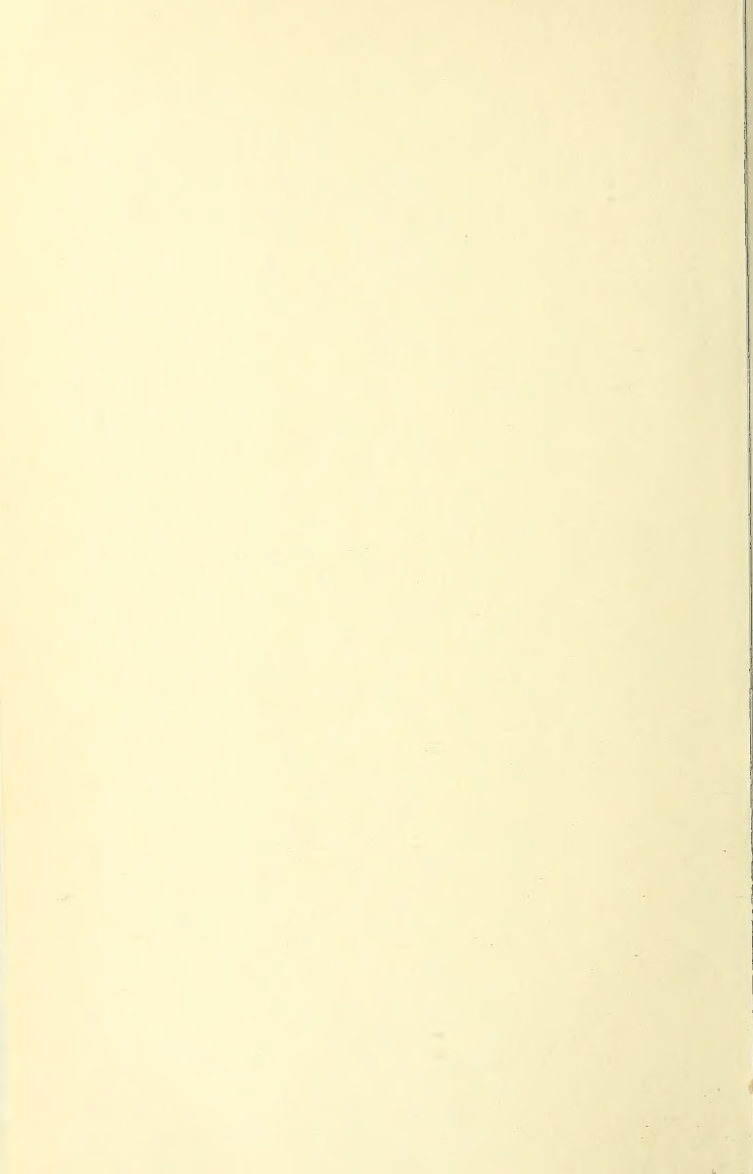


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L. ANNAEI SENECAE

DIALOGORVM

LIBRI X, XI, XII

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L. ANNAEI SENECAE

DIALOGORVM

LIBRI X, XI, XII

THREE DIALOGUES OF SENECA

EDITED BY

J. D. DUFF, M.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

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TO
P. W. D.

PREFACE

IT cannot be said of Seneca's Dialogues that they have been over-edited. The Elzevir edition of Seneca, published at Amsterdam in 1672, contains the notes of Lipsius and J. F. Gronovius, which, learned and acute as they are, do not form a continuous commentary. The edition of Ruhkopf, published at Leipzig in 1797, added nothing to what had been done before: *imperita neglegentia* is all that Madvig has to say of its author, and he deserves it. Yet it is the latest commentary on these Dialogues; so that an editor of the present day does not find much material ready to his hand: most of his work he has to do for himself.

In the first three sections of the Introduction, I discuss the subjects of the three Dialogues, their dates, and the persons to whom they are addressed; and here I give some account of the author and some members of his family, of his exile in Corsica, and of other matters referred or alluded to in the text. Some of the arguments by which I seek to identify 'Marcus' with the poet Lucan (pp. li foll.), had been used before by F. Gloeckner (*Rheinisches Museum*

xxxiv p. 140): my discussion was printed before I saw his article, and I made no change afterwards in what I had written. The substance of the fourth section, which deals with the history of the text, is taken from Madvig's *Adversaria Critica*.

Upon my revision of the Text much time has been spent. Here Gertz is the main authority; and I should have been spared some labour if I had known earlier of the existence of his edition; but the last Teubner editor misled me here (see p. lvii and n. on p. 94). I have revised the punctuation throughout and occasionally marked fresh paragraphs where the sense requires it. The text of Seneca is the happy hunting-ground of emenders: I have accepted most of Madvig's emendations and many of Gertz's; and I have ventured to place some of my own in the text and to record others (see Index). Most of Bentley's emendations have been printed already; but I have gleaned a few scraps from the margin of his copy, an Elzevir of 1672, preserved in the University Library. What Bentley said of Bishop Pearson is as true of Bentley: "the very dust of his writings is gold."

In the Commentary, my object has been to explain, wherever a difficulty or doubt was possible, the meaning of the Latin text as I understand it. The ingenuities and fantasticalities of Seneca need a good deal of explanation. For this purpose I have studied, above all, the extant writings of Seneca himself; and I believe that I have often been able either to defend the text or to explain it, by quoting similar passages from other parts of his writings.

PREFACE

And, as a matter of course, many other Latin authors, both earlier and later, have been read for the same purpose. I have tried everywhere to say enough and not too much; but I am conscious that this is a high ideal. There are two features in the Commentary, which I may mention here. (1) I have occasionally referred to a note of my own on Juvenal: I did not wish to repeat the same facts in the same words, and I believed that most readers of this book would already possess the other. (2) I have purposely chosen a number of illustrative quotations from Pliny's *Natural History*, because that work is less known even to scholars than it deserves. Gibbon, one of the greatest of English scholars, knew it well and refers to it continually; in his fine, stately way he calls it "that immense register where Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts, and the errors of mankind." From Lipsius and Gronovius I have generally taken without acknowledgment what suited my purpose; but my obligations to the work of later scholars I have tried to record, as they occur; and I should like here to mention one book which I have constantly used and found most valuable for the fulness and accuracy of its information—the edition of the *Annals* of Tacitus by the late Mr Henry Furneaux.

It remains to thank some Cambridge friends for their help. The Provost of King's called my attention to the Delphian inscription which determines the date of Gallio's government of Achaia. Professor Housman allowed me to discuss with him some difficult passages; and I owe him still more in what I have

learnt from the courses of public lectures delivered by him during the last three years upon Horace, Lucan, and Ovid. Mr Lendrum, an old ally, has again read my proof-sheets and put his finger on not a few errors and obscurities. I am grateful to them all.

In compiling the Index, I have had *domesticum auxilium*—from a cadet of the R.M.A. and from two scholars of Winchester College.

J. D. DUFF.

CAMBRIDGE,

November 27, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

I

AD PAVLINVM: DE BREVITATE VITAE.

Incertum ac fragile nimirum est hoc munus naturae, quicquid datur nobis, malignum uero et breue etiam in his quibus largissime contigit. natura nihil hominibus breuitate uitae praestitit melius.

PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* vii 167.

I

Paulinus.

This dialogue (which, like the other so-called dialogues¹ of Seneca, is not really a dialogue but a treatise) is nominally addressed to one Paulinus. But, though he is mentioned in the first line, and chapters 18 and 19 contain a personal appeal to him by name, yet the treatise as a whole is not addressed to any individual but to the reading public of Rome and the Empire.

Who this Paulinus was, or what was his connexion with Seneca, is not certainly known. But this much is certain, from chapters 18 and 19, that Paulinus was *praefectus annonae*, the official whose business it was to supervise the *frumentum publicum*—the corn imported

¹ They are so called in the chief ms., and we know (from *Quint.* x 1, 129) that Seneca wrote dialogues. Only one, *Dial.* ix, has any approach to the form of a dialogue.

from Africa and Egypt, stored in the granaries at Puteoli and Ostia, and then distributed gratis to the Roman populace. It was a post of the highest importance. 'The provisioning of the vast city of Rome, situated in a country where farming had ceased to pay owing to the ruinous foreign competition in grain, was the most serious and pressing department of the Imperial administration. Whatever else the Emperor might neglect, this he could not neglect and live. In the urban populace he was holding a wild beast by the ear¹, and, if he did not feed it, the beast would tear him to pieces².'

In one of Seneca's letters, and in the accounts of his death given by Tacitus and Dio, we read that his wife (she was not his first wife) was called Pompeia Paulina³. It is therefore likely that there was *adfinitas* between Seneca and Paulinus: the latter may have been the father or brother of Seneca's wife; but the degree of kinship is unknown.

A senator, named Pompeius Paulinus, is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii 53) as *legatus* of Lower Germany in 58 A.D., and again (*ibid.* xv 18) as one of three *consulares* who were put in charge of the *uectigalia publica* in 62 A.D. Of this man Pliny records (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii 143) that he was the son of an *eques* of Arelate and that he took a surprising quantity of

¹ Or rather 'ears': cf. Suet. *Tib.* 25 *ut saepe 'lupum se auribus tenere' diceret*. Claudius was once pelted with crusts in the forum at a time of dearth (Suet. *Claud.* 18).

² Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 323.

³ Sen. *Epp.* 104, 5 *quid enim iucundius quam uxori tam carum esse, ut propter hoc tibi carior fias? potest itaque Paulina mea non tantum suum mihi timorem imputare sed etiam meum*; Tac. *Ann.* xv 60 *ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore...epulanti mandata imperatoris edidit*; Dio Cass. lxii 25, 1.

silver plate with him when he went to carry on campaigns in his disturbed province. It is possible that the Paulinus addressed by Seneca is the same man. For, though the *praefectura annonae* was one of the great offices regularly held by *equites*, there are instances in which senators were, for special reasons, selected to fill one or other of the *praefecturae equestres*¹; or it may be that Paulinus, being an *eques*, was created a senator by imperial nomination (*adlectio*). The language used by Seneca² shows that Paulinus was still in the prime of life about 50 A.D.; so it is not surprising that he should be actively employed in important posts twelve years later.

If the Paulinus of Seneca is also the Paulinus of Tacitus, it is clear that he did not follow the advice given him, to retire from official life. But it is possible, as we shall see, that Seneca did not in the least expect that his advice would be taken.

2

The Date of the Dialogue.

In most cases it is impossible to fix, even approximately, the dates of Seneca's dialogues; and this is true also of his letters. Much has been written on the subject, with little result: Madvig's words remain as true as when they were written: *librorum Senecae praeter paucos tempora incerta sunt* (*Adu. Crit.* ii 344).

The 'descriptions of place, notifications of time, and peculiarity of circumstances,' which Bentley found in the letters of Cicero and missed in Phalaris, are nearly as much

¹ Tac. *Hist.* iv 68 supplies an instance of a senator filling the office of *praefectus praetorio*.

² c. 19 § 2 *nunc, dum calet sanguis, uigentibus sensibus ad meliora eundum est.*

to seek in the letters of Seneca. Occasionally he mentions the season of the year or the place from which he writes; but, throughout the whole correspondence, allusions to public events are very rare; and he hardly ever refers to a contemporary incident that can be dated. There is one apparent exception to this rule. Moralising on the destruction of Lugudunum (Lyons) by fire, he adds that it was burnt down just a hundred years after the colony was founded¹. As the date of the foundation is known to have been 43 B.C., this letter appears to have been written in 58 A.D. But it is now believed, mainly on the evidence of Tacitus (*Ann.* xvi 13, 5), that Lugudunum was not burnt down before the beginning of 65 A.D. Either Seneca has been misled by his love of a round number, or the word *septimus* has dropped out of the text after *centesimus*². But this seems to be the single reference in the letters to a contemporary event of ascertainable date.

The dialogues also have few indications of time; the *De Breuitate Vitae*, however, contains two statements, from which inferences as to its date can be drawn.

(1) It is clear from chapter 13 § 8 that, when these words were written, the Roman *pomerium* had not been extended so as to include the Aventine Hill. But we know from Tacitus³ and Aulus Gellius⁴ that Claudius, after his conquest of Britain, extended the *pomerium*

¹ *Epp.* 91 § 14 *huic coloniae ab origine sua centesimus annus est*. Lugudunum is described as one of the chief sights of Gaul: it was the birthplace of Claudius.

² O. Hirschfeld in *Rhein. Mus* 52, 294.

³ *Ann.* xii 23, 4 *pomerium urbis auxit Caesar*.

⁴ *Noct. Att.* xiii 14, 7 *praetermittendum non putavi, quod . . . in grammatici ueteris commentario offendi, in quo scriptum erat, Auentinum, antea . . . extra pomerium exclusum, post auctore diuo Claudio receptum et intra pomerii fines obseruatum*.

and included the Aventine within it. Four of his boundary-stones (*cippi*) have been discovered. The inscription on one of them is as follows: *Ti. Claudius, Drusi f., Caisar Aug. Germanicus, Pont. Max., Trib. Pot. VIII, Imp. XVI, Cos III, Censor, P.P.*¹, *auctis Populi Romani finibus pomerium ampliafit terminafitque.*² (The digamma turned upside down was one of the three letters added by Claudius to the alphabet³, which are found in some other inscriptions of his reign.) Claudius dated his accession from Jan. 24, 41 A.D., the death-day of Gaius, and therefore would assume the tribunician power for the tenth time on the same day of the year 50. We may infer that Seneca's treatise, as it ignores the extension of the *pomerium*, was written before Jan. 24, 50 A.D.

(2) In chapter 20 we are told of one Turannius, who, when he was over 90, was still holding some public office (*procuratio*) under the emperor Gaius. A man of this name was *praefectus annonae* in 14 A.D. and was among the first to take the oath of allegiance to Tiberius (*Tac. Ann. i 7, 3*). (As the office had only existed a short time, it is likely that he was the first holder of it.) He is again mentioned by Tacitus⁴ as holding the same

¹ I.e. *pater patriae*. ² Furneaux on *Tac. Ann. xii 23, 4*.

³ *Tac. Ann. xi 13, 3* *nouas litterarum formas addidit uulgaritque*; *Suet. Claud. 41* *nouas etiam commentus est litteras tres, ac numero ueterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit*; *Quint. i 7, 26* *nec inutiliter Claudius Aeolicam illam ad hos usus litteram (the digamma) adiecerat*. The less useful letters were the anti-sigma, ρ , to express *ps* or *bs*, and ϕ , to express the sound between *i* and *u*.

⁴ *Ann. xi 31, 1* *tum potentissimum quemque amicorum uocat primumque rei frumentariae praefectum Turannium*. For *Caesaris amici* (advisers of the emperor), see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms*⁴ vol. I p. 126 foll.

office in 48 A.D., when Claudius consulted him, as one of his chief advisers, in the matter of Messalina's marriage to Silius. It is hardly conceivable that a man, who was over 90 before 41 A.D. (the date of Gaius' assassination), should be holding this important office seven years later. Thus there arises a difficulty, of which the most probable solution is to suppose that Seneca has over-stated the age of Turannius¹.

Be that as it may, it is certain that Turannius was *praefectus annonae* in October 48 A.D., the date of Messalina's mad marriage to Silius; and also certain that Paulinus was *praefectus* when Seneca addressed him, which was not after Jan. 24, 50 A.D. The treatise was therefore written at some time between these two dates.

Gercke (*Seneca-Studien* p. 289) supposes Seneca to have written the treatise during his exile in Corsica. There is not a particle of evidence to support this view; it is far more likely, from Seneca's silence, that he had been restored from exile before he wrote it. For not one of the works written after his restoration contains any allusion to his banishment.

3

The Subject of the Dialogue.

The treatise is a kind of sermon, which describes and denounces the different ways in which men waste life

¹ The *praenomen* given in Tac. *Ann.* i 7 is *C.*, i.e. *Gaius*. In Seneca, Gertz, followed by Hermes (Teubner), reads *S. Turannius*. If this is right, there are two different persons. But it is highly improbable that Seneca's anecdote does not refer to the Turannius, whom we know to have been *praefectus annonae* at least from 14 to 48 A.D. It may be that Seneca gave the wrong *praenomen*: it would not be the only case in which he has done so: see *Bibulus* in Hermes' index.

and time, thus squandering 'that one thing of which it is right to be niggardly¹.' All such men Seneca calls *occupati*—a term which recurs again and again from the beginning to the end of his discourse. It is applied to many types of character: to the noble, who passes through the usual offices to the goal of the consulship; to the orator, whose eloquence packs the law-courts; to public officials, who formed the civil service of the empire and bore the chief burden of administration; to business-men, whom their commercial interests carry to all parts of the world; to the poor citizen, the *tribulis*, who works as hard as the others though with less honour and profit, waiting on great men at their houses every morning and escorting them later to the law-courts and through the streets. All these are *occupati*; but the term is applied just as much to others who seem to themselves and to the world to be men of leisure (*otiosi*). Such are the *dilettante* in music and the fine arts, the man who devotes all his time to personal adornment or athletic sports, the lover of minute archaeological research. (This last form of *occupatio* is treated at disproportionate length; and the satire is perhaps a covert attack on Claudius, whose tastes notoriously lay in that direction²: though he had been restored, Seneca had not forgotten to whom he owed his eight years of exile in Corsica.) The most helpless and indolent of men, who can do nothing for himself and depends entirely on the services of others, is still said to be *occupatus*, no less than the ambitious statesman or busy lawyer. In fact, the same term of censure is applied to all mankind with the exception of one small class. These are the students of

¹ c. 3 § 1.

² c. 13. The reference to Claudius was suggested by O. Hirschfeld, to whose discussion of the date of this treatise (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 967) I am indebted.

philosophy. They alone are at leisure (*otiosi*); their lives alone are long, because, owing to their study of the ancient writers, the past also belongs to them. The *occupati* forget the past and fear the future; they deal with the present only and get no true pleasure from it.

It appears then that Seneca uses the term *occupati* in no ordinary sense but in a special and technical way¹, to denote those whose minds are 'engrossed' by the business or the pleasures of this world, so that they are unable to devote themselves to philosophy. He does not here consider the possibility of combining this study with some attention to the ordinary business of life, though elsewhere² he claims for himself that he could perform the second duty without neglecting the paramount claims of the first.

In the course of his address, he says much that is true about the waste of time, of which most human beings must plead guilty. But it is clear that his message is not a gospel which can be received by the bulk of mankind. In the world as it is, the first business of most men is to earn their own living and to support those dependent upon them. And even in the case of those who are relieved by circumstances from this first and plainest of duties, it is very doubtful if they would serve mankind best by devoting their lives to the study of philosophy. Take the case of Paulinus. If he was an honest and capable official, his activity was of paramount importance to the peace of Rome, by ensuring that the populace got its customary doles of corn. Would he have been better

¹ I do not find that Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius gives a similar sense to ἀσχολεῖν, ἀσχολεῖσθαι, ἀσχολία.

² *Epp.* 62, 2 *cum me amicis dedi, non tamen mihi abduco, nec cum illis moror quibus me tempus aliquod congregavit, sed cum optimo quoque sum: ad illos, in quocumque loco, in quocumque saeculo fuerunt, animum meum mitto.*

employed, if he had taken Seneca's advice, thrown up his post, and devoted his life to the study of Stoic science—the shape of the gods, the destiny of the soul, the motions of the heavenly bodies¹? Even the pursuit of commerce, which Seneca utterly condemns, has not always been considered unfavourable to virtue. 'There are few ways,' said a great master of practical life, 'in which a man can be more innocently employed than in getting money².' The ideal life preached by Seneca is quite as selfish in its object as that of the business-man, and more so than that of the public servant.

The emperor Gaius who, for all his madness, could say shrewd and caustic things, once declared that Seneca's writings were *commissiones*, 'prize-exercises,' exhibitions of cleverness, with no element of solid truth in them³. Even an admirer of Seneca can hardly deny that the present treatise does lie open to this criticism. It sounds fantastic and hollow, when compared, I will not say, with the noble earnestness of Lucretius, but with the common-sense of Quintilian, who in a somewhat similar passage blames his contemporaries for wasting in less worthy pursuits the time which they might devote to the study of oratory⁴. For Quintilian was in earnest :

¹ c. 19 § 1.

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson* II p. 323 (G. B. Hill's ed.).

³ Suet. *Calig.* 53 *lenius compliusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam, tum maxime placentem, commissiones meras componere, et harenam esse sine calce* (sand without lime) *diceret*. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89: Augustus warned the magistrates *ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri*: he resented 'birth-day odes' by incompetent authors. The second criticism of Caligula is often justified: Seneca's composition is too loose in structure.

⁴ Quint. xii 11, 9—30. The whole passage is excellent. Comp. with Seneca especially § 18 *breue nobis tempus nos*

in his eyes eloquence was at once wisdom and virtue. But Seneca was not himself leading the life which he pressed upon Paulinus; and we need not wonder that Paulinus apparently went on his way entirely unaffected by the sermon.

Yet the time came when Seneca did himself practise what he here preaches. In the year 62 A.D. he sought an interview with Nero and resigned his position and offered to resign his wealth. The dialogue which passed between them is recorded in detail by Tacitus¹. But he took this step too late to save his reputation. Before he went into retirement, this preacher of the simple life had amassed a colossal fortune²; this upholder of Stoic virtue, if he was not an actual accomplice, had at least defended some of the most appalling of Nero's crimes³. During the thirteen years from 49 to 62 A.D., Seneca must have been as much *occupatus* as any man ever was.

The best thing in the treatise is the passage⁴ in which Seneca speaks of the hardships and slights which men will undergo, in order to associate, even on humiliating

facimus. quantulum enim studiis impertimur! alias horas uanus salutandi labor, alias datum fabulis otium, alias spectacula, alias conuiuia trahunt. adice tot genera ludendi (the complication of athletic sports) et insanam corporis curam, peregrinationes, rura, calculorum anxiam sollicitudinem, inuitamenta libidinum, et uinum, et flagrantibus omni genere uoluptatum animis ne ea quidem tempora idonea, quae supersunt.

¹ *Ann.* xiv 53—56. ² See n. to *Helu.* 10 § II.

³ The worst of Nero's atrocities, the divorce and murder of Octavia, took place in 62 A.D. after Seneca had retired into private life. But the poisoning of Claudius in 54 A.D., and of Britannicus in 55, and the murder of Agrippina in 59, have each left a stain on Seneca's name.

⁴ cc. 14 and 15.

terms, with their superiors in rank, and contrasts with this the easy, delightful, and profitable intercourse which any man, who can read, may enjoy at any time with the choicest spirits of past ages. Cicero loved books and has said noble things about them¹; but Seneca was perhaps the first to state this truth, which is quite true though it is generally ignored, so fully and clearly. Since his time, it has been repeated in all ages by the lovers of books. Few have proclaimed it with more eloquence and conviction than our own Macaulay and Ruskin.

The first says :

'Time glides on; fortune is inconstant; tempers are soured; bonds which seemed indissoluble are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice. But no such change can affect the intercourse which we hold with the highest of human intellects. That placid intercourse is disturbed by no jealousies or resentments. These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long. No difference of political opinion can alienate Cicero. No heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet².'

¹ E.g. *pro Archia* §§ 15, 16.

² *Essay on Bacon*. This Essay was written in India, where Macaulay read Seneca through at least once. He is hard on Seneca, calls him 'an affected empty scribbler,' and writes to Ellis (May 30, 1836), 'I cannot bear Seneca. . . His works are made up of mottoes. There is hardly a sentence which might not be quoted; but to read him straight forward is like dining on nothing but anchovy sauce' (*Life* 1 pp. 448, 449). Yet Macaulay must have heartily agreed with Seneca's love of books.

Ruskin writes, with a still closer resemblance to the text of Seneca, which, however, he is less likely than Macaulay to have known :

‘ We may intrude ten minutes’ talk on a cabinet minister, answered probably with words worse than silence, being deceptive ; or snatch, once or twice in our lives, the privilege of throwing a bouquet in the path of a Princess, or arresting the kind glance of a Queen. And yet these momentary chances we covet, and spend our years, and passions, and powers, in pursuit of little more than these ; while, meantime, there is a society continually open to us, of people who will talk to us as long as we like, whatever our rank or occupation ; —talk to us in the best words they can choose, and with thanks if we listen to them. . . . Will you go and gossip with your housemaid, or your stable boy, when you may talk with queens and kings ; or flatter yourselves that it is with any worthy consciousness of your own claims to respect that you jostle with the common crowd for *entrée* here, and audience there, when all the while this eternal court is open to you, with its society wide as the world, multitudinous as its days, the chosen, and the mighty, of every place and time ? Into that you may enter always ; in that you may take fellowship and rank according to your wish ; from that, once entered into it, you can never be outcast but by your own fault¹.’

Neither Macaulay nor Ruskin would have chosen, as Seneca does, philosophers only for this kind of companionship ; but in their love of books the three writers are at one.

¹ *Sesame and Lilies : Of Kings’ Treasuries.*

II

AD POLYBIVM.

Impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

TACITUS, *Germ.* 25.

The reign of Claudius was the Saturnalia of freedmen.

FRIEDLAENDER.

The power of slaves aggravated the shame of the Romans.

GIBBON.

I

Polybius.

Of Polybius, the freedman of Claudius to whom this treatise was addressed, not much is known from other sources. By Suetonius he is mentioned in a list of freedmen who rose to power under Claudius, including also the names of Poseides, Felix, governor of Judaea and 'husband of three queens,' Harpocras, Narcissus, and Pallas. We are there told of Polybius that he held the office *a studiis*, and that he was often to be seen walking with one of the consuls on his right and the other on his left¹, a position of honour generally reserved for the emperor himself. Dion Cassius² tells the following story of him. He was present in the theatre when an actor delivered a line corresponding to our proverb about beggars on horseback³. The cap fitted; and all the spectators at once looked at Polybius. He was not taken aback but called out that the same poet had written another line to the effect that men who were once goat-herds had become kings⁴. Dion also records that this freedman was one of the many lovers of Messalina and

¹ Suet. *Claud.* 28.

² Dio Cass. lx 29.

³ ἀφόρητός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν μαστιγίας.

⁴ βασιλῆς ἐγένοντο χοί πρὶν ὄντες αἰπόλοι.

was afterwards put to death by her contrivance¹; if this was so, Polybius was dead before October, 48 A.D., the date of Messalina's death. In any case, he certainly died before Claudius, who ceased *inter homines mōrari*, as his successor chose to pronounce it², on October 13, 54 A.D.; for Seneca himself, in the satire known as *Apocolocyntosis*, written immediately after the death of Claudius, represents him as finding Polybius in Hades together with other freedmen, whom the monarch had sent there ahead of himself, that he might not lack attendance in the other world³.

His name shows that Polybius was either a Greek or an oriental. His birth-place is unknown. He was married and had a son living. Some of these freedmen married Roman ladies of good family⁴; but we are not told the name of the wife of Polybius. He was one of at least four brothers; and it appears that they were all domiciled at Rome. The others had left their province, we may presume, to suck some advantage out of their brother's preferment. The death of one of these brothers is the ostensible occasion of the treatise. They belonged, if we may trust Seneca, to a family in which literature was honoured; and Polybius was himself an author,

¹ Dio Cass. lx 31, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πολύβιον, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνῳ πλησιάζουσα, καὶ διέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτι ἐπίστευον αὐτῇ (οἱ Καισαρεῖοι).

² Suet. *Nero* 33: *mōrari*=to play the fool.

³ Sen. *Apocol.* 13 § 5 *ad Messalinam cito rumor percrebuit Claudium uenisse. conuolant primi omnium liberti, Polybius, Myron, Harpocras, Amphaeus, Pheronactes, quos Claudius omnes, necubi inparatus esset, praemiserat.*

⁴ Thus Claudius Etruscus, an imperial freedman, married the sister of the consul who commanded in the first Dacian war (86 A.D.): Stat. *Silu.* iii 3, 115. The case of the 'husband of three queens' was exceptional.

though, but for Seneca, we should be ignorant of the fact¹. Of his official duties more will be said below. But his leisure hours were given to literary composition of two kinds. His graver occupation was to translate Homer into Latin and Virgil into Greek, both versions being apparently in prose. What these productions were really like, we have no means of knowing; but we are assured by Seneca that all the charm of each original was preserved by the skill of the translator. His work in lighter vein was to compose fables in the manner of Aesop; and in this department he is hailed by Seneca as a pioneer among Latin writers. But he had at least one predecessor; for Phaedrus published his well-known fables of the same kind in the reign of Tiberius. It has been suggested² that, owing to his enforced absence in Corsica, Seneca had not yet heard of the fables of Phaedrus. But this is improbable. Tiberius died in March, 37 A.D., four years before the exile of Seneca began; and, even if the fables were unknown as late as 41 A.D., Seneca was likely to hear very quickly of any literary novelty³. It is far more likely that Seneca wilfully ignores Phaedrus, in order to pay an undeserved compliment to Polybius.

We are bound to be suspicious of the praise which Seneca lavishes on the genius and character of Polybius. For it is clear enough that his real motive for writing was his desire to be recalled from banishment. Claudius was notorious for subservience to his freedmen⁴; and

¹ It is unlikely that the author of this name, to whom Pliny sometimes refers in his *Natural History*, is the same person: the subjects are unsuitable.

² By Teuffel, *Roman Literature* 27 § 2.

³ That he had books at Corsica appears from *Helu.* I § 2.

⁴ For a pointed illustration, cf. Sen. *Apocol.* 6 § 2: Claudius

the good word of Polybius might have been effectual. But the treatise, whether it failed or succeeded in consoling Polybius for the loss of his brother, certainly failed in bringing about the recall of Seneca. He remained in Corsica until Messalina had followed Polybius to the grave; and it was not till 49 A.D. that Agrippina, the successor of Messalina as consort of Claudius, recalled Seneca to superintend the education of Nero, then a boy of twelve. There is truth in what Seneca is made to say in the *Octavia*, a play which was probably written not long after Nero's death:

*melius latebam procul ab invidiæ malis
remotus, inter Corsici rupes maris,
ubi liber animus et sui iuris mihi
semper uacabat, studia recolenti meâ¹.*

He would indeed have been a happier man, if he had never left the rocks of Corsica.

2

The Date of the Dialogue.

The treatise was written during Seneca's exile, i.e. at some date between 41 and 49 A.D. A phrase near the end² implies that Seneca had been a long time in Corsica before he wrote it; but not much stress can be

in heaven orders a culprit to execution: *putares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat.*

¹ Ll. 392 foll. The play comes down to us as Seneca's but was not written by him: it describes Nero's end, which Seneca did not live to see. The play is interesting, and the fate of the heroine pathetic: the style is quite worthy of the age of Seneca.

² *longo iam situ* c. 18 § 9.

laid on this, as a short time might well seem long in such circumstances. More light is thrown on the question of date by the prayer that Claudius may 'open up' or 'unlock' Britain¹. This would not have been said, unless it were known that an invasion was intended; nor would it have been said by a tactful writer after the successful campaign was over and Claudius had returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph. The conquest of Britain was the chief boast and glory of the reign of Claudius. In the language of all courtiers, and of all exiles who hoped for restoration, Britain had been 'opened up' once for all by the emperor. As the conquest of Britain took place in the summer of 43 A.D., it is probable that the treatise was written a few months earlier. Seneca had then been in Corsica, perhaps as long as two years, but the time of year at which he was banished is unknown.

3

Seneca upon Claudius.

It is shown in the commentary how flatly Seneca contradicts himself in the language he uses at different times about Claudius. Here Claudius is the mildest and gentlest of sovereigns and is praised especially for his powers of memory and eloquence. In the *Apocolocyntosis*², on the other hand, he is held up to execration for his cruelty and to ridicule for his inability even to express himself intelligibly: he is both brute and fool. Excuses can be made for Seneca's weakness: he wrote the treatise under the pressure of hope, and the satire under the pressure of fear; for he must have known by that time

¹ *Britanniam aperiat* c. 13 § 1.

² I.e. 'Pumpkinification,' a parody of *apotheosis*: this name is given it in Dion Cassius, but in Seneca's mss. it is called *Ludus De Morte Claudii*. It was written for performance at the Saturnalia of 54 A.D.

the nature of the tiger's cub he had been nurturing¹. We have been told, on high authority, that it 'shows gross ignorance of human nature, not to know that a man may be very sincere in good principles without having good practice²'; but in Seneca's case the discrepancy is so glaring that it is hard to shut our eyes to it. His writings are full of praise for the uncompromising virtue of the Stoics; but one period of his own life—and we know little of any other period—is stained first by flattery of little men in great power, and then by connivance at the monstrous crimes of an inhuman tyrant. He makes a poor figure beside such a man as Thræsea. When Nero, after one blundering attempt, succeeded in murdering his mother, the case for his defence was written by Seneca and sent from Naples in a despatch to the senate. When the wretched senators began to pass votes of congratulation to Nero and thanksgiving to the gods, Thræsea refused to take any part in such work: he rose and left the house. Thræsea, probably, could not have said such clever things in praise of virtue; but he could face death rather than countenance the abominations of Nero³.

Seneca was the most eloquent speaker, the most famous writer, of his time; but, of the Stoic life and character there were far nobler representatives among the Roman senators. Who can say of him, what Gibbon says of Marcus Aurelius, that 'his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno'?

¹ Cf. the Scholiast on Juv. 5, 109: *ab Agrippina erudiendo Neroni in Palatium adductus saevum immanemque natum et sensit cito et mitigavit, inter familiares dicere solitus non fore saevo illi leoni quingustato semel hominis cruore ingenita redeat saevitia.*

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson* iv 397 (G. B. Hill's ed.).

³ Tac. *Ann.* xiv 12, 2; *ibid.* 11, 4. Thræsea survived till 66 A.D. when he was forced to commit suicide.

The Office of Polybius.

We are told by Suetonius that Polybius held the office known as *a studiis* under Claudius. He may have done so at some time; but it is clear from Seneca's language that when this treatise was written he held a different office, that known as *a libellis*¹. The second office was the more important; and it is likely that he was promoted from one to the other.

This method of naming servants and officials, rare under the Republic², became common under the Empire. As *a manu* and *a pedibus* denote personal servants, so the three chief officials in the household of Claudius were: (1) *a rationibus*, 'the man in charge of the accounts'; (2) *ab epistulis*, 'the man in charge of the letters'; (3) *a libellis*, 'the man in charge of the petitions.' The freedman *a rationibus* was virtually a finance-minister controlling the *fiscus*, into which about two-thirds of the whole revenue of the empire was paid; through the hands of the freedman *ab epistulis* passed all the official correspondence with Rome, Italy, and the provinces. Such posts as these necessarily gave importance to those who held them, even if they were born foreigners and slaves. Under Claudius the two offices were long held by Pallas and Narcissus. Both were freedmen, and both acquired immense power and wealth. The servility

¹ c. 6 § 5 *tot disponendi libelli, tantus rerum ex orbe toto coeuntium congestus...exigendus est.*

² There is an instance in Cic. *Ad Att.* viii 5, *1 seruum a pedibus meis* (*meum* is often read by conjecture). The idiom sounds harsh because of the want of a definite article in Latin.

of the senate to Pallas is the subject of a bitter letter of Pliny's¹. We are told that Pallas amassed £3,000,000 and Narcissus £4,000,000². When Claudius complained that the imperial treasury wanted funds, he was told that, if he were taken into partnership by his two freedmen, he would have a great balance³.

Polybius never soared to these heights; but it seems that he served Claudius successively as *a studiis* and *a libellis*; and it is clear that he was a person of no small importance and wealth.

That he held the former post is probable, apart from the statement of Suetonius. For Seneca insists on his early familiarity with literature and his distinction as an author. The business of this official was to assist the reigning emperor in literary work of any kind as distinguished from official business. In some cases he was imperial librarian as well. In 89 A.D. Martial addressed an epigram to Sextus, who was serving Domitian in both capacities. He says:

‘Learned Sextus, worshipper of Wisdom in the Palace, you enjoy close contact with the genius of our god’ (i.e. Domitian). ‘For you can watch the works of our lord in their birth and learn the inmost thoughts of our sovereign. Beside Pedo, Marsus, and Catullus, please find some place for my poems too; but set the

¹ *Epp.* viii 6: his bitterness was caused by reading the actual decree in which the senate had voted the *praetoria ornamenta* and a sum of money to Pallas. This ‘*fastidiosissimum mancipium*’ died in 62 A.D., poisoned, it was believed, by Nero for his money.

² *Tac. Ann.* xii 53, 5; *Dio Cass.* lx 34, 4. The latter is the largest private fortune recorded in antiquity: *libertinae opes* soon became proverbial.

³ *Suet. Claud.* 28 *abundaturum, si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.*

divine poem of the Capitoline War beside the mighty work of tragic Virgil¹.

The 'divine poem' was Domitian's own epic on the fighting at Rome in 68 A.D.; and it is probable that Sextus not only watched its birth but had a share in the paternity.

Domitian's authorship was a sham; but under Claudius this office can have been no sinecure. For, with all his weaknesses, intellectual as well as moral, Claudius was a man of genuine learning and a prolific author. 'He began to write history as a young man, encouraged by Livy and in collaboration with Sulpicius Flavius. . . . During his reign also he wrote a great deal, which he caused to be read to an audience. His history began with Caesar's death. He then skipped a period and began at a later point, i.e. the end of the civil wars. Of the earlier time he found it impossible to write frankly and fully: he was so much taken to task by his mother and grandmother' (Antonia and Livia). 'On the first period he wrote two volumes, on the second, forty-one. He wrote also eight volumes of *Memoirs* with more literary skill than regard for his dignity; also *A Defence of Cicero*, in reply to a work by Asinius Gallus;

¹ Mart. v 5:

*Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Mineruae,
ingenio fruere qui propiore dei:
nam tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas
et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet:
sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libellis,
qua Pedit, qua Marsus, quaque Catullus erit.
ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.*

For Domitian's poem, cf. Quint. x 1, 91 and 92 *quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit?* (where the context proves that the poem was an epic).

there is considerable learning in this book. He wrote also in Greek an *Etruscan History* in twenty volumes, and a *Carthaginian History* in eight¹. In some of these works Claudius may have availed himself of the assistance of Polybius; but the result of their joint labours is all lost to us.

The second office which Polybius held, that of a *libellis*, was even more laborious than Seneca's language would suggest. He speaks² of the huge mass of documents, which it was the duty of Polybius to put in order and bring before the notice of the emperor, as if they were all petitions for pardon.

No doubt, there were many of these. Seneca's own treatise, though it calls itself a *Condolence*, is really a disguised *libellus* of this kind—a prayer to be recalled from exile. And I suspect that this, more than any personal tie between them, is the reason why it was addressed to Polybius rather than to officials of even greater influence, such as Pallas or Narcissus. It found its way, in the ordinary course of business, to Polybius and the petition-office.

But *libelli* were presented to the emperor for many other purposes. Thus Juvenal advises the active youth to send in a *libellus*, asking for the rank of centurion³; and Pliny, in his correspondence with Trajan, speaks often of *libelli* which he is forwarding with his own letter, and these are very miscellaneous in character. One is a denunciation (hence our word 'libel'), and the party denounced also sends in his *libellus*; another is a request from the people of Amisus for leave to form a benefit-club; a third is a request from a centurion

¹ Suet. *Claud.* 41 and 42.

² c. 6 § 5.

³ Juv. 14, 193 *uitem posce libello*.

that his daughter may have the *ciuitas Romana*¹. Pliny's province was Bithynia, not a province of the first importance, and the date about 112 A.D. From the glimpse we get in this correspondence, we can form some idea of the vast mass of documents which kept pouring in from Rome, Italy, and every province of the empire, to be laid before the ruler for his decision. The freedman *a libellis* was really a 'master of requests.' The work of his office must have been heavy indeed; and we can believe that Seneca is not far from the truth when he says that Polybius, however much distressed he may be by the loss of his brother, has no time to weep for him.

The Roman aristocracy naturally resented the tenure of these important offices by the imperial freedmen, and, still more, the wealth and influence thus acquired. But the system, which had grown up naturally and inevitably, continued until the time of Hadrian. In his reign, the chief offices of the household were taken out of the hands of freedmen and entrusted to Roman knights.

¹ Pliny *ad Traian.* 60; 92; 106.

III

AD HELVIAM MATREM.

*En ego, cum patria caream uobisque domoque
 raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere, mihi,
 ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque.
 Caesar in hoc potuit iuris habere nihil!*

OVID, *Trist.* iii 7, 45.

I

Seneca's Exile.

This treatise was addressed by Seneca, living in banishment at Corsica, to his mother Helvia at Rome. It seems to have been written not later than the summer of 43 A.D.¹; he was banished at some date in 41, the first year of the reign of Claudius. He was then about 45 years old. His offence, if we may trust Dion Cassius², no lover of Seneca, was an intrigue with the princess Julia, one of the sisters of Caligula; the empress Messalina used her influence to expel both Julia and Seneca from Italy.

The purpose of the treatise is to console Helvia for the loss of her son, and to assure her of his well-being and happiness. To Polybius he represented himself as a mere wreck, with hope gone and faculties impaired

¹ For this date, see n. to c. 10, § 2. Gercke (*Seneca-Studien* p. 286) argues that the letter to Helvia was written before the letter to Polybius; but there is no evidence that the former was written either before or after the latter.

² lx 8: he says that Messalina was influenced partly by jealousy of Julia's beauty. The Scholiast on Juv. 5. 109 (who seems to have had good information) says of Seneca: *sub Claudio quasi conscius adulteriorum Iuliae Germanici filiae in Corsicam relegatus est.*

by long disuse¹. To his mother he writes in a very different strain: he finds it possible to bear his exile, even with its accompaniments of poverty and disgrace; his mind is pleasantly occupied with problems of natural science and of philosophy². His real state of mind we can only guess at: perhaps he was neither as depressed as the one treatise represents him, nor as completely victorious over disaster as we are given to understand in the other. At least, he deserves credit for a manly spirit, when to his mother he tries to make light of what was really a crushing disaster. What exile meant to a Roman of his class, we can judge from the examples of Cicero and Ovid, two masters of expression, who have put into words what must have been felt by many of their less gifted countrymen.

The work contains, as is natural, references to a number of relations. Seneca mentions his father, then dead, his two brothers, and several children of the third generation; he also speaks of his mother's father, still living at a great age, and ends with a long panegyric on a sister (or cousin) of his mother's, the widow of a former governor of Egypt. This lady had been a second mother to Seneca; and we are told that she showed remarkable courage, when her husband died during a voyage, and also afterwards, when their ship met with some disaster which Seneca dignifies by the name of ship-wreck³.

It is remarkable that Seneca says not a word of his wife⁴. Yet he must have been married; for he mentions

¹ *Polyb.* c. 2 § 1; c. 18 § 9.

² *Helu.* c. 20.

³ *Helu.* c. 19. If, as seems likely, she was coming from Egypt to Rome, St Paul, when he was wrecked off Malta, was taking the same course as Seneca's aunt, some years later.

⁴ Gercke (*Seneca-Studien* p. 288) suggests, without a particle of evidence, that Seneca's first wife accompanied him to Corsica and died there.

the death of a son which took place twenty days before the blow of his banishment fell¹. It seems most likely that they were divorced; if she had died, he would hardly have omitted to state this when summing up his misfortunes. The devoted wife of his old age, Paulina, has already been spoken of². There is one other person, whom we know to have been with Seneca; but he is not mentioned here. We are told by Martial³ that Caesonius Maximus, an intimate friend, followed Seneca into exile; but Seneca does not, in either treatise, mention his name or that of any other companion. For all that we could gather from his words, he might have been as solitary as Robinson Crusoe.

'This dismal unfortunate island, which I called the Island of Despair'—such is the entry in Robinson's diary for September 30, 1659; and Seneca gives nearly as sad an account of his island. Corsica is a barren rock; the climate is pestilential, the soil unfruitful; trees will not grow there, either for fruit or shade; the harbours are bad, and the water-supply deficient; there are no mineral products, such as gold, silver, or marble⁴. Such is the description of Corsica in 43 A.D.

In 1765 James Boswell, then a sprightly youth of twenty-five, spent some months on the island and pub-

¹ c. 2 § 5.

² That Paulina was not his first wife, is shown by a casual statement in *Epp.* 50, 2: *Harpasten, uxoris meae fatuam* (domestic fool), *scis hereditarium onus in domo mea remansisse*, i.e. his dead wife had provided in her will for the maintenance of her favourite.

³ Mart. vii 44, 10; 45, 1—4. Friedländer here is, I think, unduly sceptical. The letters, of which Martial speaks as addressed by Seneca to Caesonius, were clearly extant then.

⁴ c. 6 § 5; c. 7 § 8, 9; c. 9 § 1; Epigrams 1 and 2.

lished his experiences in a volume¹, of which the narrative part was pronounced by Dr Johnson to be 'in a very high degree delightful and curious.' He calls himself 'the first Briton who has had the curiosity to visit Corsica.' He looked upon the Corsicans as a nation of heroes struggling to be free, and was therefore inclined to find merits in their country. And he certainly found them. We read in his narrative: 'Corsica is a most agreeable island, charmingly situated in the Mediterranean'—'Corsica is remarkably well furnished with good harbours'—'Corsica is extremely well watered'—'trees grow remarkably well in Corsica'—'there are in Corsica a great many mines of lead, copper, iron, and silver².' There could not be a better illustration of the words which Milton has put in the mouth of Satan—

'The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.'

In the matter of trees, at least, it appears from the statements of ancient writers that Seneca did injustice to the island. Along the northern shores of the Mediterranean the Corsican pine was famous as early as the age of Theophrastus; and he tells us that the tree was so called because it grew exceptionally well in Corsica³. In Pliny's *Natural History*, written nearly four hundred years later than the *Botany* of Theophrastus and forty years after the exile of Seneca, we are told that, though in ancient times no kind of *laurus* would grow in Corsica, the difficulty had now been got over⁴. From Pliny's statement it is a natural inference that trees of other kinds grew there with less reluctance. Four hundred years later, Hunneric the Vandal was king of

¹ London 1768.

² Pp. 47, 48, 65, 75, 80.

³ Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* v 8, 1. ⁴ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xv 132.

Africa. Being very zealous, as most barbarians somewhat strangely were, for the Arian heresy, he persecuted the orthodox believers among his subjects; and about 480 A.D., in the course of this persecution, forty-six catholic bishops were banished to Corsica, to cut timber there for the royal navy¹. Unless Hunneric was as unreasonable as Pharaoh, it must be supposed that the proper timber grew in the place where the bishops were sent to swing the axe. Seneca, therefore, is guilty of slander; unless indeed his statement can be defended on the ground that the fruit of pine-trees is not eatable, and that they cast a scanty shade.

Boswell, who loved to adorn his pages with classical allusion, refers to his predecessor thus:

‘Seneca the philosopher hath left us two most horrid pictures of Corsica, very false indeed, but executed with uncommon strength of fancy and expression².’

He then quotes the first two epigrams of Seneca and adds translations in English verse. In his preface (p. xix) he says: ‘I beg leave in this publick manner to acknowledge that I am indebted for these translations to Thomas Day Esquire, of Berkshire, a gentleman whose situation in life is genteel and his fortune affluent. I must add that although his verses have not only the fire of youth, but the maturity and correctness of age, Mr Day is no more than nineteen.’ This was probably the first occasion on which the author of *Sandford and Merton* saw himself in print. Boswell adds (p. 47) of Seneca: ‘he hath also vented his spleen against the place of his exile, in the same extravagant manner, in his books De Consolatione. But we must consider that, notwithstanding all the boasted firmness of Seneca,

¹ Gibbon c. xxxvii.

² Gibbon, a far abler critic, calls the epigrams ‘base and insipid.’

his mind was then clouded with melancholy, and every object around him appeared in rueful colours.'

Of the geographers, who, so far as we know, had no motive for using 'rueful colours' or rose-colour either, Strabo certainly describes the island as an undesirable place of residence¹, but Diodorus gives a much more cheerful account of Corsica².

2

Seneca's Family.

Of the *Annaei*, the Spanish family to which Seneca belonged, several members have, for different reasons, their niche in history; and something will be said here of (1) the elder Seneca, (2) his sons, (3) one of his grandsons, who was probably the poet Lucan.

(i)

The Elder Seneca.

In this treatise, Seneca mentions his father once: he calls him the best of men but somewhat old-fashioned in his ideas, as he showed by not allowing his wife to carry on her education beyond a certain point³. Elsewhere he says that his father detested philosophy and discouraged the experiments in vegetarian diet which his son had been led to make by some of his philosophical teachers, who shared the opinions of Pythagoras on this point⁴. And again, he says that the affection of his aged

¹ C 224, ἡ οἰκεῖται φαυλῶς, τραχεῖά τε οὔσα καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι δίσβατος τελέως.

² v 13 and 14.

³ c. 17 §§ 3 and 4.

⁴ *Erpp.* 108, 22.

father alone prevented him from carrying out a wish he had often felt, when suffering from chronic ill-health in his youth, to put an end to his own life¹.

The elder Seneca's own book, still extant in part, gives us some more information about him. His name was Lucius Annaeus Seneca; he was born about 54 B.C. and died about 39 A.D. He was a native of Corduba in Spain², and was an *eques* in rank. He was evidently very rich: all his sons inherited fortunes³. His equestrian rank and great wealth make it likely that he was a revenue-agent in the imperial service (*procurator Augusti*)⁴ in one of the provinces, possibly in Spain. If he detested philosophy, he took a remarkable interest in another branch of ancient education—the study of rhetoric; and this is the subject of his book.

His profession, whatever it was, allowed him to spend long periods at Rome; and he made a practice of going to the rhetorical schools, which were attended, according to the custom of the time, not only by students but by the chief speakers of the day. He says that, had he not been detained at Corduba by the Civil War, he might have heard Cicero speak; all the famous speakers, after and including Asinius Pollio, he had heard often⁵. Thanks to a marvellous memory he retained in old age the arguments used by those who had taken part,

¹ *Epp.* 78, 2.

² Mart. i 61, 7 *duosque Senecas* (i.e. the father and second son) *unicumque Lucanum*, *facunda loquitur Corduba*.

³ *locupletibus filiis* (c. 14 § 3).

⁴ See Mattingly, *Civil Service of Rome*, p. 29.

⁵ *Controu.* i *praef.* § 11 *omnes magni in eloquentia nominis, excepto Cicerone, uideor audisse; ne Ciceronem quidem aetas mihi eripuerat, sed bellorum ciuiliū furor... intra coloniam meam me continuit; ibid.* iv *praef.* § 3 *audiui autem illum* (Pollio) *et uiridem* (in his youth) *et postea iam senem*.

many years earlier, in the *controuersiae* or 'mock-trials' conducted in the schools; and these he wrote out, together with comments of his own, to gratify the curiosity of his sons, when they were going through a similar course of training. The book has reached us in a mutilated form. The loss of the epigrams (*sententiae*), by which ingenious orators sought to impart a novelty to well-worn themes, can easily be borne; but the extant prefaces (*epistulae*) to the separate books are so full of interesting matter that the loss of several of them is a great misfortune. They are all addressed to his three sons. He speaks of them as if they were just entering on public life; yet it is obvious that some parts of the work were written after the fall of Sejanus¹ (31 A.D.), by which time his two elder sons must have been men of forty or near it. It is difficult to explain this contradiction: perhaps he kept the book by him, making additions to it, for many years. There is no evidence that he was ever an orator himself or even took part in the mimic debates of the schools.

The reader will note that what is most interesting to him, the personal and historical digressions, was not interesting to the young Senecas, who only cared to hear how ingenious So-and-so had proved himself in such-and-such a debate. Thus Seneca uses the opportunity of a *suasoria*² professing to address Cicero, to give quotations from Livy, Asinius Pollio, Cremutius

¹ *Controu.* ii *praef.* § 4 (to Mela) *fratribus tuis ambitiosa curae sunt, foroque se et honoribus parant*: he would hardly say this, if they had held the quaestorship, which they might do at 25. For Sejanus, cf. *Suas.* ii 12 *a Seiano circumscriptus*; *Controu.* ix 4, 21 *cum dixisset Seianianos* (victims of Sejanus) *locupletes in carcere esse*.

² *suasoria* is a set speech, supposed to be addressed to (hence the name), or delivered by, some historical person in

Cordus, and other authorities, describing the death of Cicero and estimating his character¹; but he apologises to his sons for the digression, and says that the history is a wholesome powder which they must swallow without wry faces, when he sweetens it for them with the jam of the rhetorical debates². Yet to our taste the debates are nauseous, and the historical extracts delightful. The work as a whole gives the impression that Seneca was a kind father and too sensible a man to think very highly of the subject of his book, even though it happened to be a hobby of his own.

The elder Seneca did not live to see his son exiled in 41 A.D. It appears from the treatise that his widow, Helvia, lived on in Spain, where her father was still alive, and made occasional visits to Rome, where her sons were following their careers. She had just left Rome after one such visit, when the news followed her of the blow which had driven her second son from the centre of civilisation, where he was one of the most conspicuous figures, to the distant rocks of Corsica.

a critical situation (see n. to Juv. 1, 16). Seneca's book includes *suasoriae* as well as *controuersiae*.

¹ *Suas.* vi 14 foll. The *datum* for the speech was: *deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur*. Each speaker then gave his advice (*consilium dedit Ciceroni*).

² *Suas.* vi 16 *decipere uos cogar, uelut salutarem daturus pueris potionem absinthiati poculi*, the famous simile used by Lucretius (i 936) and then by others. Cf. also *ibid.* § 27 *scio futurum, ut uos illo loco desinatis legere, quo ego a scholasticis recessi*.

(ii)

Gallio.

Three sons were born to Seneca and Helvia¹. Their father, in the prefaces addressed to them, calls them Novatus, Seneca, and Mela: the formula he uses runs thus: *Seneca Novato, Senecae, Melae filiis salutem*. He names them in the order of age. Elsewhere the eldest son generally bears another name: at some date unknown he was adopted by Lucius Junius Gallio, often mentioned as an orator in his father's book; and Gallio is the name which he bears in Pliny the elder, Statius, Tacitus, and other writers. Seneca dedicates his treatise *On Anger* to him as Novatus but elsewhere speaks of him as Gallio. It is a reasonable inference that the two works, in which the name Novatus is used, were written before the adoption.

There was plenty of money and no lack of brains in the family; and both the elder sons adopted the senatorial career², with a view to the series of offices which began with the quaestorship and culminated in the consulship. Their father belonged to the inferior rank of the aristocracy, the *equites*³; but they, like Cicero in the same position, sought and gained admission to the higher rank of senators. Gallio may have been born about 6 B.C., in which case he would be eligible for

¹ *Helu. c. 2 § 4*: cf. *Mart. iv 40, 2 docti Senecae ter numeranda domus*.

² See n. 1 to p. xxxix: *ibid. § 3* he says to Mela: *paterno (i.e. equestri) contentus ordine, subduc fortunae magnam tui partem* (withdraw to a large extent from the power of Fortune).

³ Cf. *Tac. Ann. xiv 53, 5* (Seneca speaking) *egone, equestri et prouinciali loco ortus, proceribus ciuitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles... nouitas mea enituit?*

the quaestorship in 19 A.D.; we know that he reached the consulship, because Pliny, while discussing the advantage of sea-air for consumptives, happens to mention that 'Annaeus Gallio after his consulship' made a voyage to Egypt for the sake of his health¹.

It was earlier, however, in Gallio's career that an incident occurred, which probably seemed to him of no importance but has given him a singular place in the history of the world. The Roman province of Achaia, the country we know as Greece, was governed by a Roman official, commonly an ex-praetor; and in the year 52 A.D. Gallio was the holder of this office.

Seneca, in one of his letters², speaks of a fever which his brother caught in Achaia, and for which he tried the effects of a voyage. And there is now further evidence which establishes the fact, and fixes the date, of Gallio's governorship. The French excavations at Delphi have revealed four stone fragments which fit together and are inscribed with a letter from Claudius to the town of Delphi. The inscription, as restored, begins as follows:

- 1 Τιβέρ[ιος Κλαύδιος Κ]αῖσ[αρ Σεβαστ]ὸς Γ[ερμανικός...δημαρ-
χικῆς ἐξου-]
- 2 σίας [τὸ ἰβ' αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ κς' π[ατὴρ πα]τριδ[ος...Δελφῶν
τῆ πόλει χαίρειω.]
- 3 πάλ[αι μὲν] τῆι π[όλει] τῶν Δελφ[ῶν πρόθ]υμο[ς γενόμενος...
εὐτύ-]
- 4 χησα ἐπετήρη[σα δὲ τῆ]ν θρησκεί[αν τ]οῦ Ἀπό[λλωνος...]
- 5 νῦν λέγεται καὶ [πόλ]ει τῶν ἐρι...κειναιω [...Λουκίος Ἰού-]
- 6 νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου κα[ὶ ἀνθύ]πατος [τῆς Ἀχαΐας...]

¹ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxi 62. So the younger Pliny sent his freedman Zosimus on a voyage to Egypt that he might be cured of consumption (*Eph.* v 19, 6).

² *Eph.* 104, 1 *illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis, qui, cum in Achaia febrem habere coepisset, protinus nauem adscendit, clamitans non corporis esse sed loci morbum.*

This inscription, which, though the meaning is not clear, is of great importance for the chronology of Paul's life and travels, proves that Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was governor of Achaia when Claudius had been hailed as *imperator* twenty-six times. This detail fixes the date of the letter as the first half of 52 A.D. The term of the governor's office was normally one year, a period which was probably not prolonged in Gallio's case, if he suffered from malaria in Achaia; and it was the rule under Claudius that such office began on July 1st. It is therefore inferred that Gallio was governor of Achaia from July 1st 51 to July 1st 52 A.D.¹

Corinth was at this time the chief city of Achaia; and Gallio was in residence there as governor, when the Jews of the city brought before his tribunal the apostle Paul, who had been living at Corinth and preaching the gospel for eighteen months past. They accused him of 'persuading men to worship God contrary to the law.' Without calling upon Paul for his defence, Gallio dismissed the case and drove the prosecutors from the judgment-seat². Disorder or crime he was prepared to deal with; but, where no Roman law had been transgressed and it was merely a question of Jewish religion, he was not inclined to interfere. Gallio appears to have acted like a sensible and cautious official, who wished to do his duty but had no mind to put his hand into a hornets' nest. But he has been unfortunate. Because the episode, related by St Luke, ends in our English version with the words, 'Gallio cared for none of these things,' his name has become proverbial, and

¹ See Deissmann's *Paulus* (Tübingen 1911) pp. 159—177; or *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 53, p. 345 foll. With l. 6 of the inscription, cf. Trajan *Ad Plin.* vii (xxiii) *Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum.*

² *Acts* 18, 11—17.

he stands in the pillory for all time as a mocker and a man indifferent to truth or falsehood in religious matters.

To his own countrymen he was known for a quite different quality—for a singular amiability of temper which made him a general favourite. His brother Seneca, who records this trait¹, might be considered a partial judge; but Statius, writing in 92 A.D., when both brothers had been dead nearly thirty years, chooses for him the same epithet, when he says:

*hoc plus quam Senecam dedisse mundo
aut dulcem generasse Gallionem*².

When Seneca wrote this treatise, Gallio's wife had lately died, leaving a daughter, Novatilla, whom Seneca regarded almost as a child of his own³.

The voyage to Egypt, which Gallio took after his consulship, was intended as a cure for consumption. But neither consumption nor fever nor any form of disease put an end to his life. He was involved in Seneca's fall; and this was a danger, in which his favourite specific of a voyage could do no good: *inter insanabiles morbos principis ira numeratur*, says Pliny⁴. He was forced to commit suicide in 66 A.D.⁵

¹ *Nat. Quaest.* iv *praef.* § 10 *Gallionem, fratrem meum, quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest; § 11 nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus.*

² *Silu.* ii 7, 31, a poem written for an anniversary of Lucan's birthday. Vollmer is therefore mistaken, when he suggests that *dulcem* is a reference to poetry written by Gallio.

³ *c.* 18 § 7.

⁴ *Paneg.* 27.

⁵ Jerome's *Chronicle*, under the year 66 A.D.: *Iunius Gallio, frater Senecae, egregius declamator, propria se manu interfecit.* (That he is called *egreg. decl.* is probably due to a confusion with his adoptive father.)

(iii)

Seneca.

The main facts of Seneca's life are well known, and many of them have been referred to in the course of this Introduction. As to his genius and his character, there has been a remarkable difference of opinion both in ancient and in modern times. A full examination of the evidence would be worth making, but will not be attempted here.

His full name he happens to record in one of his writings¹: it was Lucius Annaeus Seneca. He was born at Corduba about 5 B.C. and brought to Rome in infancy. He was nursed through long illnesses by the affectionate care of an aunt, and entered in due time on the senatorial career as a quaestor². He became famous as a speaker and as an author³. He was interested in all branches of knowledge, and wrote, in youth, a work, not now extant, on earthquakes⁴, as well as geographical treatises on India and Egypt. We are told that the emperor Gaius disliked him and would have taken his life, had he not believed him doomed by physical weakness to an early death⁵. He survived Gaius however, but was banished in 41 A.D. the first year of the reign of Claudius. In 49 A.D. he was recalled by the influence of Agrippina,

¹ *De Ben.* iv 8, 3.² *Helu.* c. 19 § 2³ *Epp.* 49, 2; Tac. *Ann.* xii 8, 3 *ob claritudinem studiorum* (of his writings): this is in 49 A.D.: how much he had written at that date, is uncertain.⁴ *Nat. Quaest.* vi 4, 2 *quamuis aliquando de motu terrarum uolumen ediderim iuuenis.*⁵ Dio Cass. lix 19 fin. His crime was a great forensic triumph in the senate-house. Seneca never loses an opportunity to attack Gaius.

and was praetor in 50 A.D.¹; a recently discovered inscription proves that he was *consul suffectus* in the second half of the year 57². In the year 54 Nero became emperor; and Seneca, together with Burrus, the praefect of the praetorian guard, then became, and continued to be, during the next eight years, his chief adviser. He has been called 'the one great Minister under the Empire³'; but ancient evidence in support of this estimate is hard to find. Tacitus, who is the main authority for this period⁴, is not ill-disposed towards Seneca; and, if we accept his account, we may indeed pity Seneca but we cannot admire him. That he was an amiable man and wished to do right, no careful reader of his writings can doubt; but there is as little doubt of his weakness. He probably thought himself justified in retaining his position on the ground that his influence might put some restraint on Nero. How utter was his failure, the records of history reveal. The time came at last when he resigned his place and power and put his vast wealth at the emperor's disposal⁵. For three years he lived in strict retirement; but this did not save

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xii 8, 3 *simul praeturam impetrat.*

² De Rossi, *Bull. cr.* 1866, p. 62.

³ Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 356: this estimate is based on 'the tone which marks the relations of the State to Paul throughout the period described in *Acts.*' But to trace all this to Seneca is a long step.

⁴ The chief passages are *Ann.* xii 8; xiii 2, 13, 18, 20, 42; xiv 1, 7, 11, 53; xv 45, 60: the writer's attitude is strikingly impartial. Dion Cassius is almost everywhere decidedly hostile.

⁵ It appears that Nero eventually confiscated Seneca's property. For papyri of 158 A.D. include $\gamma\eta$ Σενεκίανῆ in the imperial domain in Egypt. Seneca alludes to his property there (*Epp.* 77, 3): see Hirschfeld *Kleine Schriften* p. 555.

him. When the conspiracy of Piso was discovered, he was accused, truly or falsely, of complicity, and was forced to commit suicide by opening his veins; we are told that his death preceded that of Lucan¹, which took place on April 30, 65 A.D.² The firmness with which he met his end is described with much detail and with evident admiration by Tacitus³.

Seneca tells us that he was short of stature⁴. He suffered much from ill-health⁵. His worn features and melancholy expression are well known from his busts, which bear a singular resemblance to the portraits of Ruskin.

Seneca was a very prolific writer. Cicero and Livy, alone among the Latin prose-writers, exceed him in the amount of their extant work; and he wrote a great deal which has been lost. He was a highly popular author during his life-time⁶; and it is certain that he added something considerable to the range and power of the language. In fertility and ingenuity, he is inferior to no Latin writer. What he chiefly lacks is simplicity: his style is restless, avoiding the normal expression and the normal order of words, and unwilling to say a plain thing in a plain way. Nor can it be said that he is skilful in his arrangement of matter: he puzzles a careful reader by inserting some quite irrelevant remark or by jumping

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xv 70.

² The day is given in the *Life* of Lucan by Vacca.

³ *Ann.* xv 60—64.

⁴ *Epp.* 46, 1 (*liber*) *levis mihi uisus est, cum esset nec mei nec tui corporis, sed qui primo aspectu aut T. Liui aut Epicuri posset uideri.*

⁵ See n. to *Helu.* c. 19 § 2.

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* xiii 3, 2 *fuit illi uiro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accomodatum*; Quintilian quoted below; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xiv 51.

without warning from one point to another ; in these respects his inferiority to such a master as Cicero is unmistakable. His level of style is singularly even : in lampoon or letters, treatises or tragedies, there is the same flow of ideas, the same cleverness of execution. The *Natural Questions*, the work of his old age, alone bears obvious marks of failing powers. In later times he was sharply criticised for faults of style by Quintilian, Fronto, and Aulus Gellius¹. Quintilian is a formidable critic ; but the opinion of the two latter is not of much importance ; for Seneca was an abler man and a much better writer than either of them.

The extant works of Seneca include a singular item—an apocryphal correspondence with Paul the apostle². Paul was at Rome, in a mild kind of custody, from 58 to 60 A.D.³ ; and it is quite possible that he may have seen and even spoken with Seneca. He had stood before great men already in his time. But these fourteen letters, eight from Seneca and six from Paul, could not possibly have been written by the persons to whom they are attributed. They contain ludicrous absurdities. In the seventh letter, Seneca expresses the pleasure with which he has read Paul's epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaeans, and then confesses that he has read a part of these writings to Nero—a picture

¹ Quint. x 1, 125—131, a detailed criticism : see esp. § 125 *tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit* ; Fronto, pp. 155, 156 (Naber) ; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xii 2. Of this pair Fronto is much the better critic ; Gellius, though he records much curious information, was a very stupid man.

² For this correspondence, see Haase vol. III p. 476 foll.

³ The technical term is *libera custodia*. It is now believed that Paul came to Rome in February 58 A.D., was released after two years, and eventually suffered martyrdom at Rome in July 64 A.D.

at which the imagination staggers; even Paul himself, to judge by his reply, thought his friend rather rash. Not a bit of it: the monarch was favourably impressed, only a little taken aback that a writer of unorthodox training should be on virtue's side. In letter 12, Seneca supplies Paul with statistics, more precise than those given by Tacitus or Suetonius, of the damage done by the Great Fire of 64 A.D. In letter 13, Seneca politely presses Paul to improve his Latin style; and there certainly was much room for improvement; but the strange thing is that Seneca's own Latin is quite as barbarous as Paul's. It is remarkable that the forger makes no use of Gallio's name. He would certainly have done so, had he known that Gallio was Seneca's brother.

Absurd as these documents are, yet they are spoken of with respect by Jerome and were long believed by an uncritical age to be authentic, with the result that the genuine writings of Seneca were treated with greater respect and preserved with more care, on account of his supposed relations with the apostle.

(iv)

Mela.

The youngest of the three brothers, Marcus¹ Annaeus Mela, was less ambitious than his elders. We are told by their father that he had the best ability of the three²; yet he was satisfied with the rank his father held, and never aimed at the senatorial career. His father and brother praise him³ for his indifference to external

¹ The *praenomen* is recorded in Vacca's *Life* of Lucan.

² *Controu.* ii *praef.* § 4 *erat quidem tibi maius ingenium quam fratribus tuis, omnium bonarum artium capacissimum.*

³ *Controu.* l.l. : *Helu.* c. 18 § 2 *honores sapienter contempsit.*

distinctions. Tacitus takes a different view, and speaks in harsh terms of his choice of a career, attributing it partly to eccentricity, partly to a meaner motive—the desire to make money more quickly¹. He became a revenue officer in the imperial service, a position which, though inconspicuous, involved at least as much hard work as that of a senator, so that the language of Seneca is misleading, when he insists on the leisure and retirement of his brother's life. He married a Spanish lady named Acilia and became, by her, the father of Lucan. This was, as Tacitus says, the great distinction of Mela's life.

Mela's policy of self-effacement did not avail to save him, when the family became involved in the catastrophe of 65 A.D. He survived his two brothers and his famous son, but not for long. He too was forced to open his veins² and so died at some time in the year 66 A.D.

The tie of attachment between the three Spanish brothers seems to have been unusually strong; and in their death they were not far divided.

(v)

Marcus.

Among the sources of consolation, which Seneca here points out to his mother, are two of her grandchildren, Marcus and Novatilla. As to the latter, there can be no doubt that she was the daughter of Gallio: she was

¹ Tac. Ann. xvi 17 *Mela petitione honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Romanus consularibus potentia aequaretur; simul acquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebat per procuraciones administrandis principis negotiis. idem Annaeum Lucanum genuerat, grande adiumentum claritudinis.*

² *l.l.* § 6.

called Novatilla, because Novatus was the name which her father bore originally and which he may have borne at the time of her birth. But the parentage of Marcus is left uncertain; and different opinions have been held. I believe that there is evidence which proves, almost conclusively, that he was the son of Mela, the poet Lucan.

Most editors of Seneca, e.g. Lipsius, Haase, Thomas, have held that Marcus was Seneca's own son; Gercke also (*Seneca-Studien* p. 286) assumes this without discussion. Lipsius gives his reason for holding this view: he says that Seneca could not have spoken with so much affection of any child who was not his own. But the argument has little force. Immediately afterwards Seneca speaks of Novatilla, who is admitted not to have been his daughter. He naturally does not apply to a girl of perhaps twelve or fourteen¹ quite the same terms of endearment as to a boy of three, a child of exceptional charm and precocity; for, as he himself says elsewhere, *fructuosior est adulescentia liberorum, sed infantia dulcior*²; but his expression of affection is quite as strong in one case as in the other.

Earlier in the work Seneca mentions, with no particular expression of grief, the death of a son of his own³; and—leaving Marcus out of the question—this is the only record of a child born to Seneca. In connexion with Marcus and Novatilla, he speaks of his own *orbitas*; and, though this might refer to his bereavement, the most natural inference from the word is that he had no children when he wrote it. Again, if Marcus was Seneca's son, a number of difficulties arise. When Cicero was banished, it was one of his most bitter complaints that the career of his son, Marcus, is blasted by the ruin

¹ c. 18 § 7 *cito tibi daturam pronepotes Novatillam.*

² *Epp.* 9, 7.

³ c. 2 § 5.

of his father¹; should we not expect to hear something of the kind from Seneca? Again, if Marcus lived on, why is there no mention of him at the time when nearly every member of his family was destroyed by Nero? If he died, is it likely that Seneca never once, in the course of his voluminous writings, alluded to the death of such a darling child? At a later time, he wrote more than one letter of formal condolence; one of these is addressed to a father, who had lost a young son². Not a word is said there, or anywhere else, of the death of Marcus.

All these difficulties disappear, if we suppose that Marcus was the poet Lucan. Marcus Annaeus Lucanus was born at Corduba on Nov. 3, 39 A.D., and brought to Rome when he was eight months old. He may have been quite two years old, when Seneca was banished, and between three and four, when the treatise to Helvia was written. The language which Seneca uses is perfectly suited to a child of that age; and, from what we know of Lucan, it would be strange, if he were not an exceptionally precocious child.

But the strongest argument in favour of this identification is afforded by the eighth epigram of Seneca. This runs as follows:

VOTVM

sic mihi sit frater maiorque minorque superstes
 et de me doleat nil nisi morte mea;
 sic illos uincam, sic uincar rursus, amando;
 mutuus inter nos sic bene certet amor;
 sic dulci Marcus qui nunc sermone fritinnit
 facundo patruos prouocet ore duos.

¹ E.g. *Ad Att.* iii 23, 5 *meum Ciceronem, cui nihil misello relinquo praeter inuidiam et ignominiam nominis mei*; *Ad Fam.* xiv 1, 1 and 5.

² *Epp.* 99, 2 foll.

The whole poem is an asseveration of the truth of some statement not here given. The first line shows that Seneca came between his brothers in point of age. In the second line, *morte* is probably equivalent to *exilio*. The last two lines refer, as all allow, to the Marcus of the treatise: his baby-talk is here compared to the warbling of birds. It is the last line which is decisive of the present question. When Seneca prays that ' Marcus may rival with eloquent lips his two uncles ' (which means ' may he rival their eloquence '), the words are appropriate, if they refer to Gallio and Seneca; they are not appropriate, if they refer to Gallio and Mela. For Mela, owing to his choice of a profession, had nothing to do with a *facundum os*; it was the two elder brothers of whom their father said: *foroque se et honoribus parant*¹. But, if Gallio and Seneca were the two uncles of Marcus, then Mela was his father, and the child himself can be no other than the poet Lucan.

Had Lucan died in childhood, contrary to Seneca's prayer, his family would have lost their chief pride and joy; but they might have escaped some of the horrors which befell them. For Lucan, whose artistic vanity was stung by Nero's attempt to suppress his genius, did, it seems certain, join Piso's conspiracy; and his guilt dragged all the rest, innocent or guilty, down in one common ruin. Of the family, once so powerful and wealthy and distinguished, only one member survived the year 66 A.D. This was Polla Argentaria, Lucan's widow, who still revered his memory and kept his anniversaries at least twenty-seven years after his death².

¹ See p. xxxix, n. 1.

² Cf. Statius *Silu.* ii 7; Mart. vii 21—23.

IV

THE TEXT OF THE DIALOGUES: *A* AND *5*.

The works of Seneca, universally read during his life-time, fell into disrepute soon after his death. The great authority of Quintilian which was against him must have carried much weight; and the archaic revival, which carried all before it soon after Quintilian's time, could hardly find words to express its distaste for such an ultra-modern style as Seneca's. The consequence was that few ancient manuscripts of his writings survived.

After a long interval, he became popular again. The Fathers of the Church, believing that he had been the friend of an apostle and finding in his moral essays much that resembled Christian doctrine, recommended Seneca to their flocks, so that he was held in honour in the Middle Ages and much read and copied. But by that time his text was already gravely corrupted. The earliest printed editions reproduced late and bad manuscripts; and the few ancient manuscripts which existed were unknown, for the most part, even to the famous scholars who edited Seneca in the 16th and 17th centuries—Erasmus, Muretus, Lipsius, and J. F. Gronovius. The first editor who collected the material for constructing a purer text, was Fickert, whose edition appeared at Leipzig in 1842; but, though many certain corrections were first made by Fickert, he had not the skill to do justice to his own materials, by selecting the best manuscripts and depending mainly on them. The edition of F. Haase, published ten years later, marked a great advance; and important work has since then been done by editors and critics, especially by two Danish scholars, the illustrious Madvig and his pupil M. Cl. Gertz, who, alike in knowledge of

the subject and in sound judgment, has no rival among living critics of Seneca's text. Madvig's work on the Dialogues will be found in his *Adversaria* vol. 1 p. 335-405; that of Gertz in his *Studia Critica* (1874) and edition of the text (1886). Few ancient writings needed correction so sorely, and few have been corrected with as much skill and certainty.

Of the Dialogues of Seneca by far the best manuscript is the *Codex Ambrosianus* (generally referred to as *A*) written in a Lombard hand about the beginning of the 11th century¹. Once the property of the great Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, it came to the Ambrosian Library at Milan, where it is now, in 1603. The scribe was honest and tried to reproduce what was before him; but he knew little Latin and apparently had difficulty in deciphering the original, so that the manuscript was at first full of mistakes. Afterwards it was repeatedly revised: the latest collators distinguish the hands of five different correctors who have worked upon it between the 12th and 15th centuries, of whom some did good and others harm. As well as normal mistakes of every kind, there is one singular form of error in the ms., very common in Dialogue vi and seldom found in the others, by which words are given in a mutilated form: thus *suaserit* appears as *sua* in vi 12, 2, *querella* as *qua* in x 2, 2, *integro domus statu integer ipse* as *inte domus status inte ipse* in vi 26, 2; and in ix 5, 1 Gertz reads, with great probability, *angustabatur*, for *angusta* of *A*. Of normal errors the commonest is that by which, when a word is repeated at a short interval, the intervening words are omitted, the eye of the copyist passing insensibly from the first occurrence of the word to the second. Many such passages have been corrected: I may refer to a puzzling sentence in Dial. xi (*Polyb.* 10 § 3), where

¹ This date is disputed.

I have tried to restore a satisfactory text by supposing this form of mistake to have occurred.

The other manuscripts of the Dialogues are found in many parts of Europe. (In the Cambridge libraries, however, I have found none, though of other treatises, e.g. *De Clementia* and *De Beneficiis*, there are a fair number.) They are all inferior to *A* in age and goodness. Their readings are generally denoted by the symbol σ . Every one of them is interpolated, some more and some less: that is to say, the honest blunders of *A*, from which it is sometimes possible to recover the true text, have been changed often beyond recognition by the perfidy of the scribes, while they tried, without knowledge of the language or attention to the context, to give an appearance of Latin to what was not Latin at all. Thus, where Seneca wrote *agunt opus suum fata* (vi 21, 7), the scribe of *A* misread the letters *nt* and wrote *agurii opus s. f.*: in the other mss. *augurii* was substituted, which is a Latin word but has no meaning here. Again Seneca wrote: *mortem, quae unius singultus opus est* (vi 11, 4). By the change of one letter in an unfamiliar word, the scribe of *A* wrote *unius singulius*; but all the other mss. have the 'correction' *singulis*, which has led to further falsification and serves to make the true reading hard to recover.

These are simple cases. Two instances will now be given to illustrate the extent to which corruption, starting from a very trifling error in *A*, has spread in various forms through all the other mss.

(i) In *Ad Marciam* 4 § 2 Seneca wrote *illa consolandum se Areo philosopho uiri sui praebeuit*, i.e. 'Livia submitted to be consoled' for the death of her son Drusus 'by Areus, the philosopher of her husband' Augustus. The scribe of *A*, doing as he often did, for some unknown reason, in this Dialogue, mutilated *con-*

solandum; and he also omitted *se*; so that his sentence begins with *illa consolareo philosopho*. In other mss. the second word appears in at least five different forms, which are all stupid attempts to correct the original error: *consulareo*, *consulares*, *consulari*, *consilium*, *consolamen*.

(ii) In *De Vita Beata* 25 § 4 Seneca wrote *cum deus undique consalutabor*, 'when I shall be hailed on all sides as a god.' When the scribe of *A* came to write the verb, the Latin word *consul* came unseasonably into his mind, and he wrote *consu*; but, at this point, he recalled his wandering thoughts and wrote the whole word as *consualutabor*. Now the process of corruption begins. The scribe of *B*, the next best ms. to *A*, was naturally puzzled by this verb: in order to make the text look like Latin, adding another letter, he wrote *consualuctabor*. This gave rise to the following corruptions, all based on *B* and all found in one or other of the mss.:

1. *cum deus undique conscientia luctabor.*
2. *cum deus utique et scientia luctabor.*
3. *cum deo utique conscientia luctabor.*
4. *cum deo utique et consciam luctabor.*
5. *cum deo ubique conscia luctabor.*

So much for the progeny of *B*. But the original error of *A* produced another crop of interpolations, not descended through *B*, so that other mss. give:

6. *cum hiis undique consultabor.*
7. *cum diis undique consultabo.*

And, finally, two mss. carry the corruption still further: they suppress every trace of the original error and coolly offer us the following reading:

8. *cum deus undique, quae sua sunt, requirat.*

Each of these eight readings consists of Latin words, but each of them makes nonsense of the text. There are few Latin writings where the process of interpolation has gone to such lengths or where it can be so clearly traced.

To a critic, whose object it is to restore what Seneca wrote, such readings as these are of no value at all : it is his duty to ignore them altogether and to fix his attention on the original from which they are derived. If he knows Latin and considers the sense, it will not take him long to find out from *A* that Seneca wrote *consalutabor* ; but no critic, not even a Bentley or a Madvig, could recognise *consalutabor* under the disguise of *quae sua sunt requirat*.

Yet, in spite of the clear and incontestable superiority of *A*, a number of the readings now printed in every text of Seneca are not found in *A* but are due to one or more of the interpolated mss. Thus in vi 11 §§ 3 and 4 *A* wrongly gives *fragoris* for *frigoris*, *praecare* for *precarii*, *animali* for *animal* ; and it stands alone, or nearly so, in these certain errors. Critics are not agreed as to the source of these corrections ; but Madvig and Gertz, the two most competent judges, are both of opinion, that every one of them is due to conjecture by Italian scholars living about the time of the Renaissance, and that none of the inferior mss. represents an independent tradition of antiquity. The corrections are generally such as could be made by any attentive reader with a competent knowledge of Latin. Gertz, who originally shared Madvig's opinion that all existing mss. of the Dialogues are derived from *A*, has been led by further study to modify this position ; but he still maintains that no other ms. except *A* offers any sure ground for the critic who seeks to purify Seneca's text¹.

¹ Ed. of 1886, p. xxviii.

That part of *A* which contained Dialogue xi (*Ad Polybium*) has been torn out, and little more than the last chapter is preserved. Here therefore the critic is forced to rely on the inferior sources; and it is possible that the text is in places too deeply corrupted for the truth ever to be found out. The beginning of this Dialogue has been entirely lost; and in many mss. and in the early editions it is attached, as if it formed part of it, to the preceding Dialogue (*Ad Paulinum*).

The critical notes subjoined to the present text have been selected mainly from the *apparatus criticus* of M. Cl. Gertz (Copenhagen, 1886). I had previously used the text of Emil Hermes (Teubner, 1905), the value of which is impaired by some oversights: thus, while mentioning papers and reviews by Gertz, he nowhere distinctly refers the reader to the edition of Gertz or to his *Critica Studia*; and again he uses some of Gertz's critical symbols (*O* and *C*) without giving any explanation of their meaning.

Where the reading of *A* has been departed from (except in trifles), that reading is given, and the source of the correction adopted is indicated. Where the text is preserved in *A*, other mss. are seldom referred to by name. In Dialogue xi, where *A* fails us, references (also taken from Gertz) are given to five or six of the less interpolated of the inferior mss. Some conjectures, chiefly by Gertz, which seemed highly probable without being certain, are also quoted in the critical notes. Discussion of the readings adopted is reserved for the commentary.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CRITICAL NOTES

- A* = *codex Ambrosianus*: at Milan: 10th or 11th century.
B = *codex Bevolinensis*: at Berlin: 14th century.
D, E = *codices Mediolanenses*: at Milan: 14th century.
F = *codex Florentinus*: at Florence: 15th century.
H = *codex Hauniensis*: at Copenhagen: 15th century.
O = *consensus* of *B, D, E, F, H*, or of any four of these.
G = *codex Guelferbytanus*: at Wolfenbüttel: 14th century.
V = *codex Vratislauensis*: at Breslau: 14th century.
♯ = reading of one or more of the inferior mss.

Words not found in the mss. are printed in italics in the text.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

DIALOGORVM LIBER X

AD PAVLINVM

DE BREVITATE VITAE

I. Maior pars mortalium, Pauline, de naturae 1
malignitate conqueritur, quod in exiguum aevi gignamur, quod haec tam uelociter, tam rapide, dati nobis temporis spatia decurrant, adeo ut exceptis
5 admodum paucis ceteros in ipso uitae apparatu uita destituat. nec huic publico, ut opinantur, malo turba tantum et imprudens uolgens ingemuit: clarorum quoque uirorum hic adfectus querellas euocauit. inde illa maximi medicorum exclamatio est: ' uitam
10 breuem esse, longam artem ' ; inde Aristotelis cum 2 rerum natura exigentis minime conueniens sapienti uiro lis: ' aetatis illam animalibus tantum indulsisse ut quina aut dena saecula educerent, homini in tam multa ac magna genito tanto citeriorem terminum
15 stare.' non exiguum temporis habemus sed multum 3 perdimus. satis longa uita, et in maximarum rerum

2 gignamur *Pauly*, gignimur *A* 7 imprudens ζ , impudens
A 12 lis: aetatis illam *Gertz*, lis ē. at isti iam *A* 16 per-
dimus ζ , perdidimus *A* uita <est> *Gertz*

consummationem large data est, si tota bene collocaretur; sed, ubi per luxum ac negligentiam diffluit, ubi nulli bonae rei inpenditur, [ultima demum necessitate cogente,] quam ire non intelleximus, transisse
 4 sentimus. ita est: non accipimus breuem uitam 5
 sed facimus, nec inopes eius sed prodigi sumus. sicut amplae et regiae opes, ubi ad malum dominum peruenerunt, momento dissipantur, at quamuis modicae, si bono custodi traditae sunt, usu crescunt, ita aetas nostra bene disponenti multum patet. 10

1 2. Quid de rerum natura querimus? illa se benigne gessit: uita, si uti scias, longa est. at alium insatiabilis tenet auaritia, alium in superuacuis laboribus operosa sedulitas; alius uino madet, alius inertiam torpet; alium defatigat ex alienis iudiciis 15
 suspensa semper ambitio, alium mercandi praeceps cupiditas circa omnium terras, omnia maria, spe lucri ducit; quosdam torquet cupido militiae nunquam non aut alienis periculis intentos aut suis anxios; sunt quos ingratus superiorum cultus uoluntaria 20
 2 seruitute consumat; multos aut adfectatio alienae fortunae aut suae querella detinuit. plerosque nihil certum sequentis uaga et inconstans et sibi displicens leuitas per noua consilia iactauit; quibusdam nihil, quo cursum derigant, placet, sed marcentis oscitantis- 25
 que fata deprendunt, adeo ut quod aput maximum poetarum more oraculi dictum est, uerum esse non dubitem: 'exigua pars est uitae, qua uiuimus.' ceterum quidem omne spatium non uita sed tempus

6 facimus *Geitz*, fecimus *A* 12 at *add. Pauly* 22 fortunae *uolg.*, formae *A* querella *Madvig*, qua *A*, cura *Haase*

est. urgent et circumstant uitia undique nec resur- 3
gere aut in dispectum ueri attollere oculos sinunt, sed
immersos et in cupiditatem infixos premunt. num-
quam illis recurrere ad se licet; si quando aliqua
5 fortuito quies contigit, uelut profundum mare, in
quo post uentum quoque uolutatio est, fluctuantur,
nec umquam illis a cupiditatibus suis otium stat.
de istis me putas dicere, quorum in confesso mala 4
sunt? aspice illos, ad quorum felicitatem concur-
10 ritur: bonis suis suffocantur. quam multis diuitiae
graues sunt! quam multorum eloquentia cotidiano
ostentandi ingenii studio sanguinem educit! quam
multi continuis uoluptatibus pallent! quam multis
15 nihil liberi relinquit circumfusus clientium populus!
omnis denique istos ab infimis usque ad summos
pererra: hic aduocat, hic adest, ille periclitatur, ille
defendit, ille iudicat, nemo se sibi uindicat, alius
in alium consumitur. interroga de istis, quorum
nomina ediscuntur; his illos dinosci uidebis notis:
20 'ille illius cultor est, hic illius'; suus nemo est. deinde 5
dementissima quorundam indignatio est: queruntur
de superiorum fastidio, quod ipsis adire uolentibus
non uacauerint! audet quisquam de alterius superbia
queri, qui sibi ipse nunquam uacat? ille tamen te,
25 quisquis es, insolenti quidem uultu sed aliquando re-
spexit, ille aures suas ad tua uerba demisit, ille te ad
latus suum recepit: tu non inspicere te umquam, non
audire dignatus es. non est itaque quod ista officia

1 urgent et *Madvig*, urgentes *A* 5 uelut profundo mari *A*:
corr. Gertz 7 stat *Madvig*, sta *A* 10 suffocantur *Gruter*,
effocantur *A* 12 studio *Lipsius*, spatio *A*: et cotidiana o. i.
occupatio *malit Gertz* 25 es *Wesenberg*, est *A*

cuiquam imputes, quoniam quidem, cum illa faceres, non esse cum alio uolebas sed tecum esse non poteras.

1 3. Omnia licet, quae unquam ingenia fulserunt, in hoc unum consentiant, nunquam satis hanc humanarum mentium caliginem mirabuntur. praedia sua 5 occupari a nullo patiuntur, et, si exigua contentio est de modo finium, ad lapides et arma discurrunt: in uitam suam incedere alios sinunt, immo uero ipsi etiam possessores eius futuros inducunt. nemo inuenitur, qui pecuniam suam diuidere uelit: uitam 10 unusquisque quam multis distribuit! adstricti sunt in continendo patrimonio, simul ad iacturam temporis uentum est, profusissimi in eo cuius unius 2 honesta auaritia est. libet itaque ex seniorum turba comprehendere aliquem: 'peruenisse te ad ultimum 15 aetatis humanae uidemus, centesimus tibi uel supra premitur annus: agedum, ad computationem aetatem tuam reuoca. duc, quantum ex isto tempore creditor, quantum amica, quantum rex, quantum cliens abstulerit, quantum lis uxoria, quantum seruorum coercitio, 20 quantum officiosa per urbem discursatio; adice morbos, quos manu fecimus, adice et quod sine usu iacuit: uidebis te pauciores annos habere quam numeras. 3 repete memoria tecum, quando certus consilii fueris, quotus quisque dies ut destinaueras recesserit, quando 25 tibi usus tui fuerit, quando in statu suo uoltus, quando animus intrepidus, quid tibi in tam longo aeuo facti operis sit, quam multi uitam tuam diripuerint te non

5 mirabuntur *A*, miserabuntur *Madvig*, criminabuntur *malit Gertz* 18 duc *A*, dic *uolg.* 19 rex *A*, reus *S* 22 adice et quod *Haase*, adice quod et *A*, adice quod eius *Gertz*

sentiente quid perderes, quantum uanus dolor, stulta
 laetitia, auida cupiditas, blanda conuersatio abstulerit,
 quam exiguum tibi de tuo relictum sit : intelleges te
 in maturum mori.' quid ergo est in causa? tan- 4
 5 quam semper uicturi uiuitis; numquam uobis fragilitas
 uestra succurrit; non obseruatis, quantum iam tem-
 poris transierit; uelut ex pleno et abundanti perditis,
 cum interim fortasse ille ipse qui aliquoi uel homini
 uel rei donatur dies ultimus sit. omnia tamquam
 10 mortales timetis, omnia tamquam immortales con-
 cupiscitis. audies plerosque dicentes: 'a quinqu- 5
 gesimo anno in otium secedam, sexagesimus me annus
 ab officiis dimittet.' et quem tandem longioris uitae
 praedem accipis? quis ista sicut disponis ire patie-
 15 tur? non pudet te reliquias uitae tibi reseruare et
 id solum tempus bonae menti destinare, quod in
 nullam rem conferri possit? quam serum est tunc
 uiuere incipere, cum desinendum est! quae tam stulta
 mortalitatis obliuio, in quinquagesimum et sexagesi-
 20 mum annum differre sana consilia, et inde uelle uitam
 inchoare, quo pauci perduxerunt!

4. Potentissimis et in altum sublatis hominibus 1
 excidere uoces uidebis, quibus otium optent, laudent,
 omnibus bonis suis praeferant. cupiunt interim ex
 25 illo fastigio suo, si tuto liceat, descendere; nam, ut
 nihil extra lacessat aut quatiat, in se ipsa fortuna ruit.
 diuus Augustus, cui dii plura quam ulli praestiterunt, 2
 non desiit quietem sibi precari et uacationem a re
 publica petere; omnis eius sermo ad hoc semper

8 aliquoi *Gertz*, aliquo *A* 9 sit *A*, est *Wesenberg* 14 tu
 post sicut *add. Gertz* 27 praestiterant *Gertz*

reuolutus est, ut speraret otium ; hoc labores suos,
 etiamsi falso, dulci tamen oblectabat solacio, ali-
 3 quando se uicturum sibi. in quadam ad senatum
 missa epistula, cum requiem suam non uacuum fore
 dignitatis nec a priore gloria discrepantem pollicitus 5
 esset, haec uerba inueni : ‘ sed ista fieri speciosius
 quam promitti possunt. me tamen cupido temporis
 optatissimi mihi prouexit, ut, quoniam rerum laetitia
 moratur adhuc, praeciperem aliquid uoluptatis ex
 4 uerborum dulcedine.’ tanta uisa est res otium, ut 10
 illam, quia usu non poterat, cogitatione praesumeret.
 qui omnia uidebat ex se uno pendentia, qui hominibus
 gentibusque fortunam dabat, illum diem laetissimus
 cogitabat, quo magnitudinem suam exueret. exper-
 tus erat, quantum illa bona per omnis terras fulgentia 15
 sudoris exprimerent, quantum occultarum sollici-
 5 tudinum tegerent. cum ciuibus primum, deinde cum
 collegis, nouissime cum adfinibus, coactus armis
 decernere, mari terraque sanguinem fudit. per Mace-
 doniam, Siciliam, Aegyptum, Syriam Asiamque et 20
 omnis prope oras bello circumactus, Romana caede
 lassos exercitus ad externa bella conuertit. dum
 Alpes pacat immixtosque mediae paci et imperio)
 hostes perdomat, dum uel ultra Rhenum et Euphra-
 ten et Danuuium terminos mouet, in ipsa urbe 25
 Murenæ, Caepionis, Lepidi, Egnati, aliorum in eum
 6 mucrones acuebantur. nondum horum effugerat
 insidias : filia et tot nobiles iuuenes adulterio uelut
 sacramento adacti iam infractam aetatem territa-

8 huc post mihi add. Gertz : malim eo post tamen 24 dum
 uel Gertz, dū ut A 26 Egnati, aliorum Gertz, egnatorum A

bant, Paulusque et iterum timenda cum Antonio mulier. haec ulcera cum ipsis membris absciderat : alia subnascebantur ; uelut graue multo sanguine corpus parte semper aliqua rumpebatur. itaque otium optabat, in huius spe et cogitatione labores eius residebant, hoc uotum erat eius, qui uoti compotes facere poterat.

5. M. Cicero inter Catilinas, Clodios iactatus 1 Pompeiosque et Crassos, partim manifestos inimicos, 10 partim dubios amicos, dum fluctuatur cum re publica et illam pessum euntem tenet, nouissime abductus, nec secundis rebus quietus nec aduersarum patiens, quotiens illum ipsum consulatum suum non sine causa sed sine fine laudatum detestatur ! quam 2 flebiles uoces exprimit in quadam ad Atticum epistula, iam uicto patre Pompeio, adhuc filio in Hispania fracta arma refovente ! ‘ quid agam ’ inquit ‘ hic, quaeris ? moror in Tusculano meo semiliber. ’ alia deinceps adicit, quibus et priorem aetatem complorat 20 et de praesenti queritur et de futura desperat. semi- 3 liberum se dixit Cicero : [at me hercules numquam sapiens in tam humile nomen procedet, numquam semiliber erit, integrae semper libertatis et solidae, solutus et sui iuris et altior ceteris. quid enim supra 25 eum potest esse, qui supra fortunam est ?

6. Liuius Drusus, uir acer et uehemens, cum 1 leges nouas et mala Gracchana mouisset stipatus ingenti totius Italiae coetu, exitum rerum non per-

1 Paulusque *Ruben*, plusque *A* 4 parte semper aliqua
rumpebatur *Gronou*, partes semper aliq; rumpebantur *A* 15
ad *Axiu* *Lipsius coll. Suet. Iul. 9*

uidens, quas nec agere licebat nec iam liberum erat
 semel incohatas relinquere, execratus inquietam a
 primordiis uitam dicitur dixisse: uni sibi ne puero
 quidem umquam ferias contigisse. ausus est enim
 et pupillus adhuc et praetextatus iudicibus reos com- 5
 mendare et gratiam suam foro interponere tam
 efficaciter quidem, ut quaedam iudicia constet ab
 2 illo rapta. quo non erumperet tam inmaturo am-
 bitio? scires in malum ingens et priuatum et pub-
 licum euasuram tam praecoquam audaciam. sero 10
 itaque querebatur nullas sibi ferias contigisse a
 puero seditiosus et foro grauis. disputatur, an ipse
 sibi manus attulerit; subito enim uolnere per inguen
 accepto conlapsus est, aliquo dubitante an mors
 3 eius uoluntaria esset, nullo, an tempestiua. super- 15
 uacuum est commemorare plures, qui, cum aliis
 felicissimi uiderentur, ipsi in se uerum testimonium
 dixerunt perosi omnem actum annorum suorum;
 sed his querellis nec alios mutauerunt nec se ipsos;
 nam, cum uerba eruperunt, adfectus ad consuetu- 20
 dinem relabuntur.

4 Vestra me hercules uita, licet supra mille annos
 exeat, in artissimum contrahetur: ista uitia nullum
 non saeculum deuorabunt; hoc uero spatium quod,
 quamuis natura currit, ratio dilatat, cito uos effugiat 25
 necesse est; non enim adprenditis nec retinetis nec
 uelocissimae omnium rei moram facitis, sed abire ut
 rem superuacua ac reparabilem sinitis.

1 7. In primis autem et illos numero, qui nulli

1 peragere *Gertz* 2 incohatas *A*, inchoatas *corr.* 11 puero
post contigisse excidisse suspicor 29 §§ 1 et 2 ad 13 *capitis*

rei nisi uino ac libidini uacant ; nulli enim turpius
 occupati sunt. ceteri etiamsi uana gloriae imagine
 teneantur, speciose tamen errant ; licet auaros mihi,
 licet iracundos enumeres uel odia exercentes iniusta
 5 uel bella, omnes isti uirilius peccant : in uentrem ac
 libidinem proiectorum inhonesta labes est. omnia 2
 istorum tempora excute ; aspice quam diu computent,
 quam diu insidentur, quam diu timeant, quam diu
 colant, quam diu colantur, quantum uadimonia sua
 10 atque aliena occupent, quantum conuiuia, quae iam
 ipsa officia sunt : uidebis, quemadmodum illos re-
 spirare non sinant uel mala sua uel bona.

Denique inter omnes conuenit nullam rem bene 3
 exerceri posse ab homine occupato, non eloquentiam,
 15 non liberales disciplinas, quando districtus animus
 nihil altius recipit sed omnia uelut inculcata respuit.
 nihil minus est hominis occupati quam uiuere :
 nullius rei difficilior scientia est. professores aliarum
 artium uolgo multique sunt, quasdam uero ex his
 20 pueri admodum ita percepisse uisi sunt, ut etiam
 praecipere possent : uiuere totā uitā discendum est,
 et, quod magis fortasse miraberis, totā uita discendum
 est mori. tot maximi uiri, relictis omnibus impedi- 4
 mentis, cum diuitiis officiis uoluptatibus renuntias-
 25 sent, hoc unum in extremam usque aetatem egerunt,
 ut uiuere scirent ; plures tamen ex his nondum se
 scire confessi uitā abierunt, nedum ut isti sciant.
 magni, mihi crede, et supra humanos errores eminentis 5
 uiri est, nihil ex suo tempore delibari sinere, et ideo
 30 eius uita longissima est, quia, quantumcumque patuit,
 initium transferre malit Gertz 6 labes 5, tabes A

totum ipsi uacauit. nihil inde incultum otiosumque iacuit, nihil sub alio fuit, neque enim quicquam reperit dignum quod cum tempore suo permutaret custos eius parcissimus. itaque satis illi fuit: iis uero necesse est defuisse, ex quorum uita multum 5
 6 populus tulit. nec est quod putes non illos aliquando intellegere damnum suum: plerosque certe audies ex iis quos magna felicitas grauat, inter clientium greges aut causarum actiones aut ceteras honestas miserias exclamare interdum: ' uiuere mihi non licet.' 10
 7 quidni non liceat? omnes illi, qui te sibi aduocant, tibi abducunt. ille reus quot dies abstulit? quot ille candidatus? quot illa anus efferendis heredibus lassa? quot ille ad irritandam auaritiam captantium simulatus aeger? quot ille potentior amicus, 15
 qui uos non in amicitiam sed in apparatu habet? dispunge, inquam, et recense uitae tuae dies: uidebis
 8 paucos admodum et reiculos aput te resedissee. adsecutus ille quos optauerat fasces cupit ponere et subinde dicit: ' quando hic annus praeteribit? ' 20
 facit ille ludos, quorum sortem sibi optingere magno aestimauit: ' quando ' inquit ' istos effugiam? ' diripitur ille toto foro patronus et magno concursu omnia ultra quam audiri potest complet: ' quando ' inquit ' res proferentur? ' praecipitat quisque uitam 25
 suam et futuri desiderio laborat, praesentium taedio.
 9 at ille qui nullum non tempus in usus suos confert, qui omnem diem tamquam ultimum ordinat, nec optat crastinum nec timet. quid enim est, quod

6 non *Madvig*, hinc *A*, hoc ñ (*i.e.* non) *coni.* *Gertz* 18 reiculos *Erasmus*, ridiculos *A* 28 ultimum *Bentley*, uitam *A*

iam ulla hora nouae uoluptatis possit adferre?
omnia nota, omnia ad satietatem percepta sunt. de
cetero Fors Fortuna, ut uolet, ordinet: uita iam in
tuto est. huic adici potest, detrahi nihil, et adici
5 sic, quemadmodum saturo iam ac pleno aliquid cibi,
quod nec desiderat *et* capit. non est itaque quod 10
quemquam propter canos aut rugas putes diu uixisse:
non ille diu uixit sed diu fuit. quid enim si illum
multum putes nauigasse, quem saeua tempestas a
10 portu exceptum huc et illuc tulit ac uicibus uentorum
ex diuerso furentium per eadem spatia in orbem egit?
non ille multum nauigauit sed multum iactatus est.

8. Mirari soleo, cum uideo aliquos tempus 1
petentes et eos, qui rogantur, facillimos; illud uter-
15 que spectat, propter quod tempus petitum est,
- ipsum quidem neuter: quasi nihil petitur, quasi
nihil datur. re omnium pretiosissima luditur. fallit
autem illos, quia res incorporalis est, quia sub oculos
non uenit, ideoque uilissima aestimatur, immo paene
20 nullum eius pretium est. annua, congiaria homines 2
carissime accipiunt et illis aut laborem aut operam
aut diligentiam suam locant: nemo aestimat tempus;
utuntur illo laxius quasi gratuito. at eosdem aegros
uide, si mortis periculum propius admotum est, medi-
25 corum genua tangentes; si metuunt capitale suppli-
cium, omnia sua, ut uiuant, paratos impendere!
tanta in illis discordia adfectuum est. quodsi posset 3
quemadmodum praeteritorum annorum cuiusque

3 fors *Muretus*, foro *A* 6 et *add. Madvig* 17 re *Muretus*,
res *A* 19 uilissime *Wesenberg* 21 illis aut *Gertz*, inis ut *A*
24 uide *A*, uideas *Madvig*

numerus proponi, sic futurorum, quomodo illi, qui
 paucos uiderent superesse, trepidarent, quomodo illis
 parcerent! atqui facile est quamuis exiguum dis-
 pensare, quod certum est; id debet seruari diligen-
 4 tius, quod nescias quando deficiat. nec est tamen 5
 quod putes illos ignorare, quam cara res sit: dicere
 solent eis, quos ualidissime diligunt, paratos se partem
 annorum suorum dare. dant nec intellegunt; dant
 autem ita, ut sine illorum incremento sibi detrahant.
 sed hoc ipsum, an detrahant, nesciunt; ideo tole- 10
 5 rabilis est illis iactura detrimenti latentis. nemo
 restituet annos, nemo iterum te tibi reddet. ibit,
 qua coepit, aetas nec cursum suum aut reuocabit
 aut supprimebit. nihil tumultuabitur, nihil admonebit
 uelocitatis suae: tacita labetur. non illa se regis 15
 imperio, non fauore populi longius proferet: sicut
 missa est a primo die, curret, nusquam deuertetur,
 nusquam remorabitur. quid fiet? tu occupatus es,
 uita festinat: mors interim aderit, cui, uelis nolis,
 uacandum est. 20

1 9. Potestne quicquam esse leuius hominum eorum
 iudicio qui prudentiam iactant? operosius occupati
 sunt, ut melius possint uiuere; inpendio uitae uitam
 instruunt; cogitationes suas in longum ordinant.
 maxima porro uitae iactura dilatio est: illa primum 25
 quemque extrahit diem, illa eripit praesentia dum ul-
 teriora promittit. maximum uiuendo impedimentum

10 andetraant *A*, unde detrahant *Madvig* 11 iactura
 detrimenti latentis *A*, iactura: detrimenti latet uis *coni. Gertz*
 21 esse leuius *Housman*, sensus *A* 22 iudicio *Housman*,
 dico *A* operosius: operose diu *malit Gertz*

est expectatio, quae pendet ex crastino, perdit hodiernum. quod in manu fortunae positum est, disponis; quod in tua, dimittis. quo spectas? quo te extendis? omnia quae uentura sunt in incerto
 5 iacent: protinus uiue. clamat ecce maximus uates 2 et uelut diuino ore instinctus|salutare carmen canit:

optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
 prima fugit.

'quid cunctaris?' inquit 'quid cessas? nisi occupas, 10 fugit.' et cum occupaueris, tamen fugiet; itaque cum celeritate temporis|utendi uelocitate certandum est, et uelut ex torrenti rapido nec semper ituro cito hauriendum. hoc quoque pulcherrime ad expro- 3 brandam infinitam cogitationem, quod non optimam 15 quamque 'aetatem' sed 'diem' dicit. quid securus et in tanta temporum fuga lentus menses tibi et annos in longam seriem, utcumque auiditati tuae uisum est, exporrigis? de die tecum loquitur et de hoc ipso fugiente. num dubium est ergo, quin optima quae- 4 20 que prima dies fugiat mortalibus miseris, id est occupatis? quorum puerilis adhuc animos senectus opprimit, ad quam inparati inermesque perueniunt, nihil enim prouisum est: subito in illam necopinantes inciderunt, accedere eam cotidie non sentie- 25 bant. quemadmodum aut sermo aut lectio aut 5 aliqua intentior cogitatio iter facientis decipit, et

6 furore instinctus *Muretus*, ore et instinctu *Gertz* 14 cogitationem *uolg.*, cunctationem *Gertz coll. epist. 45, 13*, cognationem *A*, agitationem *Madvig* 17 in longam *Gertz*, & longam *A* 19 optima quaeque prima *Gertz*, prima quaeque optima *A*

peruenisse se ante sentiunt quam adpropinquasse, sic hoc iter uitae adsiduum et citatissimum, quod uigilantes dormientesque eodem gradu facimus, occupatis non apparet nisi in fine.

1 IO. Quod proposui si in partes uelim et argu- 5
 . menta diducere, multa mihi occurrent, per quae
 probem breuissimam esse occupatorum uitam. sole-
 bat dicere Fabianus, non ex his cathedrariis philo-
 sopheris sed ex ueris et antiquis: ‘contra adfectus
 impetu, non suptilitate, pugnandum, nec minutis 10
 uolneribus sed incursu auertendam aciem; non
 probam cauillationem esse, nam contundi debere,
 non uellicari.’ tamen ut illis error exprobretur suus,
 docendi, non tantum deplorandi sunt.

2 In tria tempora uita diuiditur: quod fuit, quod 15
 est, quod futurum est. ex iis, quod agimus breue est,
 quod acturi sumus dubium, quod egimus certum; hoc
 est enim, in quod fortuna ius perdidit, quod in nullius
 arbitrium reduci potest. hoc amittunt occupati;
 nec enim illis uacat praeterita respicere, et, si uacet, 20
 3 iniucunda est paenitendae rei recordatio. inuiti
 itaque ad tempora male exacta animum reuocant
 nec audent ea retemptare, quorum uitia, etiam quae
 aliquo praesentis uoluptatis lenocinio surripiebantur,
 retractando patescunt. nemo, nisi quoi omnia acta 25
 sunt sub censura sua quae numquam fallitur, libenter
 4 se in praeteritum retorquet; ille qui multa ambitiose

1 sentiunt *Koch*, sciunt *A* 11 non probam cauillationem
 esse; nam contundi (*scil.* adfectus) debere *Gertz Lipsium*
secutus: non probat. cauillationes enī contundi debere *A*
 25 quoi *Gruter*, quo *A*

concupiit, superbe contempsit, inpotenter uicit, insidiose deceptit, auare rapuit, prodige effudit, necesse est memoriam suam timeat. atqui haec est pars temporis nostri sacra ac dedicata, omnis humanos
 5 casus supergressa, extra regnum fortunae subducta, quam non inopia, non metus, non morborum incursus exagitet; haec nec turbari nec eripi potest: perpetua eius et intrepida possessio est. singuli tantum dies, et hi per momenta, praesentes sunt;
 10 at praeteriti temporis omnes, cum iusseris, tibi aderunt, ad arbitrium tuum inspicere se ac detineri patientur, quod facere occupatis non uacat. securae
 5 et quietae mentis est, in omnes uitae suae partes discurrere: occupatorum animi, uelut sub iugo sint,
 15 flectere se ac respicere non possunt. abit igitur uita eorum in profundum; et, ut nihil prodest, licet quantumlibet ingeras, si non subest quod excipiat ac seruet, sic—nihil refert quantum temporis detur—si non est ubi subsidat, per quassos foratosque
 20 animos transmittitur. praesens tempus breuissimum
 6 est, adeo quidem ut quibusdam nullum uideatur; in cursu enim semper est, fluit et praecipitatur; ante desinit esse quam uenit, nec magis moram patitur quam mundus aut sidera, quorum inrequieta semper
 25 agitatio nunquam in eodem uestigio manet. solum igitur ad occupatos praesens pertinet tempus, quod tam breue est ut arripi non possit, et id ipsum illis districtis in multa subducitur.

II. Denique uis scire quam non diu uiuant? I
 30 uide quam cupiant diu uiuere. decrepiti senes pau-

corum annorum accessionem uotis mendicant : minores natu se ipsos esse fingunt ; mendacio sibi blandiuntur et tam libenter se fallunt quam si una fata decipiant. iam uero cum illos aliqua inbecillitas mortalitatis admonuit, quemadmodum pauentes mori- 5 untur, non tamquam exeant de uita sed tamquam extrahantur ! stultos se fuisse, qui non uixerint, clamitant et, si modo euaserint ex illa ualitudine, in otio uicturos ; tunc, quam frustra parauerint quibus non fruerentur, quam in cassum omnis ceciderit labor, 10 cogitant. at quibus uita procul ab omni negotio agitur, quidni spatiosa sit ? nihil ex illa delegatur, nihil alio atque alio spargitur, nihil inde fortunae traditur, nihil neglegentia interit, nihil largitione detrahitur, nihil superuacuum est : tota, ut ita 15 dicam, in reditu est. quantulacumque itaque abunde sufficit, et ideo, quandoque ultimus dies uenerit, non cunctabitur sapiens ire ad mortem certo gradu.

1 12. Quaeris fortasse, quos occupatos uocem ? non est quod me solos putes dicere, quos a basilica 20 inmissi demum canes eiciunt, quos aut in sua uides turba speciosius elidi aut in aliena contemptius, quos officia domibus suis euocant ut alienis foribus inlidant, aut hasta praetoris infami lucro et quandoque sup- 2 puraturo exercet. quorundam otium occupatum est : 25 in uilla aut in lecto suo, in media solitudine, quamuis ab omnibus recesserint, sibi ipsi molesti sunt : quorum non otiosa uita dicenda est sed desidiosa occupatio. illum tu otiosum uocas qui Corinthia, paucorum

7 qui *Madvig*, ut *A* 20 eos solos *malit Gertz* 20 e
 basilica *Gertz* 24 aut *add. Madvig*, quos 5

furore pretiosa, anxia suptilitate concinnat et maiorem
 dierum partem in aeruginosis lamellis consumit? qui
 in ceromate (nam, pro facinus! ne Romanis quidem
 uitiis laboramus) sectator puerorum rixantium sedet?
 5 qui iumentorum suorum greges in aetatium et colorum
 paria diducit? qui athletas nouis cibis pascit? quid? 3
 illos otiosos uocas, quibus aput tonsorem multae horae
 transmittuntur, dum decerpitur si quid proxima nocte
 subcreuit, dum de singulis capillis in consilium itur,
 10 dum aut disiecta coma restituitur aut deficiens hinc
 atque illinc in frontem compellitur? quomodo iras-
 cuntur, si tonsor paulo neglegentior fuit, tamquam
 uirum tonderet! quomodo excandescunt, si quid ex
 iuba sua decisum est, si quid extra ordinem iacuit,
 15 nisi omnia in anulos suos reciderunt! quis est
 istorum qui non malit rem publicam suam turbari
 quam comam, qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui
 decore quam de salute, qui non comptior esse malit
 quam honestior? hos tu otiosos uocas, inter pecti-
 20 nem speculumque occupatos? quid illi, qui in com- 4
 ponendis audiendis discendis canticis operati sunt,
 dum uocem, cuius rectum cursum natura et optimum
 et simplicissimum fecit, in flexus modulationis iner-
 tissimae torquent, quorum digiti aliquod intra se
 25 carmen metientes semper sonant, quorum, cum ad
 res serias, saepe etiam tristes, adhibiti sunt, exauditur
 tacita modulatio? non habent isti otium sed iners

4 sectator *A*, spectator *Erasm.* 5 iumentorum *Gertz*, iunc-
 torum *A* 6 nouis cibis *Madvig*, nouissimos *A*, nouissimo more
coni. Gertz 16 suam post comam transtulit *Muretus* 25 metien-
 tium malit *Gertz*

5 negotium. conuiuia me hercules horum non posuerim
inter uacantia tempora, cum uideam, quam solliciti
argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum
tunicas succingant, quam suspensi sint quomodo aper
a coco exeat, qua celeritate signo dato glabri ad 5
ministeria discurrant, quanta arte scindantur aues in
frusta non enormia, quam curiose infelices pueruli
ebriorum sputa detergeant. ex his elegantiae lautitiae-
que fama captatur, et usque eo in omnes uitae secessus
mala sua illos secuntur, ut nec bibant sine ambitione 10
6 nec edant. ne illos quidem inter otiosos numerauerim,
qui sella se et lectica huc et illuc ferunt, et ad gesta-
tionum suarum, quasi deserere illas non liceat, horas
occurrunt, quos quando lauari debeant, quando natate,
quando cenare, alius admonet: usque eo nimio 15
delicati animi languore soluuntur, ut per se scire non
7 possint an esuriant! audio quendam ex delicatis—
si modo deliciae uocandae sunt uitam et consuetu-
dinem humanam dediscere—, cum ex balneo inter
manus elatus et in sella positus esset, dixisse inter- 20
rogando: ‘iam sedeo?’ hunc tu, ignorantem an
sedeat, putas scire an uiuat, an uideat, an otiosus
sit? non facile dixerim, utrum magis miserear, si
8 hoc ignorauit, an si ignorare se finxit. multarum
quidem rerum obliuionem sentiunt, sed multarum et 25
imitantur. quaedam uitia illos quasi felicitatis argu-
menta delectant: nimis humilis et contempti hominis
uidetur, scire quid facias. i nunc et mimos multa
mentiri ad exprobandam luxuriam puta! plura

11 numerauerim *Koch*, numeraberis *A* 14 *pro* natate
Wolters malit ambulare 28 facias *A*, faciat *A* corr.

me hercules praetereunt quam fingunt, et tanta
 incredibilium uitiorum copia ingenioso in hoc unum
 saeculo processit, ut iam mimorum arguere possimus
 negligentiam. esse aliquem, qui usque eo deliciis
 5 interierit, ut an sedeat alteri credat! non est ergo
 hic otiosus; aliud illi nomen inponas: aeger est,
 immo mortuus est; ille otiosus est, cui otii sui sensus
 est. hic uero semiuiuus, cui ad intellegendos corporis
 sui habitus indice opus est, quomodo potest hic ullius
 10 temporis dominus esse?

13. Persequi singulos longum est, quorum aut 1
 latrunculi aut pila aut excoquendi in sole corporis
 cura consumpsere uitam. non sunt otiosi, quorum
 uoluptates multum negotii habent. nam de illis nemo
 15 dubitabit quin operose nihil agant, qui litterarum
 inutilium studiis detinentur, quae iam apud Romanos
 quoque magna manus est. Graecorum iste morbus 2
 fuit, quaerere, quem numerum Vlixes remigum
 habuisset, prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssia, prae-
 20 terea an eiusdem essent auctoris, alia deinceps huius
 notae, quae, siue contineas, nihil tacitam conscientiam
 iuuant, siue proferas, non doctior uidearis sed molestior.
 ecce Romanos quoque inuasit inane studium super- 3
 uacua discendi. his diebus audiui quendam referentem,
 25 quae primus quisque ex Romanis ducibus fecisset:
 primus nauali proelio Duilius uicit, primus Curius
 Dentatus in triumpho duxit elephantos. etiamnunc
 ista, etsi ad ueram gloriam non tendunt, circa ciuiliū
 tamen operum exempla uersantur: non est profutura
 30 talis scientia, est tamen quae nos speciosā rerum

9 hic *delebat Lipsius*20 *essent Gertz, esset A*

4 uanitate detineat. hoc quoque quaerentibus remit-
 tamus, quis Romanis primus persuaserit nauem
 conscendere—Claudius is fuit, Caudex ob hoc ipsum
 appellatus, quia plurium tabularum contextus caudex
 aput antiquos uocatur, unde publicae tabulae codices 5
 dicuntur, et naues nunc quoque ex antiqua con-
 suetudine, quae commeatus per Tiberim subuehunt,
 5 codicariae uocantur—; sane et hoc ad rem pertineat,
 quod Valerius Coruinus primus Messanam uicit et
 primus ex familia Valeriorum, urbis captae in se 10
 translato nomine, Messana appellatus est paulatim-
 6 que uulgo permutante litteras Messala dictus; num
 et hoc cuiquam curare permittes, quod primus L. Sulla
 in circo leones solutos dedit, cum alioquin alligati
 darentur, ad conficiendos eos missis a rege Boccho 15
 iaculatoribus? et hoc sane remittatur; num et
 Pompeium primum in circo elephantorum duode-
 uiginti pugnam edidisse, commissis more proelii
 noxiis hominibus, ad ullam rem bonam pertinet?
 princeps ciuitatis et inter antiquos principes, ut fama 20
 tradidit, bonitatis eximiae memorabile putauit specta-
 culi genus nouo more perdere homines. ‘depugnant?
 parum est. lancinantur? parum est. ingenti mole
 7 animalium exterantur!’ satius erat ista in obli-
 uionem ire, ne quis postea potens disceret inuideretque 25
 rei minime humanae. o quantum caliginis mentibus
 nostris obicit magna felicitas! ille se supra rerum
 naturam esse tunc credidit, cum tot miserorum

6 ex antiqua consuetudine, quae *Lipsius*, quae exantiqua
 consuetudine *A* 13 cuiquam *Gruter*, quicquam *A* 19 in-
 noxiis *Gertz*

hominum cateruas sub alio caelo natis beluis obiceret, cum bellum inter tam disparia animalia committeret, cum in conspectu populi Romani multum sanguinis funderet, mox plus ipsum fundere coacturus. at idem
 5 postea, Alexandrina perfidia deceptus, ultimo mancipio transfodiendum se praebuit, tum demum intellecta inani iactatione cognominis sui. sed—ut illo 8
 reuertar unde decessi, et in eadem materia ostendam superuacuum quorundam diligentiam—idem narrabat
 10 Metellum uictis in Sicilia Poenis triumphantem unum omnium Romanorum ante currum centum et uiginti captiuos elephantos duxisse; Sullam ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium, quod numquam prouinciali sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris
 15 aput antiquos fuit. hoc scire magis prodest, quam Auentinum montem extra pomerium esse, ut ille adfirmabat, propter alteram ex duabus causis, aut quod plebs eo secessisset, aut quod Remo auspicante illo loco aues non addixissent, alia deinceps innumera-
 20 bilia, quae aut facta sunt mendaciis aut similia? nam, ut concedas omnia eos fide bona dicere, ut ad 9
 praestationem scribant, tamen cuius ista errores minuent? cuius cupiditates prement? quem fortio-
 tiorem, quem iustio-
 25 rem, quem liberalio-
 rem facient? dubitare se interim Fabianus noster aiebat, an satius esset nullis studiis admoueri quam his implicari.

14. Soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae 1
 uacant, soli uiuunt. nec enim suam tantum aetatem bene tuentur: omne aeuum suo adiciunt; quidquid

3 conspectum *A* 15 hoc *A*, haec *Wesenberg* 18 auspici-
 canti *Wesenberg* 20 facta *A*, paria *Haase*, facta *malit Gertz*

annorum ante illos actum est, illis adquisitum est. nisi ingrattissimi sumus, illi clarissimi sacrarum opinionum conditores nobis nati sunt, nobis uitam praeparauerunt. ad res pulcherrimas ex tenebris ad lucem erutas alieno labore deducimur; nullo nobis saeculo interdictum est, in omnia admittimur, et, si magnitudine animi egredi humanae inbecillitatis angustias libet, multum, per quod spatiemur, temporis est. disputare cum Socrate licet, dubitare cum Carneade, cum Epicuro quiescere, hominis naturam cum Stoicis uincere, cum Cynicis excedere. cum rerum natura in consortium omnis aevi patiatur incedere, quidni ab hoc exiguo et caduco temporis transitu in illa toto nos demus animo, quae immensa, quae aeterna sunt, quae cum melioribus communia? isti, qui per officia discursant, qui se aliosque inquietant, cum bene insanierint, cum omnium limina cotidie perambulauerint nec ullas apertas fores praeterierint, cum per diuersissimas domos meritariam salutationem circumtulerint, quotum quemque ex tam immensa et uariis cupiditatibus districta urbe poterunt uidere? quam multi erunt, quorum illos aut somnus aut luxuria aut inhumanitas sum-moueat! quam multi qui illos, cum diu torserint, simulata festinatione transcurrant! quam multi per refertum clientibus atrium prodire uitabunt et per obscuros aedium aditus profugient, quasi non inhumanius sit decipere quam excludere! quam multi hesternae crapula semisomnes et graues, illis

3 uitam *A*, uiam *Lipsius* 12 cum < nos > rerum *malit*
Gertz 22 urbe *A*, turba (*propter* ex) *Gertz*

miseris suum somnum rumpentibus ut alienum expectent, uix adleuatis labris insusurratum miliens nomen oscitatione superbissima reddent! hos in 5 ueris officiis morari licet dicamus, qui Zenonem, qui 5 Pythagoran cotidie et Democritum ceterosque anti- stites bonarum artium, qui Aristotelen et Theophras- tum uolent habere quam familiarissimos. nemo horum non uacabit, nemo non uenientem ad se beati- orem, amantiolem sui dimittet, nemo quemquam 10 uacuis a se manibus abire patietur; nocte conueniri, interdiu, ab omnibus mortalibus possunt.

15. Horum te mori nemo coget, omnes docebunt; 1 horum nemo annos tuos conteret, suos tibi contribuet; nullius ex his sermo periculosus erit, nullius amicitia 15 capitalis, nullius sumptuosa obseruatio. feres ex illis quidquid uoles; (per illos non stabit, quominus quantum plurimum cupieris, haurias.) quae illum 2 felicitas, quam pulchra senectus manet, qui se in horum clientelam contulit! habebit, cum quibus 20 de minimis maximisque rebus deliberet, quos de se cotidie consulat, a quibus audiat uerum sine contumelia, laudetur sine adulatione, ad quorum se similitudinem effingat. solemus dicere non fuisse in 3 nostra potestate, quos sortiremur parentes, forte 25 nobis datos. nobilis uero ad nostrum arbitrium nasci licet. nobilissimorum ingeniorum familiae sunt: elige in quam adscisci uelis; non in nomen tantum adop-

1 miseris *Erasm.*, miseris *A* 2 spectent *Gertz* 6 post artium *P. Thomas* adire *addi uolt* 13 contribuit *A*, contribuent *Gertz* 17 quantum plurimum cupieris *Muretus et Madvig*, plurimum quantum cęperis *A* 25 nobilis *scripsi*: nobis *A*

taberis sed in ipsa bona, quae non erunt sordide nec
 maligne custodienda : maiora fient, quo illa pluribus
 4 diuiseris. hi tibi dabunt ad aeternitatem iter, et
 te in illum locum, ex quo nemo deicitur, subleuabunt.
 haec una ratio est extendendae mortalitatis, immo in 5
 immortalitatem uertendae. honores, monimenta, quid-
 quid aut decretis ambitio iussit aut operibus extruxit,
 cito subruitur. nihil non longa demolitur uetustas et
 mouet, at iis, quae consecrauit sapientia, nocere non
 potest ; nulla abolebit aetas, nulla deminuet ; sequens 10
 ac deinde semper ulterior aliquid ad uenerationem
 conferet, quoniam quidem in uicino uersatur inuidia,
 5 simplicius longe posita miramur. sapientis ergo
 multum patet uita, non idem illum qui ceteros ter-
 minus cludit : solus generis humani legibus soluitur. 15
 omnia illi saecula ut deo seruiunt. transiit tempus
 aliquod, hoc recordatione comprehendit : instat, hoc
 utitur : uenturum est, hoc praecipit. longam illi
 uitam facit omnium temporum in unum conlatio.

1 16. Illorum breuissima ac sollicitissima aetas 20
 est, qui praeteritorum obliuiscuntur, praesentia nec-
 legunt, de futuro timent : cum ad extrema uenerunt,
 sero intellegunt miseri, tam diu se, dum nihil agunt,
 2 occupatos fuisse. nec est quod hoc argumento pro-
 bari putes longam illos agere uitam, quia interdum 25
 mortem inuocant : uexat illos imprudential incertis
 adfectibus et incurrentibus in ipsa quae metuunt ;
 3 mortem saepe ideo optant, quia timent. illud quo-
 que arguementum non est quod putes diu uiuentium,
 quod saepe illis longus uidetur dies, quod, dum ueniat 30

conductum tempus cenae, tarde ire horas queruntur ;
 nam si quando illos deseruerunt occupationes, in otio
 relictī aestuant, nec quomodo id disponant aut
 extrahant sciunt. itaque ad occupationem aliquam
 5 tendunt et quod interiacet omne tempus graue est,
 tam me hercules quam, cum dies muneris gladiatorii
 edictus est aut cum alicuius alterius uel spectaculi
 uel uoluptatis expectatur constitutum, transilire
 medios dies uolunt. omnis illis speratae rei longa 4
 10 dilatio est : at illud tempus quod amant breue est
 et praeceptus breuiusque multo suo fit uitio ; aliunde
 enim alio transfugiunt et consistere in una cupiditate
 non possunt. non sunt illis longi dies sed inuisi ;
 at contra, quam exiguae noctes uidentur, quas in
 15 complexu scortorum aut uino exigunt ! inde etiam 5
 poetarum furor fabulis humanos errores alentium.
 quibus uisus est Iuppiter uoluptate concubitus
 delentus duplicasse noctem : quid aliud est uitia
 nostra incendere quam auctores illis inscribere deos,
 20 et dare morbo exemplo diuinitatis excusatam licen-
 tiam ? possunt istis non breuissimae uideri noctes,
 quas tam care mercantur ? diem noctis expectatione
 perdunt, noctem lucis metu.

17. Ipsae uoluptates eorum trepidae et uariis 1
 25 terroribus inquietae sunt, subitque cum maxime
 2. exsultantis sollicita cogitatio : ‘ haec quam diu ? ’
 ab hoc adfectu reges suam fleuere potentiam, nec
 illos magnitudo fortunae suae delectauit sed uenturus

conductum *Muretus*, ueniat aconductum *A* 10 illud tempus
 quod amant *Muretus*, ad illud tempus, quod amanti *A* 11 fit
add. Erasmus 13 illis *Muretus*, illi *A*

2 aliquando finis exterruit. cum per magna camporum
 spatia porrigeret exercitum nec numerum eius sed
 mensuram comprehenderet Persarum rex insolentissimus,
 lacrimas profudit, quod intra centum annos nemo
 ex tanta iuuentute superfuturus esset. at illis ad- 5
 moturus erat fatum ipse qui flebat, perditurusque
 alios in mari, alios in terra, alios proelio, alios fuga,
 et intra exiguum tempus consumpturus illos, quibus
 3 centesimum annum timebat. quid, quod gaudia
 quoque eorum trepida sunt? non enim solidis causis 10
 innituntur sed eadem qua oriuntur uanitate turbantur.
 qualia autem putas esse tempora etiam ipsorum
 confessione misera, cum haec quoque, quibus se
 attollunt et super hominem efferunt, parum sincera
 4 sint? maxima quaeque bona sollicita sunt nec ulli 15
 fortunae minus bene quam optimae creditur: alia
 felicitate ad tuendam felicitatem opus est, et pro ipsis
 quae successere uotis | uota facienda sunt. omne
 enim quod fortuito obuenerit instabile est, quoque
 altius surrexerit, opportuni^s est in occasum. nemi- 20
 nem porro casura delectant: miserrimam ergo
 necesse est, non tantum breuissimam, uitam esse
 eorum, qui magno parant labore quod maiore possi-
 5 deant. operose adsecuntur quae uolunt, anxii tenent
 quae adsecuti sunt; nulla interim numquam amplius 25
 redituri temporis ratio est: nouae occupationes uete-
 ribus substituuntur, spes spem excitat, ambitionem
 ambitio. miseriarum non finis quaeritur sed materia
 mutatur. nostri nos honores torserunt, plus tem-
 poris alieni auferunt. candidati laborare desiimus, 30

suffragatores incipimus. accusandi deposuimus molestiam, iudicandi nanciscimur. iudex desiit esse, quaesitor est. alienorum bonorum mercennaria procuratione consenuit, suis opibus distinetur. Mariūm 6
 5 caliga dimisit, consulatus exercent. Quintius dictaturam properat peruadere, ab aratro reuocabitur. ibat in Poenos nondum tantae maturus rei Scipio; uictor Hannibalis, uictor Antiochi, sui consulatus decus, fraterni sponsor, ni per ipsum mora sit, cum
 10 Ioue reponeretur: ciuiles seruatores agitabunt seditiones, et post fastiditos a iuvene diis aequos honores iam senem contumacis exilii delectabit ambitio. numquam derunt uel felices uel miserae sollicitudinis
 15 causae; per occupationes uita trudetur; otium numquam agetur, semper optabitur.

18. Excerpe itaque te uolgo, Pauline carissime, 1
 et in tranquilliores portus non pro aetatis spatio iactatus tandem recede. cogita, quot fluctus subieris, quot tempestates partim priuatas sustinueris, partim
 20 publicas in te conuerteris; satis iam per laboriosa et inquieta documenta exhibita uirtus est: experire, quid in otio faciat. maior pars aetatis, certe melior, rei publicae data est: aliquid temporis tui sume etiam tibi. nec te ad segnem aut inertem quietem uoco, 2
 25 non ut somno et caris turbae uoluptatibus quidquid est in te indolis uiuidae mergas: non est istud adquiescere; inuenies maiora omnibus adhuc strenue tractatis operibus, quae repositus et securus agites.

4 distinetur *Gruter*, destinetur *A* 5 exercent *scripsi*: exercet *A* 7 ibat *scripsi*: ibit *A*, iuit *Haase* 10 ciuium ciuiles *Gertz* 23 est *Madvig*, sit *A* 26 uiui demergas *A*: *corr. Haase*

3 tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras tam
 abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas,
 tam religiose quam publicas. in officio amorem con-
 sequeris, in quo odium uitare difficile est : sed tamen,
 mihi crede, satius est uitae suae rationem quam fru- 5
 4 menti publici nosse. istum animi uigorem rerum
 maximarum capacissimum a ministerio, honorifico
 quidem sed parum ad beatam uitam apto, reuoca ; et
 cogita non id egisse te ab aetate prima omni cultu
 studiorum liberalium, ut tibi multa milia frumenti 10
 bene committerentur : maius quiddam et altius de
 te promiseras. non derunt et frugalitatis exactae
 homines et laboriosae operae : tanto aptiora por-
 tandis oneribus tarda iumenta sunt quam nobiles
 equi, quorum generosam pernicitatem quis umquam 15
 5 graui sarcina pressit ? cogita praeterea, quantum
 sollicitudinis sit, ad tantam te molem obicere : cum
 uentre tibi humano negotium est. nec rationem
 patitur nec aequitate mitigatur nec ulla prece flectitur
 populus esuriens. modo modo intra paucos illos 20
 dies quibus C. Caesar periit, si quis inferis sensus est,
 hoc grauissime ferens, quod populo Romano super-
 stite, dicebant septem aut octo certe dierum cibaria
 superesse. dum ille pontes nauibus iungit et uiribus
 imperii ludit, aderat ultimum malorum obsessis quo- 25
 que, alimentorum egestas ; exitio ^{paene} ac fame con-
 stitit et, quae famem sequitur, rerum omnium ruina,

3 publicas: sacras Bentley illo add. Gertz, eo Haase, ante
 officio 13 portandis Madvig, exportandis A 22 grauissime
 Lipsius, gratissime A quod p. R. superstite, dicebant
 Madvig, quod dicebat .P.R. super stite A

furiosi et externi et infeliciter superbi regis imitatio. quem tunc animum habuerunt illi, quibus erat 6 mandata frumenti publici cura, saxa, ferrum, ignes, Gaium excepturi! summa dissimulatione tantum inter 5 uiscera latentis mali tegebant, cum ratione scilicet, quaedam enim ignorantibus aegris curanda sunt: causa multis moriendi fuit morbum suum nosse.

19. Recipe te ad haec tranquilliora, tutiora, 1 maiora! simile tu putas esse, utrum cures, ut in- 10 corruptum et a fraude aduehentium et a negligentia frumentum transfundatur in horrea, ne concepto umore uitietur et concalescat, ut ad mensuram pondusque respondeat, an ad haec sacra et sublimia accedas, sciturus, quae materia sit dei, quae uoluptas, 15 quae condicio, quae forma; quis animum tuum casus expectet, ubi nos a corporibus dimissos natura componat; quid sit quod huius mundi grauissima quaeque in medio sustineat, supra leuia suspendat, in summum ignem ferat, sidera uicibus suis excitet; 20 cetera deinceps ingentibus plena miraculis? uis tu 2 relicto solo mente ad ista respicere! nunc, dum calet sanguis, uigentibus *sensibus* ad meliora eundum est. expectat te in hoc genere uitae multum bonarum artium, amor uirtutum atque usus, cupiditatum 25 obliuio, uiuendi ac moriendi scientia, alta rerum quies.

Omniū quidem occupatorum condicio misera est, 3 eorum tamen miserrima, qui ne suis quidem laborant occupationibus, ad alienum dormiunt somnum, ad alienum ambulant gradum, amare et odisse, res 30 omnium liberrimas, iubentur. hi si uolent scire quam

4 inter: *malim* intra 14 uoluntas 5 22 sensibus *add.* Madvig

breuis ipsorum uita sit, cogitent ex quota parte sua sit.

1 **20.** Cum uideris itaque praetextam saepe iam sumptam, cum celebre in foro nomen, ne inuideris : ista uitae damno parantur. ut unus ab illis numere- 5
tur annus, omnis annos suos conterent. quosdam, antequam in summum ambitionis eniterentur, inter prima luctantis aetas reliquit ; quosdam, cum in consummationem dignitatis per mille indignitates erepsissent, misera subiit cogitatio laborasse ipsos in titulum 10
sepulcri ; quorundam ultima senectus, dum in nouas spes ut iuuenta disponitur, inter conatūs magnos
2 et improbos inualida defecit. foedus ille, quem in iudicio pro ignotissimis litigatoribus, grandem natu, et inperitae coronae assensiones captantem spiritus 15
liquit ; turpis ille, qui uiuendo lassus citius quam laborando inter ipsa officia conlapsus est ; turpis, quem accipiendis inmorientem rationibus diu tractus
3 risit heres. praeterire quod mihi occurrit exemplum non possum. S. Turannius fuit exactae diligentiae 20
senex, qui post annum nonagesimum, cum uacationem procurationis ab C. Caesare ultro accepisset, componi se in lecto et uelut exanimem a circumstante familia plangi iussit. lugebat domus otium domini senis nec finiuit ante tristitiam quam labor illi suis restitutus 25
4 est. adeone iuuat occupatum mori ? idem plerisque animus est : diutius cupiditas illis laboris quam facultas est ; cum inbecillitate corporis pugnant ;

6 conterunt *Gertz* 7 antequam *Fickert*, ante cū *A*
9 erepsissent *Pincianus*, erupissent *A* 20 S. Turannius *Gertz*,
†*tyrannius A*

senectutem ipsam nullo alio nomine grauem iudicant
quam quod illos seponit. lex a quinquagesimo anno
militem non legit, a sexagesimo senatorem non citat :
difficilius homines a se otium impetrant quam a lege.
5 interim dum rapiuntur et rapiunt, dum alter alterius 5
quietem rumpit, dum mutuo miseri sunt, uita est
sine fructu, sine uoluptate, sine ullo profectu animi.
nemo in conspicuo mortem habet, nemo non procul
spes intendit, quidam uero disponunt etiam illa quae
10 ultra uitam sunt, magnas moles sepulcrorum et
operum publicorum dedicationes et ad rogam munera
et ambitiosas exequias. at me hercules istorum
funera, tamquam minimum uixerint, ad faces et
cereos ducenda sunt !

3 legit *Bongarsius*, tegit *A*

L. ANNAEI SENECAE
DIALOGORVM LIBER XI
AD POLYBIVM
DE CONSOLATIONE

1 I. *Vrbes ac monumenta saxo structa, si uitae*
nostrae compares, firma sunt; si redigas ad con-
ditionem naturae, omnia destruentis et unde edidit
eodem reuocantis, caduca sunt. quid enim immortale
manus mortales fecerunt? septem illa miracula et 5
si qua his multo mirabiliora sequentium annorum
extruxit ambitio, aliquando solo aequata uisuntur.
ita est: nihil perpetuum, pauca diuturna sunt;
aliud alio modo fragile est, rerum exitus uariantur,
2 ceterum quicquid coepit, et desinit. mundo quidam 10
minantur interitum, et hoc uniuersum, quod omnia
diuina humanaque complectitur, si fas putas credere,
dies aliquis dissipabit et in confusionem ueterem tene-
brasque demerget: eat nunc aliquis et singulas com-
plorete animas, Karthaginis ac Numantiae Corinthique 15
cinerem et si quid aliud altius cecidit lamentetur,
cum etiam hoc, quod non habet quo cadat, sit interi-
turum! eat aliquis et fata tantum aliquando nefas

1 *sententiam mancam sic explet Gertz* 5 fecerunt HV,
fecerint O 10 desinit O. desinet F

ausura sibi non pepercisse conqueratur! quis tam 3
 superbae impotentisque arrogantiae est, ut in hac
 naturae necessitate, omnia ad eundem finem reuo-
 cantis, se unum ac suos seponi uelit, ruinaeque etiam
 5 ipsi mundo imminenti aliquam domum subtrahat?
 maximum ergo solacium est, cogitare id sibi accidisse, 4
 quod omnes ante se passi sunt omnesque passuri;
 et ideo mihi uidetur rerum natura, quod grauissimum
 fecerat, commune fecisse, ut crudelitatem fati con-
 10 solaretur aequalitas.

2. Illud quoque te non minimum adiuuerit, si 1
 cogitaueris nihil profuturum dolorem tuum nec illi
 quem desideras, nec tibi; noles enim longum esse,
 quod irritum est. nam si quicquam tristitiā pro-
 15 fecturi sumus, non recuso quicquid lacrimarum for-
 tunae meae superfuit, tuae fundere; inueniam etiam-
 nunc, per hos exhaustos iam fletibus domesticis oculos
 quod effluat, si modo id tibi futurum bono est. quid 2
 cessas? conqueramur: atque adeo ipse hanc litem
 20 meam faciam: 'iniquissima omnium iudicio Fortuna,
 adhuc uidebaris in eo homine te continuisse, qui
 munere tuo tantam uenerationem receperat, ut,
 quod raro ulli contigit, felicitas eius effugeret inuidiam.
 ecce eum dolorem illi, quem saluo Caesare accipere
 25 maximum poterat, impressisti; et, cum bene illum
 undique circuisses, intellexisti hac parte tantummodo
 patēre ictibus tuis. quid enim illi aliud faceres? 3
 pecuniam eriperes? numquam illi obnoxius fuit;

9 fecerat *O*, faceret *Gertz* 21 in eo homine te con-
 tinuisse *Madvig*, sinu eum hominem continuisse *Müller*, eum
 hominem continuisse *O*, e. h. coluisse *coni. Gertz*

nunc quoque, quantum potest, illam a se abigit, et
 in tanta facilitate acquirendi nullum maiorem ex ea
 4 fructum quam contemptum eius petit. eriperes illi
 amicos? sciebas tam amabilem esse, ut facile in
 locum amissorum posset alios substituere; unum 5
 enim hunc ex eis quos in principali domo potentes
 uidi, cognouisse uideor, quem omnibus amicum habere
 5 cum expediat, magis tamen etiam libet. eriperes
 illi bonam opinionem? solidior est haec apud eum
 quam ut a te quoque ipsa concuti possit. eriperes 10
 bonam ualetudinem? sciebas animum eius liberalibus
 disciplinis, quibus non innutritus tantum sed innatus
 est, sic esse fundatum ut supra omnis corporis dolores
 6 emeretur. eriperes spiritum? quantulum nocuisses!
 longissimum illi ingenii aeuum fama promisit; id 15
 egit ipse, ut meliore sui parte duraret et compositis
 eloquentiae praeclaris operibus a mortalitate se
 uindicaret. quam diu fuerit ullus litteris honor,
 quam diu steterit aut Latinae linguae potentia aut
 Graecae gratia, uigebit cum maximis uiris, quorum 20
 se ingeniis uel contulit uel, si hoc uerecundia eius
 7 recusat, applicuit. hoc ergo unum excogitasti, quo-
 modo maxime illi posses nocere; quo melior est enim
 quisque, hoc saepius ferre te consueuit, sine ullo
 dilectu furentem et inter ipsa beneficia metuendam. 25
 quantulum erat tibi, immunem ab hac iniuria prae-
 stare eum hominem, in quem uidebatur indulgentia
 tua ratione certa peruenisse et non ex tuo more
 temere incidisse!

1 abigit *Madvig*, abicit *F*, abiicit *E*, subicit *D* 15 ingenia
 euum fama (*i.e.* ingeni aeu. f.) *DEHG*, aeuum ingenii fama *uolg.*

3. Adiciamus, si uis, ad has querellas ipsius 1
 adulescentis interceptam inter prima incrementa in-
 dolem. ‘dignus fuit ille te fratre; tu certe eras
 dignissimus, qui ne ex indigno quidem quicquam
 5 doleres fratre. redditur illi testimonium aequale
 omnium hominum; desideratur in tuum honorem,
 laudatur in suum. nihil in illo fuit, quod non libenter 2
 adgnosceres. tu quidem etiam minus bono fratri fu-
 isses bonus, sed in illo pietas tua idoneam nacta ma-
 10 teriam multo se liberius exercuit. nemo potentiam
 eius iniuriā sensit, numquam ille te fratrem ulli mi-
 natus est; ad exemplum se modestiae tuae formaue-
 rat, cogitabatque quantum tu et ornamentum tuorum
 esses et onus: suffecit ille huic sarcinae. o dura fata 3
 15 et nullis aequa uirtutibus! antequam felicitatem suam
 nosset frater tuus, exemptus est.’ parum autem me
 indignari scio; nihil est enim difficilius quam magno
 dolori paria uerba reperire. etiamnunc tamen, si
 quid proficere possumus, conqueramur. ‘quid tibi 4
 20 uoluisti, tam iniusta et tam uiolenta Fortuna? tam
 cito te indulgentiae tuae paenituit? quae ista
 crudelitas est, in medios fratres impetum facere et tam
 cruenta rapinā concordissimam turbam imminuere?
 tam bene stipatam optimorum adulescentium domum,
 25 in nullo fratre degenerantem, turbare et sine ulla
 causa delibare uoluisti? nihil ergo prodest innocentia 5
 ad omnem legem exacta, nihil antiqua frugalitas,

3 fratre O, frater Gertz 18 etiamnunc Haase, iam nunc O
 22 est, in medios ... delibare [uoluisti]? Gertz, uoluisti
in scita interpolatione ad infinitiuos regendos additum esse
arbitratus 24 tam bene B, tandem OG: *latere* tam dense
suspiscatur Gertz

nihil ² in felicitatis summae potentiā ⁴ summa conseruata abstinētia, nihil sincerus et tutus litterarum amor, nihil ab omni labe mens uacans? luget Polybius, et, in uno fratre quid de reliquis possit metuere admonitus, etiam de ipsis doloris sui solaciis 5 timet. facinus indignum! luget Polybius et aliquid propitio dolet Caesare! hoc sine dubio, impotens Fortuna, captasti, ut ostenderes neminem contra te ne a Caesare quidem posse defendi.'

1 4. Diutius accusare fata possumus, mutare non 10 possumus: stant dura et inexorabilia; nemo illa conuicio, nemo fletu, nemo causa mouet; nihil umquam ulli parcunt nec remittunt. proinde parcamus lacrimis nihil proficientibus; facilius enim nos illis dolor iste adiciet quam illos nobis reducet: qui si nos 15 torquet, non adiuuat, primo quoque tempore deponendus est, et ab inanibus solaciis atque amara quadam libidine dolendi animus recipiendus est. nam lacrimis nostris nisi ratio finem fecerit, fortuna non faciet. omnis aegedum mortalīs circumspice, larga 20 ubique flendi et adsidua materia est: alium ad cotidianum opus laboriosa egestas uocat, alium ambitio numquam quieta sollicitat, alius diuitias, quas optauerat, metuit et uoto laborat suo, alium solitudo torquet, alium semper uestibulum obsidens turba; 25 hic habere se dolet liberos, hic perdidisse: lacrimae 3 nobis deerunt ante quam causae dolendi. non uides, qualem nobis uitam rerum natura promiserit, quae primum nascentium hominum fletum esse uoluit?

1 in *addidi* 14 illis: mortuis *Gertz*, inferis *Hermes* 24 solitudo *Haupt*, sollicitudo *O* 29 hominum *O*, omen *Muretus*

hoc principio edimur, huic omnis sequentium annorum ordo consentit. sic uitam agimus, ideoque moderate id fieri debet a nobis, quod saepe faciendum est; et respicientes, quantum a tergo rerum tristemineat, si non finire lacrimas, at certe reseruare debemus. nulli parcendum est rei magis quam huic cuius tam frequens usus est.

5. Illud quoque te non minimum adiuuerit, si cogitaueris nulli minus gratum esse dolorem tuum quam ei cui praestari uidetur: torqueri ille te aut non uult aut non intellegit. nulla itaque eius officii ratio est, quod ei, cui praestatur, si nihil sentit, superuacuum est, si sentit, ingratum est. neminem esse toto orbe terrarum, qui delectetur lacrimis tuis, audacter dixerim. quid ergo? quem nemo aduersus te animum gerit, eum esse tu credis fratris tui, ut cruciatu tui noceat tibi, ut te uelit ab occupationibus tuis, id est a studio et a Caesare? non est hoc simile ueri. ille enim indulgentiam tibi tanquam fratri praestitit, uenerationem tanquam parenti, cultum tanquam superiori; ille desiderio tibi esse uult, tormento esse non uult. quid itaque iuuat dolori intabescere, quem, si quis defunctis sensus est, finiri frater tuus cupit? de alio fratre, cuius incerta posset uoluntas uideri, omnia haec in dubio ponerem et dicerem: 'siue te torqueri lacrimis numquam desinentibus frater tuus cupit, indignus hoc adfectu tuo est; siue non uult, utrique uestrum inhaerentem dolorem dimitte; nec impius frater sic desiderari debet nec pius sic uelit.' in hoc uero, cuius tam

explorata pietas est, pro certo habendum est, nihil esse illi posse acerbius quam si tibi hic casus eius acerbus est, si te ullo modo torquet, si oculos tuos, indignissimos hoc malo, sine ullo flendi fine et conturbat idem et exhaurit.

4 Pietatem tamen tuam nihil aequae a lacrimis tam inutilibus abducat, quam si cogitaueris fratribus te tuis exemplo esse debere fortiter hanc fortunae iniuriam sustinendi. quod duces magni faciunt rebus adfectis, ut hilaritatem de industria simulent et aduersas res adumbrata laetitia abscondant, ne militum animi, si fractam ducis sui mentem uiderint, et ipsi collabantur, id nunc tibi quoque faciendum est :
 5 indue dissimilem animo tuo uultum et, si potes, proice omnem ex toto dolorem; si minus, introrsus abde et 15 contine, ne appareat, et da operam ut fratres tui te imitentur, qui honestum putabunt quodcumque te facientem uiderint, animumque ex uultu tuo sument. et solacium debes esse illorum et consolator; non poteris autem horum maerori obstare, si tuo indul- 20 seris.

1 6. Potest et illa res a luctu te prohibere nimio, si tibi ipse renuntiaueris, nihil horum quae facis posse subduci. magnam tibi personam hominum consensus imposuit: haec tibi tuenda est. circumstat 25 te omnis ista consolantium frequentia, et in animum tuum inquit, ac perspicit quantum roboris ille aduersus dolorem habeat, et utrumne tu tantum rebus secundis uti dextere scias, an et aduersas possis uiri-

6 tam *Pincianus*, iam *O* 29 uti dextere *Bongarsius*, uti id extere *B*, uti id exercere *H*, uti et te exercere *DE*, indulgere *V*

liter ferre: obseruantur oculi tui. liberiora sunt ²
 omnia iis, quorum adfectus tegi possunt; tibi nullum
 secretum liberum est. in multa luce fortuna te posuit;
 omnes scient, quomodo te in isto tuo gesseris uulnere,
⁵ utrumne statim percussus arma summiseris an in gradu
 steteris. olim te in altiorem ordinem et amor Caesaris
 extulit et tua studia eduxerunt. nihil te plebeium
 decet, nihil humile; quid autem tam humile ac mu-
 liebre est quam consumendum se dolori committere?
¹⁰ non idem tibi in luctu pari quod tuis fratribus licet: ³
 multa tibi non permittit opinio de studiis ac moribus
 tuis recepta, multum a te homines exigunt, multum
 expectant. si uolebas tibi omnia licere, ne conuer-
¹⁵ tum est, quantum promisisti. omnes illi, qui opera
 ingenii tui laudant, qui describunt, quibus, cum for-
 tunā tuā opus non sit, ingenio opus est, custodes
 animi tui sunt. nihil umquam itaque potes indignum
²⁰ multos admirationis de te suae paeniteat. non licet ⁴
 tibi flere immodice. nec hoc tantummodo non licet:
 ne somnum quidem extendere in partem diei licet,
 aut a tumultu rerum in otium ruris quieti confugere,
 aut assidua laboriosi officii statione fatigatum corpus
²⁵ uoluptaria peregrinatione recreare, aut spectaculorum
 uarietate animum detinere, aut ex tuo arbitrio diem
 disponere. multa tibi non licent, quae humillimis
 et in angulo iacentibus licent: magna seruitus est ⁵

⁷ eduxerunt *Madvig*, deduxerunt *O* ¹⁴ tantum *Bentley*,
 autem *BH*, autem tantum *DEV* ²¹ licet: ne *Bentley*, licet
 nec *BH*, licet tibi nec *DE*

magna fortuna. non licet tibi quicquam arbitrio tuo facere : audienda sunt tot hominum milia, tot disponendi libelli ; tantus rerum ex orbe toto coeuntium congestus, ut possit per ordinem suum principis maximi animo subici, exigendus est. non licet tibi, 5 inquam, flere : ut multos flentes audire possis, [ut periclitantium et ad misericordiam mitissimi Caesaris peruenire cupientium *lacrimas siccare*, lacrimae tibi tuae adsiccandae sunt.

- 1 7. Haec tamen, etiam nunc, leuioribus te remediis 10 adiuuabunt : cum uoles omnium rerum obliuisci, Caesarem cogita. uide, quantam huius in te indulgentiae fidem, quantam industriam debeas : intelleges non magis tibi incuruari licere quam illi, si quis modo est, fabulis tradito, cuius umeris mundus innitur. 15
- 2 Caesari quoque ipsi, cui omnia licent, propter hoc ipsum multa non licent : omnium somnos illius uigilia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delicias illius industria, omnium uacationem illius occupatio, ex quo se Caesar orbi terrarum dedicauit, sibi eripuit ; 20 et siderum modo, quae inrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, numquam illi licet subsistere nec quicquam
- 3 suum facere. ad quendam itaque modum tibi quoque eadem necessitas iniungitur : non licet tibi ad utilitates tuas, ad studia tua respicere. Caesare orbem 25 terrarum possidente, impertire te nec uoluptati nec dolori nec ulli alii rei potes : totum te Caesari debes.
- 4 adice nunc quod, cum semper praedices cariorum tibi

1 quicquam arbitrio tuo facere *O*, inquam, arb. t. agere *Gertz* 5 digerendus *Gertz* 8 lacrimas siccare *add. Hermes* 15 tradito *scripsi*: traditus *O* 17 somnos *Scruerius*, domos *O*

spiritu tuo Caesarem esse, fas tibi non est saluo
 Caesare de fortuna queri. hoc incolumi, salui tibi
 sunt tui, nihil perdidisti; non tantum siccos oculos
 tuos esse sed etiam laetos oportet; in hoc tibi omnia
 5 sunt, hic pro omnibus est. quod longe a sensibus
 tuis prudentissimis piissimisque abest, aduersus felici-
 tatem tuam parum gratus es, si tibi quicquam, hoc
 saluo, flere permittis.

8. Monstrabo etiam nunc non quidem firmiter
 10 remedium sed familiarius. si quando te domum rece-
 peris, tunc erit tibi metuenda tristitia. nam quam diu
 numen tuum intueberis, nullum illa ad te inueniet
 accessum, omnia in te Caesar tenebit; cum ab illo
 discesseris, tunc uelut occasione data insidiabitur soli-
 15 tudini tuae dolor et requiescenti animo tuo paulatim
 inrepet. itaque non est quod ullum tempus uacare
 patiaris a studiis: tunc tibi litterae tuae tam diu ac
 tam fideliter amatae gratiam referant, tunc te illae
 antistitem et cultorem suum uindicent, tunc Homerus
 20 et Vergilius, tam bene de humano genere meriti quam
 tu et de illis et de omnibus meruisti, quos pluribus
 notos esse uoluisti quam scripserant, multum tecum
 morentur: tutum id erit omne tempus, quod illis
 tuendum commiseris. tunc Caesaris tui opera, ut
 25 per omnia saecula domestico narrentur praeconio,
 quantum potes, compone: nam ipse tibi optime for-
 mandam condendique res gestas et materiam dabit et
 exemplum. non audeo te eo usque producere, ut
 3 fabellas quoque et Aesopeos logos, intemptatum

6 pudētissimis *Stangl*
 29 apologos *Pincianus*

16 ullum: illud *malit Gertz*

Romanis ingeniis opus, solita tibi uenustate conectas. difficile est quidem, ut ad haec hilariora studia tam uehementer percussus animus tam cito possit accedere ; hoc tamen argumentum habeto iam corroborati eius et redditi sibi, si poterit a seuerioribus scriptis ad haec 5
 4 solutiora procedere. in illis enim quamuis aegrum eum adhuc et secum reluctantem auocabit ipsa rerum quas tractabit austeritas : haec, quae remissa fronte commentanda sunt, non feret, nisi cum iam sibi ab omni parte constiterit. itaque debebis eum seueriore 10
 materia primum exercere, deinde hilariore temperare.

1 9. Illud quoque magno tibi erit leuamento, si saepe te sic interrogaueris. ' utrumne meo nomine doleo an eius qui decessit ? si meo, perit indulgentiae iactatio, et incipit dolor (hoc uno excusatus quod 15
 honestus est) cum ad utilitatem respicit, a pietate desciscere ; nihil autem minus bono uiro conuenit
 2 quam in fratris luctu calculos ponere. si illius nomine doleo, necesse est alterutrum ex his duobus esse iudicem. nam, si nullus defunctis sensus superest, 20
 euasit omnia frater meus uitae incommoda et in eum restitutus est locum in quo fuerat antequam nascere-
 tur, et expers omnis mali, nihil timet, nihil cupit, nihil patitur : quis iste furor est, pro eo me numquam dolere desinere, qui numquam doliturus est ? 25
 3 si est aliquis defunctis sensus, nunc animus fratris mei uelut ex diutino carcere emissus, tandem sui iuris et arbitrii, gestit et rerum naturae spectaculo fruitur, et humana omnia ex loco superiore despicit, diuina uero, quorum rationem tam diu frustra quaesierat, 30

2 quidem : enim *Gertz* 7 secum *uix sanum est* : sequi *conieci*

propius intuetur. quid itaque eius desiderio maceror,
 qui aut beatus aut nullus est? beatum deflere
 inuidia est, nullum dementia.' an hoc te mouet, quod 4
 uidetur ingentibus et cum maxime circumfufis bonis
 5 caruisse? cum cogitaueris multa esse quae perdidit,
 cogita plura esse quae non timet: non ira eum tor-
 quebit, non morbus affliget, non suspicio lacesset, non
 edax et inimica semper alienis processibus inuidia
 consectabitur, non metus sollicitabit, non leuitas
 10 Fortunae cito munera sua transferentis inquietabit.
 si bene computes, plus illi remissum quam ereptum
 est. 'non opibus fruetur, non tuā simul ac suā gratiā; 5
 non accipiet beneficia, non dabit.' miserum putas,
 quod ista amisit, an beatum, quod non desiderat?
 15 mihi crede, is beatior est, cui fortuna superuacua est,
 quam is, cui parata est. omnia ista bona, quae nos
 speciosa sed fallaci uoluptate delectant, pecunia,
 dignitas, potentia aliaque complura, ad quae generis
 20 humani caeca cupiditas obstupescit, cum labore
 possidentur, cum inuidia conspiciuntur, eos denique
 ipsos, quos exornant, et premunt. plus minantur
 quam prosunt; lubrica et incerta sunt, numquam
 bene tenentur. nam, ut nihil de tempore futuro
 timeatur, ipsa tamen magnae felicitatis tutela sollicita
 25 est: si uelis credere altius ueritatem intuentibus, 6
 omnis uita supplicium est. in hoc profundum in-
 quietumque proiecti mare, alternis aestibus recipro-
 cum et modo alleuans nos subitis incrementis, modo
 maioribus damnis deferens assidueque iactans, num-
 30 quam stabili consistimus loco, pendemus et fluctuamur,

et alter in alterum illidimur, et aliquando naufragium
 facimus, semper timemus; in hoc tam procelloso et
 ad omnes tempestates exposito mari nauigantibus
 7 nullus portus nisi mortis est. ne itaque inuideris
 fratri tuo: quiescit. tandem liber, tandem tutus, 5
 tandem aeternus est. superstitem Caesarem omnem-
 que eius prolem, superstitem te cum communibus
 habet fratribus. antequam quicquam ex suo fauore
 Fortuna mutaret, stantem adhuc illam et munera
 8 plena manu congerentem reliquit. fruitur nunc 10
 aperto et libero caelo; ex humili atque depresso in
 eum emicuit locum, quisquis ille est, qui solutas
 uinculis animas beato recipit sinu, et nunc libere
 illic uagatur omniaque rerum naturae bona cum
 summa uoluptate perspicit. erras: non perdidit 15
 lucem frater tuus sed sinceriolem sortitus est.
 9 omnibus illo nobis commune est iter: quid fata
 deflemus? non reliquit ille nos sed antecessit. est,
 mihi crede, magna felicitas in ipsa necessitate mori-
 endi. nihil ne in totum quidem diem certi est: quis in 20
 tam obscura et inuoluta ueritate diuinat, utrumne
 fratri tuo mors inuiderit an consuluerit?

7 1 IO. Illud quoque, quā iustitiā in omnibus rebus
 es, necesse est te adiuet, cogitantem non iniuriam
 tibi factam, quod talem fratrem amisisti, sed bene- 25
 ficium datum, quod tam diu tibi pietate eius uti
 2 fruique licuit. iniquus est, qui muneris sui arbitrium
 danti non relinquit, auidus, qui non lucri loco habet

1 <ne> naufragium faciamus *Goerenz* 3 ad *Gertz*, in *O*
 16 sinceriolem *Gertz*, securiolem *O*, securior est *H*, puriolem
Spalding 19 necessitate *Heylbut*, felicitate *O*

quod accepit sed damni quod reddidit. ingratus est,
 qui iniuriam uocat finem uoluptatis, stultus, qui
 nullum fructum esse putat bonorum nisi praesentium,
 qui non et in praeteritis adquiescit et ea iudicat cer-
 5 tiora quae abierunt, quia de illis ne desinant non est
 timendum. nimis angustat gaudia sua, qui eis tan- 3
 tummodo quae habet ac uidet, frui se putat et habuisse
 eadem pro nihilo ducit; cito enim nos omnis uoluptas
 relinquit, quae fluit et transit et paene ante quam
 10 ueniat aufertur. itaque in praeteritum tempus
 animus mittendus est, et quicquid nos umquam
 delectauit reducendum ac frequenti cogitatione per-
 tractandum est: longior fideliorque est memoria
 uoluptatum quam praesentia. quod habuisti ergo 4
 15 optimum fratrem, in summis bonis pone! non est
 quod cogites, quanto diutius habere potueris sed
 quam diu habueris. rerum natura illum tibi sicut
 ceteris fratres suos non mancipio dedit sed commo-
 dauit; cum uisum est deinde, repetiit, nec tuam in eo
 20 satietatem secuta est sed suam legem. si quis pecu- 5
 niam creditam soluisse se moleste ferat, eam praeser-
 tim cuius usum gratuitum acceperit, nonne iniustus
 uir habeatur? dedit natura fratri tuo uitam, dedit
 et tibi: quae suo iure usa si a quo uoluit debitum
 25 suum citius exegit, non illa in culpa est, cuius nota
 erat condicio, sed mortalis animi spes auida, quae
 subinde, quid rerum natura sit, obliuiscitur, nec
 umquam sortis suae meminit nisi cum admonetur.
 gaude itaque habuisse te tam bonum fratrem, et usum 6

18 fratres suos *Madvig*, fratribus suos *O* 25 exegit, non
Gertz, exegit. Non *uolg.*

fructumque eius, quamuis breuior uoto tuo fuerit, boni consule. cogita iucundissimum esse, quod habuisti, humanum, quod perdidisti: nec enim quicquam minus inter se consentaneum est quam aliquem moueri, quod sibi talis frater parum diu contigerit, 5 non gaudere, quod tamen contigerit.

- 1 **II.** 'At inopinanti ereptus est.' sua quemque credulitas decipit et in eis, quae diligit, uoluntaria mortalitatis obliuio: natura nulli se necessitatis suae gratiam facturam esse testata est. cotidie praeter 10 oculos nostros transeunt notorum ignotorumque funera, nos tamen aliud agimus, et subitum id putamus esse, quod nobis tota uita denuntiatur futurum. non est itaque ista factorum iniquitas sed mentis humanae prauietas insatiabilis rerum omnium, quae 15 indignatur inde excidere, quo admissa est precario.
- 2 quanto ille iustior, qui nuntiata filii morte dignam magno uiro uocem emisit: 'ego cum genui, tum moriturum sciui.' prorsus non mireris ex hoc natum esse, qui fortiter mori posset. non accepit tamquam 20 nouum nuntium filii mortem; quid enim est noui hominem mori, cuius tota uita nihil aliud quam ad mortem iter est? 'ego cum genui, tum moriturum
- 3 sciui.' deinde adiecit rem maioris et prudentiae et animi: 'et huic rei sustuli.' omnes huic rei tolli- 25 mur; quisquis ad uitam editur, ad mortem destinatur. gaudeamus ergo eo quod dabitur, reddamusque id, cum reposedemur. alium alio tempore fata compre-

16 inde excidere quo *Gertz*, inde eximere quo *DEGV*, inde exire quo *Haase* 23 inquit *post* genui *Gertz* *inserendum censet* 24 rem *O*, uocem *malit Gertz*: sed cf. *De Ben. vii 11, 2*

hendent, neminem praeteribunt. in procinctu stet
 animus, et id quod necesse est numquam timeat, quod
 incertum est semper expectet. quid dicam duces 4
 ducumque progeniem et multis aut consulatibus con-
 5 spicuos aut triumphis sorte defunctos inexorabili?
 tota cum regibus regna populique cum regentibus
 tulere fatum suum; omnes, immo omnia, in ultimum
 diem spectant. non idem uniuersis finis est: alium
 in medio cursu uita deserit, alium in ipso aditu relin-
 10 quit, alium in extrema senectute, fatigatum iam et
 exire cupientem, uix emittit; alio quidem atque alio
 tempore, omnes tamen in eundem locum tendimus;
 utrumne stultius sit, nescio: mortalitatis legem ignorare,
 an inprudens recusare. agedum illa, quae multo 5
 15 ingenii tui labore celebrata sunt, in manus sume utrius-
 libet auctoris carmina, quae tu ita resoluiisti ut,
 quamuis structura illorum recesserit, permaneat
 tamen gratia—sic enim illa ex alia lingua in aliam
 transtulisti, ut, quod difficillimum erat, omnes
 20 uirtutes in alienam te orationem secutae sint—:
 nullus erit in illis scriptis liber, qui non plurima
 uarietatis humanae incertorumque casuum et lacri-
 marum, ex alia atque alia causa fluentium, exempla
 tibi suggerat. lege, quanto spiritu ingentibus in- 6
 25 tonueris rebus: pudebit te subito deficere et ex tanta
 orationis magnitudine desciscere. ne commiseris,
 ut quisquis exempto modo scripta tua mirabatur

6 cum regentibus *Haase*, cum gentibus *O* 20 uirtutes
DE, turtures *B*, ueneres *Fickert* 25 rebus *O*, uerbis *Bentley*
 27 exempto modo *Madvig*, exemplo ac modo *BGV*, exemplo
 aut modo *O*

quaerat quomodo tam grandia tamque solida tam fragilis animus conceperit.

1 **12.** Potius ab istis te, quae torquent, ad haec tot et tanta quae consolantur conuerte; ac respice optimos fratres, respice uxorem, filium respice: pro 5 omnium horum salute hac tecum portione Fortuna decidit. multos habes, in quibus adquiescas. ab hac te infamiā uindica, ne uideatur omnibus plus apud te ualere unus dolor quam haec tam multa 2 solacia. omnis istos una tecum percussos uides nec 10 posse tibi subuenire, immo etiam ultro expectare ut a te subleuentur, intellegis; et ideo quanto minus in illis doctrinae minusque ingenii est, tanto magis obsistere te necesse est communi malo. est autem hoc ipsum solacii loco, inter multos dolorem suum 15 diuidere; qui quia dispensatur inter plures, exiguā 3 debet apud te parte subsidere. non desinam totiens tibi offerre Caesarem. illo moderante terras et ostendente quanto melius beneficiis imperium custodiatur quam armis, illo rebus humanis praesidente, 20 non est periculum ne quid perdidisse te sentias; in hoc uno tibi satis praesidii, solacii est. attolle te; et, quotiens lacrimae suboriuntur oculis tuis, totiens illos in Caesarem derige: siccabuntur maximi et clarissimi conspectu numinis; fulgor eius illos, ut 25 nihil aliud possint aspicere, praestringet et in se 4 haerentes detinebit. hic tibi, quem tu diebus intueris ac noctibus, a quo numquam deicis animum, cogitandus est, hic contra fortunam aduocandus.

8 omnibus *O*, hominibus *Gertz* 20 praesidente *Erasmus*,
praeside *O*, presidie *E* 24 dirige *O*, dirigere *D*: *corr. Gertz*

nec dubito, cum tanta illi aduersus omnes suos sit mansuetudo tantaque indulgentia, quin iam multis solaciis tuum istud uulnus obduxerit, iam multa, quae dolori obstarent tuo, congesserit. quid porro?
 5 ut nihil horum fecerit, nonne protinus ipse conspectus per se tantummodo cogitatusque Caesar maximo solacio tibi est? dii illum deaeque terris diu com- 5
 modent! acta hic diui Augusti aequet, annos uincat!
 quam diu inter mortales erit, nihil ex domo sua
 10 mortale esse sentiat! rectorem Romano imperio filium longa fide approbet et ante illum consortem patris quam successorem aspiciat! sera et nepotibus demum nostris dies nota sit, qua illum gens sua caelo asserat!

15 **13.** Abstine ab hoc manus tuas, Fortuna, nec 1
 in isto potentiam tuam nisi ea parte qua prodes, ostenderis! patere illum generi humano iam diu aegro et adfecto mederi, patere quicquid prioris principis furor concussit) in suum locum restituere ac
 20 reponere! sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras|orbi refulsit, semper luceat!
 hic Germaniam pacet, Britanniam aperiat! et patrios 2
 triumphos ducat et nouos! quorum me quoque
 spectatorem futurum, quae ex uirtutibus eius pri-
 25 mum optinet locum, promittit clementia. nec enim sic me deiecit ut nollet erigere, immo ne deiecit quidem sed impulsus a fortuna et cadentem sustinuit, et in praeceps euntem leniter diuinae manūs usus

3 iam multa *Schultess*, monita multa *Gertz*, non multa O
 12 aspiciamus *Gertz*: sed propter numeros dubito 22 pacet
 uolg., placet O

moderatione deposuit : deprecatus est pro me senatum
 et uitam mihi non tantum dedit sed etiam petiit.
 3 uiderit : qualem uolet esse, existimet causam meam ;
 uel iustitia eius bonam perspiciat uel clementia faciat
 bonam : utrumque in aequo mihi eius beneficium 5
 erit, siue innocentem me scierit esse, siue uoluerit.
 interim magnum miseriarum mearum solacium est,
 uidere misericordiam eius totum orbem peruagantem :
 quae cum ex ipso angulo, in quo ego defixus sum,
 complures multorum iam annorum ruina obrutos 10
 effoderit et in lucem reduxerit, non uereor ne me unum
 transeat. ipse autem optime nouit tempus, quo
 cuique debeat succurrere ; ego omnem operam dabo,
 4 ne peruenire ad me erubescat. o felicem clementiam
 tuam, Caesar, quae efficit ut quietiorem sub te agant 15
 uitam exules quam nuper sub Gaio egere principes !
 non trepidant nec per singulas horas gladium expectant
 nec ad omnem nauium conspectum pauent ;
 per te habent ut fortunae saeuientis modum ita spem
 quoque melioris eiusdem ac praesentis quietem. scias 20
 licet ea demum fulmina esse iustissima, quae etiam
 percussi colunt.

1 **14.** Hic itaque princeps, qui publicum omnium
 hominum solacium est, aut me omnia fallunt aut iam
 recreauit animum tuum et tam magno uulneri 25
 maiora adhibuit remedia. iam te omni confirmauit
 modo : iam omnia exempla, quibus ad animi aequi-
 tatem compellereris, tenacissima memoria rettulit,
 iam omnium praecepta sapientium assueta sibi

3 post uiderit interpunxit Gertz 9 ex ipso angulo BH,
 ex ipso hoc angulo DE

facundia explicuit. nullus itaque melius has adlo- 2
 quendi partes occupauerit: aliud habebunt, hoc
 dicente, pondus uerba uelut ab oraculo missa; omnem
 uim doloris tui diuina eius contundet auctoritas. hunc
 5 itaque tibi puta dicere. 'non te solum fortuna
 desumpsit sibi, quem tam graui afficeret iniuria;
 nulla domus in toto orbe terrarum aut est aut fuit sine
 aliqua comploratione. transibo exempla uulgaria,
 quae, etiamsi minora, tamen innumera sunt; ad fastus
 10 te et annales perducam publicos. uides omnes has 3
 imagines, quae impleuere Caesarum atrium? nulla
 non harum aliquo suorum incommodo insignis est;
 nemo non ex istis in ornamentum saeculorum reful-
 gentibus uiris aut desiderio suorum tortus est, aut a
 15 suis cum maximo animi cruciatu desideratus est. quid 4
 tibi referam Scipionem Africanum, cui mors fratris in
 exilio nuntiata est? is frater, qui eripuit fratrem
 carceri, non potuit eripere fato. et quam impatiens
 iuris aequi pietas Africani fuerit, cunctis apparuit:
 20 eodem enim die Scipio Africanus, quo uiatoris mani-
 bus fratrem abstulerat, tribuno quoque plebis priuatus
 intercessit. tam magno tamen fratrem desiderauit
 hic animo, quam defenderat. quid referam Aemi- 5
 lianum Scipionem, qui uno paene eodemque tempore
 25 spectauit patris triumphum duorumque fratrum
 funera? adulescentulus tamen ac propemodum puer
 tanto animo tulit illam familiae suae, super ipsum

9 innumera *Lipsius*, mira *O*, misera *Gruter* fastus *O*,
 fastos *B corr.* 15 omnia inde a § 4 usque ad c. 15 § 2
 aliunde inculcata esse contendit *W. Gemoll*: *Seneca ipse*
errare potuit 18 carceri *Wesenberg*, carcere *O* 20 Scipio
Africanus *delebat Muretus*

Pauli triumphum concidentis, subitam uastitatem, quanto debuit ferre uir in hoc natus, ne urbi Romanae aut Scipio deesset aut Karthago superesset.

- 1 15. 'Quid referam duorum Lucullorum diremptam morte concordiam? quid Pompeios? quibus ne hoc 5 quidem saeuens reliquit Fortuna, ut una eademque conciderent ruina. uixit Sextus Pompeius primum sorori superstes, cuius morte optime cohaerentis Romanae pacis uincula resoluta sunt; idemque hic uixit superstes optimo fratri, quem fortuna in hoc 10 euexerat, ne minus alte eum deiceret quam patrem deiecerat; et post hunc tamen casum Sextus Pompeius non tantum dolori sed etiam bello suffecit.
- 2 innumerabilia undique exempla separatorum morte fratrum succurrunt, immo contra uix ulla unquam 15 horum paria conspecta sunt una senescentia; sed contentus nostrae domus exemplis ero. nemo enim tam expers erit sensus ac sanitatis, ut Fortunam ulli queratur luctum intulisse, quom scierit etiam Caesarum
- 3 lacrimas concupisse. diuus Augustus amisit Octauiam 20 sororem carissimam; et ne ei quidem rerum natura lugendi necessitatem abstulit, cui caelum destinauerat. immo uero idem, omni genere orbitatis uexatus, sororis filium successioni praeparatum suae perdidit; denique, ne singulos eius luctus enumerem, et generos 25 ille amisit et liberos et nepotes, ac nemo magis ex omnibus mortalibus hominem esse se, dum inter homines erat, sensit. tamen tot tantosque luctus

6 eademque *Wesenberg*, denique *O* 11 euexerat *Gertz*,
 erexerat *O* 12 Sextus Pompeius *delebat Muretus* 19 quom
 scierit *Gertz*, quam sciet *O*, quem scierit *H*

cepit rerum omnium capacissimum eius pectus,
 uictorque diuus Augustus non gentium tantummodo
 externarum sed etiam dolorum fuit. Gaius Caesar, 4
 diui Augusti, auunculi mei magni, nepos, circa primos
 5 iuuentae suae annos Lucium fratrem carissimum sibi,
 princeps iuuentutis principem eiusdem iuuentutis,
 amisit in apparatu Parthici belli, et grauiore multo
 animi uolnere quam postea corporis ictus est; quod
 utrumque et piissime idem et fortissime tulit. *Ti.* 5
 10 Caesar patruus meus Drusum Germanicum patrem
 meum, minorem natu quam ipse erat fratrem, intima
 Germaniae recludentem et gentes ferocissimas Romano
 subicientem imperio, in complexu et in osculis suis
 amisit: modum tamen lugendi non sibi tantum sed
 15 etiam aliis fecit, ac totum exercitum, non solum mae-
 stum sed etiam attonitum, corpus Drusi sui sibi
 uindicantem, ad morem Romani luctus redegit,
 iudicauitque non militandi tantum disciplinam esse
 seruandam sed etiam dolendi. non potuisset ille
 20 lacrimas alienas compescere, nisi prius pressisset
 suas.

16. ‘M. Antonius auus meus, nullo minor nisi eo 1
 a quo uictus est, tunc cum rem publicam constitueret
 et triumuirali potestate praeditus nihil supra se
 25 uideret, exceptis uero duobus collegis omnia infra se
 cerneret, fratrem interfectum audiuit. Fortuna impo- 2
 tens, quales ex humanis malis tibi ipsa ludos facis!
 eo ipso tempore, quo M. Antonius ciuium suorum

1 capacissimum *Gruter*, pacatissimum *BE* 4 magni nepos
Madvig, ac nepos *BHG*, adnepos *DV*, abnepos *E* 9 *Ti. add.*
Lipsius et Madvig 25 uideret *delebat Muretus*

uitae sedebat mortisque arbiter, M. Antonii frater
 duci iuebatur ad supplicium! tulit hoc tamen tam
 triste uulnus eadem magnitudine animi M. Antonius
 qua omnia alia aduersa tolerauerat, et hoc fuit eius
 lugere, uiginti legionum sanguine fratri parentare. 5
 3 sed, ut omnia alia exempla praeteream, ut in me quo-
 que ipso alia taceam funera, bis me fraterno luctu
 aggressa Fortuna est, bis intellexit laedi me posse,
 uinci non posse. *amisi sororem*; amisi Germanicum
 fratrem, quem quomodo amauerim, intellegit profecto 10
 quisquis cogitat quomodo suos fratres pii fratres
 ament; sic tamen adfectum meum rexi, ut nec re-
 linquerem quicquam quod exigere deberet a bono fratre,
 nec facerem quod reprehendi posset in principe.'

4 Haec ergo puta tibi parentem publicum referre 15
 exempla, eundem ostendere, quam nihil sacrum intac-
 tumque sit Fortunae, quae ex eis penetibus ausa est
 funera ducere, ex quibus erat deos petitura. nemo
 itaque miretur aliquid ab illa aut crudeliter fieri aut
 inique; potest enim haec aduersus priuatas domos 20
 ullam aequitatem nosse aut ullam modestiam, cuius
 implacabilis saeuitia totiens ipsa funestauit pului-
 5 naria? faciamus licet illi conuicium non nostro
 tantum ore sed etiam publico, non tamen mutabitur;
 aduersus omnis se preces omnisque querimonias 25
 exiget. hoc fuit in rebus humanis Fortuna, hoc erit:
 nihil inausum sibi reliquit, nihil intactum relinquet;
 ibit uiolentior per omnia, sicut solita est semper, eas

3 M. Antonius *delebat Muretus* 4 eius lugere *O*, ei lugere
uolg. 9 amisi sororem *addidi* 25 querimonias *Pincianus*,
 cerimonias *O* 28 uiolenter *coni. Gertz* semper, et eas
 quoque domos...aditur, atram...uestem. *coni. Gertz*

quoque domos ausa iniuriae causa intrare, in quas per templa aditur, et atram laureatis foribus induet uestem. hoc unum optineamus ab illa uotis ac 6 precibus publicis, si nondum illi genus humanum 5 placuit consumere, si Romanum adhuc nomen propitia respicit : hunc principem lapsis hominum rebus datum, sicut omnibus mortalibus, sibi esse sacratum uelit ! discat ab illo clementiam fiatque mitissimo omnium principum mitis !

10 **17.** Debes itaque eos intueri omnes, quos paulo 1 ante rettuli, aut adscitos caelo aut proximos, et ferre aequo animo Fortunam ad te quoque porrigentem manus, quas ne ab eis quidem per quos iuramus abstinet ; debes illorum imitari firmitatem in per- 15 ferendis et euincendis doloribus, in quantum modo homini fas est per diuina ire uestigia. quamuis sint 2 in aliis rebus dignitatum ac nobilitatum magna discrimina, uirtus in medio posita est : neminem dedignatur, qui modo dignum se illa iudicat. optime certe 20 illos imitaberis, qui cum indignari possent non esse ipsos exsortes huius mali, tamen in hoc uno se ceteris exaequari hominibus non iniuriam sed ius mortalitatis iudicauerunt, tuleruntque nec nimis acerbe et aspere quod acciderat, nec molliter et effeminate ; nam et 25 non sentire mala sua, non est hominis, et non ferre, non est uiri. non possum tamen, cum omnes cir- 3 cumierim Caesares, quibus Fortuna fratres sororesque eripuit, hunc praeterire ex omni Caesarum numero

2 induere *coni. Haase* 6 lapsis *O, lassis B* 8 fiatque
Pauly, atque O 16 sint *add. Gertz* 17 inde a uerbis
 magna discrimina *A rursus incipit*

excerpendum, quem rerum natura in exitium opprobriumque humani generis edidit, a quo imperium adustum atque euersum funditus principis mitissimi
 4 recreat clementia. C. Caesar amissa sorore Drusilla, is homo, qui non magis dolere quam gaudere principaliter posset, conspectum conuersationemque ciuium suorum profugit, exsequiis sororis suae non interfuit, iusta sorori non praestitit, sed in Albano suo tesseris ac foro et peruolgatis huiusmodi aliis occupationibus acerbissimi funeris eleuabat mala. pro pudor imperii!
 10 principis Romani lugentis sororem alea solacium fuit!
 5 idem ille Gaius furiosā inconstantia modo barbam capillumque submittens, modo tondens, Italiae ac Siciliae oras errabundus permetiens, et numquam satis certus utrum lugeri uellet an coli sororem, eodem
 15 omni tempore quo templa illi constituebat ac puluina, eos qui parum maesti fuerant crudelissima adficiebat animaduersione. eadem enim intemperie animi aduersarum rerum ictus ferebat, qua secundarum elatus euentu super humanum intumescebat modum.
 20
 6 procul istud exemplum ab omni Romano sit uiro, luctum suum aut intempestiuis seuocare lusibus, aut sordium ac squaloris foeditate inritare, aut alienis malis oblectare minime humano solacio.
 1 18. Tibi uero nihil ex consuetudine mutandum 25 est tua, quoniam quidem ea^{te} instituisti amare studia,

3 auersū at q; adustū A: corr. Wesenberg mitissimi AV, piissimi O, peritissimi B 9 et peruolgatis Haase, & puocatis ADHB, ex prouocatis E, et prouocatis G, et pyrgo talisque con. Gertz 13 tondens add. Wesenberg 22 seuocare Gertz, euocare A

quae et optime felicitatem extollunt et facillime
 minuunt calamitatem eademque et ornamenta maxi-
 ma homini sunt et solacia. nunc itaque te studiis
 tuis inmerge altius, nunc illa tibi uelut munimenta
 5 animi circumda, ne ex ulla tui parte inueniat intro-
 itum dolor. fratris quoque tui produc memoriam 2
 aliquo scriptorum monumento tuorum; hoc enim
 unum est *in* rebus humanis opus, cui nulla tempestas
 noceat, quod nulla consumat uetustas. cetera, quae
 10 per constructionem lapidum et marmoreas moles aut
 terrenos tumulos in magnam eductos altitudinem
 constant, non propagant longam diem, quippe et
 ipsa intereunt: immortalis est ingenii memoria. hanc
 tu fratri tuo largire, in hac eum conloca; melius
 15 illum duraturo semper consecrabis ingenio quam irrito
 dolore lugebis. quod ad ipsam Fortunam pertinet, 3
 etiamsi nunc agi apud te causa eius non potest—
 omnia enim illa, quae nobis dedit, ob hoc ipsum quod
 aliquid eripuit, inuisa sunt—, tunc tamen erit agenda,
 20 cum primum aequiorem te illi iudicem dies fecerit;
 tunc enim poteris in gratiam cum illa redire. nam
 multa prouidit, quibus hanc emendaret iniuriam,
 multa etiamnunc dabit, quibus redimat; denique
 ipsum hoc quod abstulit, ipsa dederat tibi. noli 4
 25 ergo contra te ingenio uti tuo, noli adesse dolori tuo.
 potest quidem eloquentia tua quae parua sunt appro-
 bare pro magnis, rursus magna attenuare et ad minima
 deducere; sed alio istas uires seruet suas, nunc tota

1 et optime *Muretus*, optime et *AO* 3 homini *A*, hominum
O, hominis *Gertz* 4 immerge altius *Pincianus*, inmergere
 acrius *AHDE* 8 in *add. Wesenberg*, ex *Madvig*

se in solacium tuum conferat. et tamen dispice, ne hoc iam quoque ipsum sit superuacuum; aliquid enim a nobis natura exigit, plus uanitate contrahitur. 5 numquam autem ego a te, ne ex toto maereas, exigam. et scio inueniri quosdam durae magis quam 5 fortis prudentiae uiros, qui negent doliturum esse sapientem: hi non uidentur mihi unquam in eiusmodi casum incidisse, alioquin excussisset illis fortuna superbam sapientiam, et ad confessionem eos ueri 6 etiam inuitos compulisset. satis praestiterit ratio, 10 si id unum ex dolore, quod et superest et abundat, exciderit: ut quidem nullum omnino esse eum patiatur, nec sperandum ulli nec concupiscendum est. hunc potius modum seruet, qui nec impietatem imitetur nec insaniam, et nos in eo teneat habitu, qui et 15 piaae mentis est nec motae. fluant lacrimae, sed eaedem et desinant; trahantur ex imo gemitus pectore, sed idem et finiantur; sic rege animum tuum, ut et sapientibus te adprobare possis et fratri- 7 bus. effice ut frequenter fratris tui memoriam tibi 20 uelis occurrere, ut illum et sermonibus celebres et adsidua recordatione repraesentes tibi, quod ita demum consequi poteris, si tibi memoriam eius iucundam magis quam flebilem feceris; naturale est enim ut semper animus ab eo refugiat, ad quod cum 25 8 tristitia reuertitur. cogita modestiam eius, cogita in rebus agendis sollertiam, in exsequendis industriam, in promissis constantiam. omnia dicta eius ac facta et aliis expone et tibimet ipse conmemora. qualis

3 doloris ante natura add. Gertz 16 motae DEGV, ras.
in A, emotae Pincianus

fuerit cogita qualisque sperari potuerit : quid enim de illo non tuto sponderi fratre posset ?

Haec, utcumque potui, longo iam situ obsoleto et 9
hebetato animo composui. quae si aut parum respon-
5 dere ingenio tuo aut parum mederi dolori uidebuntur,
cogita, quam non possit is alienae uacare consolationi,
quem sua mala occupatum tenent, et quam non facile
latina ei homini uerba succurrant, quem barbarorum
inconditus et barbaris quoque humanioribus grauis
10 fremitus circumsonat.

2 sponderi tuto *malim*

6 uagare *A*

L. ANNAEI SENECAE
DIALOGORVM LIBER XII
AD HELVIAM MATREM
DE CONSOLATIONE

1 I. Saepe iam, mater optima, impetum cepi con-
solandi te, saepe continui. ut auderem, multa me
inpellebant. primum uidebar depositurus omnia in-
commoda, cum lacrimas tuas, etiam si suppressere
non potuissem, interim certe abstersissêm; deinde 5
plus habiturum me auctoritatis non dubitabam ad
excitandam te, si prior ipse consurrexissem; praeterea
timebam, ne a me uicta fortuna aliquem meorum
uinceret: itaque utcumque conabar manu super
plagam meam inposita ad obliganda uulnera uestra 10
2 reptare. hoc propositum meum erant rursus quae
retardarent. dolori tuo, dum recens saeuiret, sciebam
occurrendum non esse, ne illum ipsa solacia iritarent
et accenderent—nam in morbis quoque nihil est per-
niciosius quam immatura medicina—: expectabam 15
itaque, dum ipse uires suas frangeret, et ad sustinenda
remedia mora mitigatus tangi se ac tractari pateretur.
praeterea cum omnia clarissimorum ingeniorum
monimenta ad compescendos moderandosque luctus
composita euoluerem, non inueniebam exemplum 20

eius, qui consolatus suos esset, cum ipse ab illis comploraretur: ita in re noua haesitabam, uerebarque ne haec non consolatio esset sed exulceratio. quid, 3 quod nouis uerbis nec ex uolgari et cotidiana sumptis 5 adlocutione opus erat homini, ad consolandos suos ex ipso rogo caput adleuanti? omnis autem magnitudo doloris modum excedentis necesse est dilectum uerborum eripiat, cum saepe uocem quoque ipsam intercludat. utcumque conitar, non fiducia ingenii 4 10 sed quia possum instar efficacissimae consolationis esse ipse consolator. cui nihil negares, huic hoc utique te non esse negaturam, licet omnis maeror contumax sit, spero, ut desiderio tuo uelis a me modum statui.

2. Vide quantum de indulgentia tua promiserim 1 15 mihi: potentior me futurum aput te non dubito quam dolorem tuum, quo nihil est aput miseros potentius. itaque ne statim cum eo concurram, adero prius illi et quibus excitetur ingeram; omnia proferam et rescindam, quae iam obducta sunt. dicit 2 20 aliquis: 'quod hoc genus est consolandi, oblitterata mala reuocare et animum in omnium aerumnarum suarum conspectu conlocare uix unius patientem?' sed is cogitet, quaecumque usque eo pernicioosa sunt ut contra remedium conualuerint, plerumque contra- 25 riis curari. omnis itaque luctus illi suos, omnia lugubria admouebo: hoc erit, non molli uia mederi sed urere ac secare. quid consequar? ut pudeat animum tot miseriarum uictorem aegre ferre unum uulnus in corpore tam cicatricoso. fleant itaque 3 30 diutius et gemant, quorum delicatas mentes eneruauit

longa felicitas, et ad leuissimarum iniuriarum motus conlabantur : at quorum omnes anni per calamitates transierunt, grauissima quoque forti et immobili constantia perferant. unum habet adsidua infelicitas bonum, quod, quos semper uexat, nouissime indurat. 5
 4 nullam tibi Fortuna uacationem dedit a grauissimis luctibus. ne natalem quidem tuum excepit: amisisti matrem statim nata, immo dum nasceris, et ad uitam quodammodo exposita es. creuisti sub nouerca; quam tu quidem omni obsequio et pietate, quanta uel 10 in filia conspici potest, matrem fieri coegisti; nulli tamen non magno constitit etiam bona nouerca. auunculum indulgentissimum, optimum ac fortissimum uirum, cum aduentum eius expectares, amisisti; et, ne saeuitiam suam Fortuna leuiorem 15 diducendo faceret, intra tricensimum diem carissimum uirum, ex quo mater trium liberorum eras, 5 extulisti. lugenti tibi luctus nuntiatus est, omnibus quidem absentibus liberis, quasi de industria in id tempus coniectis malis tuis, ut nihil esset ubi se dolor 20 tuus reclinaret. transeo tot pericula, tot metus, quos sine interuallo in te incursantis pertulisti: modo modo in eundem sinum, ex quo tres nepotes emiseras, ossa trium nepotum recepisti; intra uicesimum diem quam filium meum in manibus et in osculis tuis mor- 25 tuum funeraueras, raptum me audisti. hoc adhuc defuerat tibi, lugere uiuos.

1 3. Grauissimum est ex omnibus, quae umquam in corpus tuum descenderunt, recens uulnus, fateor: non summam cutem rupit, pectus et uiscera ipsa 30

diuisit. sed quemadmodum tirones leuiter saucii
 tamen uociferantur et manus medicorum magis quam
 ferrum horrent, at ueterani, quamuis confossi, pa-
 tienter ac sine gemitu uelut aliena corpora exsanari
 5 patiuntur, ita tu nunc debes fortiter praebere te
 curationi. lamentationes quidem et heulatus et alia, 2
 per quae fere muliebris dolor tumultuatur, amoue ;
 perdidisti enim tot mala, si nondum misera esse
 didicisti. ecquid uideor non timide tecum egisse ?
 10 nihil tibi subduxi ex malis tuis, sed omnia coaceruata
 ante te posui.

4. Magno id animo feci ; constitui enim uincere 1
 dolorem tuum, non circumscribere. uincam autem,
 puto, primum si ostendero nihil me pati propter quod
 15 ipse dici possim miser, nedum propter quod miseros
 etiam quos contingo faciam ; deinde si ad te transiero
 et probauero ne tuam quidem grauem esse fortunam,
 quae tota ex mea pendet.

Hoc prius adgrediar quod pietas tua audire gestit, 2
 20 nihil mihi mali esse. si potuero, ipsas res, quibus me
 putat premi, non esse intolerabiles faciam mani-
 festum ; sin id credi non potuerit, at ego mihi ipse
 magis placebo, quod inter eas res beatus ero, quae
 miseros solent facere. non est quod de me aliis cre- 3
 25 das : ipse tibi, ne quid incertis opinionibus pertur-
 beris, indico me non esse miserum. ¶ adiciam, quo
 securior sis, ne fieri quidem me posse miserum.

5. Bona condicione geniti sumus, si eam non 1
 deseruerimus. id egit rerum natura, ut ad bene

4 exsanari *Juretus et Lipsius*, exsanari *A* 7 muliebris
 5, mulieris *A* 9 nunc timide *Wesenberg* 21 putas *uolg.*

uiuendum non magno apparatu opus esset : unus-
 quisque facere se beatum potest. leue momentum in
 aduenticiis rebus est et quod in neutram partem
 magnas uires habeat : nec secunda sapientem euehant
 nec aduersa demittunt ; laborauit enim semper, ut in 5
 se plurimum poneret, ut a se omne gaudium peteret.
 2 quid ergo ? sapientem esse me dico ? minime ;
 nam id quidem si profiteri possem, non tantum
 negarem miserum esse me, sed omnium fortunatis-
 simum et in uicinum deo perductum praedicarem : 10
 nunc, quod satis est ad omnis miserias leniendas,
 sapientibus me uiris dedi, et nondum in auxilium mei
 ualidus, in aliena castra confugi, eorum scilicet qui
 3 facile se ac suos tuentur. illi me iusserunt stare
 adsidue uelut in praesidio positum, et omnis conatus 15
 Fortunae, omnis impetus, prospicere multo ante
 quam incurrant. illis grauis est, quibus repentina
 est : facile eam sustinet, qui semper expectat. nam
 et hostium aduentus eos prosternit, quos inopinantis
 occupauit ; at qui futuro se bello ante bellum para- 20
 uerunt, compositi et aptati, primum, qui tumultuo-
 4 sissimus est, ictum facile excipiunt. numquam ego
 Fortunae credidi, etiam cum uideretur pacem agere ;
 omnia illa, quae in me indulgentissime conferebat,
 pecuniam, honores, gratiam, eo loco posui, unde posset 25
 sine motu meo repetere. interuallum inter illa et me
 magnum habui ; itaque abstulit illa, non auolsit.
 neminem aduersa fortuna comminuit, nisi quem
 5 secunda decepit. illi, qui munera eius uelut sua et
 perpetua amauerunt, qui se suspici propter illa 30

6 ut a se Gertz, uita se A, intra se uolg.

uoluerunt, iacent et maerent, cum uanos et pueriles animos, omnis solidae uoluptatis ignaros, falsa et mobilia oblectamenta destituunt: at ille, qui se laetis rebus non inflauit, nec mutatis contrahit. 5 aduersus utrumque statum inuictum animum tenet exploratae iam firmitatis; nam in ipsa felicitate, quid contra infelicitatem ualeret, expertus est. ita- 6 que ego in illis, quae omnes optant, existimaui semper nihil ueri boni inesse; tum inania et specioso ac de- 10 ceptorio fucō circumlita inueni, intra nihil habentia fronti suae simile; nunc in his, quae mala uocantur, nihil tam terribile ac durum inuenio quam opinio uolgi minabatur. uerbum quidem ipsum persuasione quadam et consensu iam asperius ad aures uenit, et 15 audientis tamquam triste et execrabile ferit: ita enim populus iussit, sed populi scita ex magna parte sapientes abrogant.

6. Remoto ergo iudicio plurium, quos prima 1 rerum species, utcumque credita est, aufert, uideamus 20 quid sit exilium. nempe loci commutatio. ne angustare uidear uim eius et quidquid pessimum in se habet subtrahere, hanc commutationem loci sequuntur incommoda: paupertas, ignominia, contemptus. aduersus ista postea conflagam; interim primum 25 illud intueri uolo, quid acerbi adferat ipsa loci commutatio.

‘Carere patria intolerabile est.’ aspice aegedum 2 hanc frequentiam, cui uix urbis immensae tecta sufficiunt: maxima pars istius turbae patria caret. ex

9 tum *A*, tam *5* 20 commutatione. angustare *A*: *corr.*
Fickert

municipiis et coloniis suis, ex toto denique orbe ter-
 rarum, confluerunt : alios adduxit ambitio, alios ne-
 cessitas officii publici, alios inposita legatio, alios
 luxuria opportunum et opulentum uitii locum quae-
 rens, alios liberalium studiorum cupiditas, alios 5
 spectacula ; quosdam traxit amicitia, quosdam in-
 dustria, laxam ostendendae uirtuti nancta materiam ;
 quidam uenalem formam attulerunt, quidam uenalem
 3 eloquentiam. nullum non hominum genus con-
 cucurrit in urbem et uirtutibus et uitii magna pretia 10
 ponentem. iube istos omnes ad nomen citari, et
 ' unde domo ' quisque sit quare : uidebis maiorem
 partem esse, quae relictis sedibus suis uenerit in maxi-
 mam quidem ac pulcherrimam urbem, non tamen
 4 suam. deinde ab hac ciuitate discede, quae ueluti 15
 communis potest dici, omnes urbes circumi : nulla
 non magnam partem peregrinae multitudinis habet.
 transi ab iis, quarum amoena positio et opportunitas
 regionis plures adlicit ; deserta loca et asperrimas
 insulas, Sciathum et Seriphum, Gyarum et Cossuran, 20
 percense : nullum inuenies exilium in quo non aliquis
 5 animi causa moretur. quid tam nudum inueniri
 potest, quid tam abruptum undique quam hoc
 saxum ? quid ad copias respicienti ieiunius ? quid
 ad homines inmansuetius ? quid ad ipsum loci 25
 situm horridius ? quid ad caeli naturam intem-
 perantius ? plures tamen hic peregrini quam ciues
 consistunt. usque eo ergo commutatio ipsa locorum
 grauis non est, ut hic quoque locus a patria quosdam

abduxerit. inuenio qui dicant inesse naturalem 6
 quandam inritationem animis commutandi sedes
 et transferendi domicilia; mobilis enim et inquieta
 homini mens data est, nusquam se tenet, spargitur
 5 et cogitationes suas in omnia nota atque ignota
 dimittit, uaga et quietis inpatiens et nouitate rerum
 laetissima. quod non miraberis, si primam eius 7
 originem aspexeris. non est ex terreno et graui con-
 creta corpore, ex illo caelesti spiritu descendit;
 10 caelestium autem natura semper in motu est, fugit
 et uelocissimo cursu agitur. aspice sidera mun-
 dum inlustrantia: nullum eorum perstat. *sol* labitur
 adsidue et locum ex loco mutat, et, quamuis cum
 uniuerso uertatur, in contrarium nihilo minus ipsi
 15 mundo refertur, per omnis signorum partes discurrit,
 numquam resistit: perpetua eius agitatio et aliunde
 alio commigratio est. omnia uoluuntur semper et in 8
 transitu sunt; ut lex et naturae necessitas ordinauit,
 aliunde alio deferuntur; cum per certa annorum
 20 spatia orbis suos explicuerint, iterum ibunt per quae
 uenerant. i nunc et humanum animum, ex isdem qui-
 bus diuina constant seminibus compositum, moleste
 ferre transitum ac migrationem puta, cum dei natura
 adsidua et citatissima commutatione uel delectet se
 25 uel conseruet!

7. A caelestibus agedum te ad humana conuerte: 1
 uidebis gentes populosque uniuersos mutasse sedem.
 quid sibi uolunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus
 Graecae urbes? quid inter Indos Persasque Mace-
 30 donicus sermo? Scythia et totus ille ferarum in-

4 nusquam *Heusinger*, nūquā *A* 12 sol *add. Michaëlis*

domitarumque gentium tractus ciuitates Achaiae Ponticis inpositas litoribus ostentat : non perpetuae hiemis saeuitia, non hominum ingenia ad similitudinem caeli sui horrentia, transferentibus domos suas
 2 obstiterunt. Atheniensis in Asia turba est ; Miletus 5
 quinque et septuaginta urbium populum in diuersa effudit ; totum Italiae latus, quod infero mari adluitur, maior Graecia fuit. Tuscos Asia sibi uindicat ; Tyrii Africam incolunt, Hispaniam Poeni ; Graeci se in Galliam immiserunt, in Graeciam Galli ; 10
 Pyrenaeus Germanorum transitus non inhiuit—
 per inuia, per incognita, uersauit se humana leuitas.
 3 liberos coniugesque et graues senio parentes traxerunt. alii longo errore iactati non iudicio elegerunt locum sed lassitudine proximum occupauerunt, alii armis 15
 sibi ius in aliena terra fecerunt ; quasdam gentes, cum ignota peterent, mare hausit, quaedam ibi consederunt,
 4 ubi illas rerum omnium inopia deposuit. nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quaerendique patriam fuit : alios excidia urbium suarum, hostilibus armis elapsos, 20
 in aliena spoliatos suis expulerunt ; alios domestica seditio summouit ; alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia ad exonerandas uires emisit ; alios pestilentia aut frequentes terrarum hiatus aut aliqua intoleranda infelicis soli uitia eiecerunt ; quosdam 25
 fertilis orae et in maius laudatae fama corrupit.
 5 alios alia causa exciuit domibus suis : illud utique manifestum est, nihil eodem loco mansisse quo genitum est. adsiduus generis humani discursus est ; cotidie aliquid in tam magno orbe mutatur : noua 30

urbium fundamenta iaciuntur; noua gentium nomina,
 extinctis prioribus aut in accessionem ualidioris
 conuersis, oriuntur. omnes autem istae populorum
 transportationes quid aliud quam publica exilia
 5 sunt? quid te tam longo circumitu traho? quid 6
 interest enumerare Antenorem Patauii conditorem
 et Euandrum in ripa Tiberis regna Arcadum con-
 locantem? quid Diomedem aliosque, quos Troianum
 bellum uictos simul uictoresque per alienas terras
 10 dissipauit? Romanum imperium nempe auctorem 7
 exulem respicit, quem profugum capta patria, exiguas
 reliquias trahentem, necessitas et uictoris metus
 longinqua quaerentem in Italiam detulit. hic deinde
 populus quot colonias in omnem prouinciam misit!
 15 ubicumque uicit Romanus, habitat. ad hanc com-
 mutationem locorum libentes nomina dabant, et
 relictis aris suis trans maria sequebatur colonos
 senex. res quidem non desiderat plurium enumera- 8
 tionem; unum tamen adiciam, quod in oculos se
 20 ingerit: haec ipsa insula saepe iam cultores mutauit.
 ut antiquiora, quae uetustas obduxit, transeam,
 Phocide relictis Graii, qui nunc Massiliam incolunt,
 prius in hac insula consederunt, ex qua quid eos
 fugauerit, incertum est, utrum caeli grauitas an
 25 praepotentis Italiae conspectus an natura inportuosi
 maris; nam in causa non fuisse feritatem accolarum
 eo apparet, quod maxime tunc trucibus et inconditis
 Galliae populis se interposuerunt. transierunt deinde 9
 Ligures in eam, transierunt et Hispani, quod ex si-
 30 militudine ritus apparet: eadem enim tegmenta

capitum idemque genus calciamenti quod Cantabris est, et uerba quaedam; nam totus sermo conuersione Graecorum Ligurumque a patrio desciiuit. deductae deinde sunt duae ciuium Romanorum coloniae, altera a Mario, altera a Sulla: totiens 5
 10 huius aridi et spinosi saxi mutatus est populus! uix denique inuenies ullam terram, quam etiamnunc indigenae colant; permixta omnia et insiticia sunt. alius alii successit: hic concupiuit, quod illi fastidio fuit; ille unde expulerat, eiectus est. ita fato 10 placuit, nullius rei eodem semper loco stare fortunam.

1 8. Aduersus ipsam commutationem locorum, detractis ceteris incommodis quae exilio adhaerent, satis hoc remedii putat Varro, doctissimus Romanorum, quod, quocumque uenimus, eadem rerum naturā 15 utendum est; M. Brutus satis hoc putat, quod licet 2 in exilium euntibus uirtutes suas secum ferre. haec etiamsi quis singula parum iudicat efficacia ad consolandum exulem, utraque in unum conlata fatebitur plurimum posse. quantulum enim est, quod per- 20 didimus! duo quae pulcherrima sunt, quocumque nos mouerimus, sequentur: natura communis et 3 propria uirtus. id actum est, mihi crede, ab illo, quisquis formator uniuersi fuit, siue ille deus est potens omnium, siue incorporalis ratio ingentium 25 operum artifex, siue diuinus spiritus per omnia maxima ac minima aequali intentione diffusus, siue fatum et immutabilis causarum inter se cohaerentium series: id, inquam, actum est, ut in alienum arbi- 4 trium nisi uilissima quaeque non caderent. quidquid 30

optimum homini est, id extra humanam potentiam
 iacet: nec dari nec eripi potest. mundus hic, quo
 nihil neque maius neque ornatus rerum natura
 genuit, *et* animus contemplator admiratorque mundi,
 5 pars eius magnificentissima, propria nobis et perpetua
 et tam diu nobiscum mansura sunt quam diu ipsi
 manebimus alacres itaque et erecti, quocumque 5
 res tulerit, intrepido gradu properemus, emetiamur
 quascumque terras: nullum inueniri exilium intra
 10 mundum *potest*; *nihil enim, quod intra mundum est,*
 alienum homini est. undecumque ex aequo ad
 caelum erigitur acies, paribus interuallis omnia diuina
 ab omnibus humanis distant. proinde, dum oculi 6
 mei ab illo spectaculo, cuius insatiabiles sunt, non
 15 abducantur, dum mihi solem lunamque intueri liceat,
 dum ceteris inhaerere sideribus, dum ortus eorum
 occasusque et interualla et causas inuestigare uel
 ocius meandi uel tardius, *dum* spectare tot per noctem
 20 stellas micantis, et alias immobiles, alias non in mag-
 num spatium exeuntis sed intra suum se circumagentis
 uestigium, quasdam subito erumpentis, quasdam igne
 fuso praestringentis aciem, quasi decidant, uel longo
 tractu cum luce multa praeteruolantis, dum cum his
 sim, et caelestibus, qua homini fas est, inmiscer, *et*
 25 dum animum ad cognatarum rerum conspectum ten-
 dentem in sublimi semper habeam: quantum refert
 mea, quid calcem?

4 et *add. Gertz* 9 exilium *Haase*, & illud *A* 10 *potest*;
 nihil enim quod intra mundum *add. Vahlen*: lacunam
indicauit Madvig 17 uel ocius *C. F. W. Müller*, uelocius *A*
 18 dum *add. Gertz*

1 9. ' At non est haec terra frugiferarum aut lae-
 tarum arborum ferax ; non magnis nec nauigabilibus
 fluminum alueis inrigatur ; nihil gignit quod aliae
 gentes petant, uix ad tutelam incolentium fertilis ;
 non pretiosus hic lapis caeditur, non auri argentique 5
 2 uenae eruuntur.' angustus animus est, quem terrenā
 delectant : ad illa abducendus est, quae ubique aequae
 apparent, ubique aequae splendent. et hoc cogitandum
 est, ista ueris bonis per falsa et praue credita obstare,
 quo longiores porticūs expedierint, quo altius turres 10
 sustulerint, quo latius uicos porrexerint, quo depres-
 sius aestiuos specūs foderint, quo maiori mole fastigia
 cenationum subduxerint, hoc plus erit quod illis
 3 caelum abscondat. in eam te regionem casus eiecit,
 in qua lautissimum receptaculum casa est : ne tu 15
 pusilli animi es et sordide se consolantis, si ideo id
 fortiter pateris, quia Romuli casam nosti. dic illud
 potius : ' istud humile tugurium nempe uirtutes
 recipit ? iam omnibus templis formosius erit, cum
 illic iustitia conspecta fuerit, cum continentia, cum 20
 prudentia, pietas, omnium officiorum recte dispen-
 sandorum ratio, humanorum diuinorumque scientia.
 nullus angustus est locus, qui hanc tam magnarum
 uirtutum turbam capit ; nullum exilium graue est,
 4 in quod licet cum hoc ire comitatu.' Brutus in eo 25
 libro quem de uirtute composuit, ait se Marcellum
 uidisse Mytilenis exulantem et, quantum modo
 natura hominis pateretur, beatissime uiuentem,
 neque umquam cupidiorum bonarum artium quam

9 per *uix sanum uidetur* 11 porrexerint *Pincianus*, correx-
 erint *A* 15 laxissimum *Pincianus* 25 quod *Fichert*, quo *A*

illo tempore. itaque adicit : uisum sibi se magis in
exilium ire, qui sine illo rediturus esset, quam illum
in exilio relinqui. o fortunatiorem Marcellum eo 5
tempore, quo exilium suum Bruto adprobauit, quam
5 quo rei publicae consulatum ! quantus ille uir fuit,
qui effecit ut aliquis exul sibi uideretur, quod ab
exule recederet ! quantus uir fuit, qui in admiratio-
nem sui adduxit hominem etiam Catoni suo miran-
dum ! idem Brutus ait C. Caesarem Mytilenas 6
10 praeteruictum, quia non sustineret uidere deformatum
uirum. illi quidem reditum inpetrauit senatus pub-
licis precibus tam sollicitus ac maestus, ut omnes illo
die Bruti habere animum uiderentur et non pro
Marcello sed pro se deprecari, ne exules essent si
15 sine illo fuissent ; sed plus multo consecutus est,
quo die illum exulem Brutus relinquere non potuit,
Caesar uidere. contigit enim illi testimonium utrius-
que : Brutus sine Marcello reuerti se doluit, Caesar
erubuit. num dubitas, quin se ille Marcellus tantus 7
20 uir sic ad tolerandum aequo animo exilium saepe
adhortatus sit. ' quod patria cares, non est miserum.
ita te disciplinis inuisti, ut scires omnem locum
sapienti uiro patriam esse. quid porro ? hic, qui
te expulit, non ipse per annos decem continuos patria
25 caruit ? propagandi sine dubio imperii causa : sed
nempe caruit. nunc ecce trahit illum ad se Africa 8
resurgentis belli minis plena, trahit Hispania, quae
fractas et adflictas partes refouet, trahit Aegyptus
infida, totus denique orbis, qui ad occasionem con-
30 cussi imperii intentus est. cui primum rei occurret ?
cui parti se opponet ? aget illum per omnes terras

uictoria sua. illum suspiciant et colant gentes : tu uiue Bruto miratore contentus !'

I **IO.** Bene ergo exilium tulit Marcellus, nec quicquam in animo eius mutauit loci mutatio, quamuis eam paupertas sequeretur : in qua nihil mali esse, 5 quisquis modo nondum peruenit in insaniam / omnia subuertentis auaritia^{7.6.6.8.}e atque luxuria^{7.6.6.8.}, intellegit. quantulum enim est, quod in tutelam hominis necessarium est ! et cui deesse hoc potest ullam modo 2 uirtutem habenti ? quod ad me quidem pertinet, 10 intellego me non opes sed occupationes perdidisse. corporis exigua desideria sunt : frigus summoueri uolt, alimentis famem ac sitim extinguere ; quidquid extra concupiscitur, uitiiis, non usibus laboratur. non est 15 necesse omne perscrutari profundum nec strage animalium uentrem onerare, nec conchyli^{W. 3. 1. 1. 1.}alia ultimi maris ex ignoto litore eruere : dii istos deaeque perdant, quorum luxuria tam inuidiosi imperii fines 3 transcendit ! ultra Phasin capi uolunt, quod ambitiosam popinam instruat, nec piget a Parthis, a quibus 20 nondum poenas repetiimus, aues petere. undique conuehunt omnia, nota *ignota*, fastidienti gulae ; quod dissolutus deliciis stomachus uix admittat, ab ultimo portatur oceano. uomunt ut edant, edunt ut uomant, et epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec 25 concoquere dignantur. ista si quis despicit, quid illi paupertas nocet ? si quis concupiscit, illi paupertas etiam prodest : inuitus enim sanatur et, si remedia ne coactus quidem recipit, interim certe, dum non potest,

9 est Gertz, sit A 22 ignota add. Gertz: nota del. Haupt 29 recipit: recept A

illa nolenti similis est. C. Caesar, quem mihi uidetur 4
 rerum natura edidisse, ut ostenderet quid summa uitia
 in summa fortuna possent, centiens sestertio cenauit
 uno die ; et in hoc omnium adiutus ingenio uix tamen
 5 inuenit, quomodo trium prouinciarum tributum una
 cena fieret. o miserabiles, quorum palatum nisi ad 5
 pretiosos cibos non excitatur ! pretiosos autem non
 eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo sed raritas
 et difficultas parandi facit. alioqui, si ad sanam illis
 10 mentem placeat reuerti, quid opus est tot artibus
 uentri seruientibus ? quid mercaturis ? quid uasta-
 tione siluarum ? quid profundi perscrutatione ? pas-
 sim iacent alimenta, quae rerum natura omnibus locis
 disposuit ; sed haec uelut caeci transeunt et omnes
 15 regiones peruagantur, maria traiciunt et, cum famem
 exiguo possint sedare, magno inritant. libet dicere : 6
 ‘ quid deducitis naues ? quid manus et aduersus feras
 et aduersus homines armatis ? quid tanto tumultu
 discurritis ? quid opes opibus adgeritis ? non uoltis
 20 cogitare, quam parua uobis corpora sint ? nonne furor
 et ultimus mentium error est, cum tam exiguum
 capias, cupere multum ? licet itaque augeatis census,
 promoueatis fines, numquam tamen corpora uestra
 laxabitis. cum bene cesserit negotiatio, multum
 25 militia rettulerit, cum indagati undique cibi coierint,
 non habebitis ubi istos apparatus uestros conlocetis.
 quid tam multa conquiritis ? ’ scilicet maiores nostri, 7
 quorum uirtus etiamnunc uitia nostra sustentat,
 infelices erant, qui sibi manu sua parabant cibum,
 30 quibus terra cubile erat, quorum tecta nondum auro

fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant : itaque tunc per fictiles deos religiose iurabatur ; qui illos inuocauerant, ad hostem morituri, ne fallerent, 8 redibant. scilicet minus beate uiuebat dictator noster, qui Samnitium legatos audiit, cum uilissimum 5 cibum in foco ipse manu sua uersaret illa, qua iam saepe hostem percusserat laureamque in Capitolini Iouis gremio reposuerat, quam Apicius nostra memoria uixit, qui in ea urbe, ex qua aliquando philosophi uelut corruptores iuuentutis abire iussi sunt, scien- 10 tiam popinae professus disciplina sua saeculum 9 infecit. cuius exitum nosse operae pretium est. cum sestertium miliens in culinam coniecisset, cum tot congiaria principum et ingens Capitolii uectigal singulis comisationibus exsorsisset, aere alieno op- 15 pressus rationes suas tunc primum coactus inspexit : superfuturum sibi sestertium centiens computauit et uelut in ultima fame uicturus si sestertio centiens 10 uixisset, ueneno uitam finiuit. quanta luxuria erat, cui centiens sestertium egestas fuit ! i nunc et puta 20 pecuniae modum ad rem pertinere, non animi ! sestertium centiens aliquis extimuit, et, quod alii uoto petunt, ueneno fugit ! illi uero tam prauae mentis homini ultima potio saluberrima fuit : tunc uenena edebat bibebatque, cum immensis epulis non delect- 25 taretur tantum sed gloriaretur, cum uitia sua ostentaret, cum ciuitatem in luxuriam suam conuerteret, cum iuuentutem ad imitationem sui sollicitaret, etiam 11 sine malis exemplis per se docilem. haec accidunt diuitias non ad rationem reuocantibus cuius certi 30 fines sunt, sed ad uitiosam consuetudinem cuius

inmensum et incomprehensibile arbitrium est. cupiditati nihil satis est, naturae satis est etiam parum. nullum ergo paupertas exulis incommodum habet; nullum enim tam inops exilium est, quod non alendo
5 homini abunde fertile sit.

II. 'At uestem ac domum desideraturus est
exsul.' si haec quoque ad usum tantum desiderabit, neque tectum ei deerit neque uelamentum; aequae enim exiguo tegitur corpus quam alitur; nihil
10 homini natura, quod necessarium faciebat, fecit operosum. sed desiderat saturatam multo conchylio
purpuram, intextam auro uariisque et coloribus distinctam et artibus: non fortunae iste uitio sed suo pauper est. etiamsi illi quidquid amisit resti-
15 tueris, nihil ages; plus enim restituto deerit ex eo quod cupit, quam exsuli ex eo quod habuit. sed
desiderat aureis fulgentem uasis suppellectilem, et antiquis nominibus artificum argentum nobile, aes paucorum insania pretiosum, et seruorum turbam
20 quae quamuis magnam domum angustet. iumentorum corpora differta et coacta pinguescere, et nationum omnium lapides: ista congerantur licet, numquam explebunt inexplebilem animum, non magis quam ullus sufficiet umor ad satiandum eum, cuius deside-
25 rium non ex inopia sed ex aestu ardentium uiscerum oritur; non enim sitis illa sed morbus est. nec hoc
in pecunia tantum aut alimentis euenit; eadem natura est in omni desiderio, quod modo non ex inopia sed ex uitio nascitur: quidquid illi congesseris, non finis
30 erit cupiditatis sed gradus. qui continebit itaque se

intra naturalem modum, paupertatem non sentiet ;
 qui naturalem modum excedet, eum in summis quo-
 que opibus paupertas sequetur. necessariis rebus et
 5 exilia sufficiunt, superuacuis nec regna. animus est,
 qui diuites facit ; hic in exilia sequitur, et in solitu- 5
 dinibus asperrimis, cum quantum satis est sustinendo
 corpori inuenit, ipse bonis suis abundat et fruitur :
 pecunia ad animum nihil pertinet, non magis quam ad
 6 deos immortalis. omnia ista, quae imperita ingenia
 et nimis corporibus suis addicta suspiciunt, lapides, 10
 aurum, argentum, et magni leuatique mensarum orbes,
 terrena sunt pondera, quae non potest amare sincerus
 animus ac naturae suae memor, faecis ipse expers
 et, quandoque emissus fuerit, ad summa emicaturus ;
 interim, quantum per moras membrorum et hanc 15
 circumfusam grauem sarcinam licet, celeri et uolucris
 7 cogitatione diuina perlustrat. ideoque nec exulare
 umquam potest, liber et deis cognatus et omni mundo
 omnique aeuo par ; nam cogitatio eius circa omne
 caelum it, in omne praeteritum futurumque tempus 20
 inmittitur. corpusculum hoc, custodia et uinculum
 animi, huc atque illuc iactatur ; in hoc supplicia, in hoc
 latrocinia, in hoc morbi exercentur : animus quidem
 ipse sacer et aeternus est et cui non possit inici manus.

I 12. Ne me putes ad eleuanda incommoda pau- 25
 pertatis, quam nemo grauem sentit nisi qui putat,
 uti tantum praeceptis sapientium, primum aspice,
 quanto maior pars sit pauperum, quos nihilo notabis
 tristiores sollicitioresque diuitibus : immo nescio an

13 faecis *Gertz*, leuis *A*, oneris *Madwig*, leuis ipse,
 expeditus *Hermes* 20 it *Gertz*, et *A*

eo laetiores sint, quo animus illorum in pauciora
 dstringitur. transeamus opes paene inopes, uenia- 2
 mus ad locupletes: quam multa tempora sunt,
 quibus pauperibus similes sint! circumcisae sunt
 5 peregrinantium sarcinae, et, quotiens festinationem
 necessitas itineris exegit, comitum turba dimittitur.
 militantes quotam partem rerum suarum secum habent,
 cum omnem apparatus castrens disciplina sum-
 moueat! nec tantum condicio illos temporum aut 3
 10 locorum inopia pauperibus exaequat: sumunt quos-
 dam dies, cum iam illos diuitiarum taedium cepit,
 quibus humi cenent et remoto auro argentoque
 fictilibus utantur. dementes! hoc quod aliquando
 concupiscunt, semper timent. o quanta illos caligo
 15 mentium, quanta ignorantia ueritatis *excaecat*, quos
timor paupertatis exercet, quam uoluptatis causa
 imitantur! me quidem, quotiens ad antiqua exempla 4
 respexi, paupertatis uti solaciis pudet, quoniam
 quidem eo temporum luxuria prolapsa est, ut maius
 20 uiaticum exulum sit quam olim patrimonium prin-
 cipum fuit. unum fuisse Homero seruum, tres Platoni,
 nullum Zenoni, a quo coepit Stoicorum rigida ac
 uirilil sapientia, satis constat: num ergo quisquam
 eos misere uixisse dicet, ut non ipse miserrimus ob
 25 hoc omnibus uideatur? Menenius Agrippa, qui inter 5
 patres ac plebem publicae gratiae sequester fuit, aere
 conlato funeratus est. Atilius Regulus, cum Poenos
 in Africa funderet, ad senatum scripsit mercennarium

2 transeamus ape spe non obuoniamus A: corr. Madvig

15 excaecat, quos timor paupertatis add. Vahlen

suum discessisse et ab eo desertum esse rus, quod
 senatui publice curari, dum abesset Regulus, placuit :
 fuitne tanti seruum non habere, ut colonus eius popu-
 6 lus Romanus esset ? Scipionis filiae ex aerario dotem
 acceperunt, quia nihil illis reliquerat pater : aequum 5
 me hercules erat populum Romanum tributum
 Scipioni semel conferre, cum a Karthagine semper
 exigeret. o felices uiros puellarum, quibus populus
 Romanus loco soceri fuit ! beatioresne istos putas,
 quorum pantomimae deciens sestertio nubunt, quam 10
 Scipionem, cuius liberi a senatu, tutore suo, in dotem
 7 aes graue acceperunt ? dedignatur aliquis pauper-
 tatem, cuius tam clarae imagines sunt ? indignatur
 exsul aliquid sibi deesse, cum defuerit Scipioni dos,
 Regulo mercennarius, Menenio funus, cum omnibus 15
 illis quod deerat ideo honestius suppletum sit, quia
 defuerat ? his ergo aduocatis, non tantum tuta est
 sed etiam gratiosa paupertas.

1 **13.** Responderi potest : ' quid artificiose ista
 diducis, quae singula sustineri possunt, conlata non 20
 possunt ? commutatio loci tolerabilis est, si tantum
 locum mutet ; paupertas tolerabilis est, si ignominia
 2 absit, quae uel sola opprimere animos solet. ' aduersus
 hunc, quisquis me malorum turba terrebit, his uerbis
 utendum erit. ' si contra unam quamlibet partem 25
 fortunae satis tibi roboris est, idem aduersus omnis
 erit. cum semel animum uirtus indurauit, undique
 inuolnerabilem praestat. si auaritia dimisit, uehe-
 mentissima generis humani pestis, moram tibi ambitio
 non faciet ; si ultimum diem non quasi poenam sed 30

quasi naturae legem aspicias, ex quo pectore metum
 mortis eieceris, in id nullius rei timor audebit intrare ;
 si cogitas, libidinem non uoluptatis causa homini datam 3
 sed propagandi generis, quem non uiolauerit hoc
 5 secretum et infixum uisceribus ipsis exitium, omnis
 alia cupiditas intactum praeteribit. non singula
 uitia ratio sed pariter omnia prosternit : in uniuersum
 semel uincitur.' ignominia tu putas quemquam 4
 sapientem moueri posse, qui omnia in se reposuit,
 10 qui ab opinionibus uolgi secessit ? plus etiam quam
 ignominia est mors ignominiosa : Socrates tamen
 eodem illo uoltu, quo triginta tyrannos solus aliquando
 in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intrauit ignominiam
 ipsi loco detractus ; neque enim poterat carcer
 15 uideri in quo Socrates erat. quis usque eo ad con- 5
 spiciendam ueritatem excaecatus est, ut ignominiam
 putet Marci Catonis fuisse duplicem in petitione
 praeturae et consulatus repulsam ? ignominia illa
 praeturae et consulatus fuit, quibus ex Catone honor
 20 habebatur. nemo ab alio contemnitur, nisi a se ante 6
 contemptus est. humilis et proiectus animus est isti
 contumeliae opportunus ; qui uero aduersus saeuis-
 simos casus se extollit et ea mala, quibus alii oppri-
 muntur, euertit, ipsas miserias infularum loco habet,
 25 quando ita adfecti sumus, ut nihil aequae magnam
 aput nos admirationem occupet quam homo fortiter
 miser. ducebatur Athenis ad supplicium Aristides, 7
 cui quisquis occurrerat deiciebat oculos et ingemes-
 cebat, non tamquam in hominem iustum sed tamquam
 30 in ipsam iustitiam animaduertetur ; inuentus est

8 uincit uolg. 21 animus est Gertz, animus sit A

tamen, qui in faciem eius inspueret. poterat ob hoc moleste ferre, quod sciebat neminem id ausurum puri oris ; at ille abstersit faciem et subridens ait comitanti se magistratui : ‘ admone istum, ne postea tam inprobe oscitet.’ hoc fuit contumeliam ipsi contumeliae facere. scio quosdam dicere contemptu nihil esse grauius, mortem ipsis potiorem uideri. his ego respondebo et exilium saepe contemptione omni carere : si magnus uir cecidit, magnus iacuit, non magis illum contemni, quam aedium sacrarum ruinae calcantur, quas religiosi aequae ac stantis adorant.

1 **14.** Quoniam meo nomine nihil habes, mater carissima, quod te in infinitas lacrimas agat, sequitur ut causae tuae te stimulent. sunt autem duae : nam aut illud te mouet, quod praesidium aliquod uideris amisisse, aut illud, quod desiderium ipsum per se pati non potes.

2 Prior pars mihi leuiter perstringenda est ; noui enim animum tuum nihil in suis praeter ipsos amantem. uiderint illae matres, quae potentiam liberorum muliebri inpotentia exercent, quae, quia feminis honores non licet gerere, per illos ambitiosae sunt, quae patrimonia filiorum et exhauriunt et captant, quae eloquentiam commodando aliis fatigant : tu liberorum tuorum bonis plurimum gauisa es, minimum usa. tu liberalitati nostrae semper imposuisti modum, cum tuae non imponeres ; tu filia familiae locupletibus filiis ultro contulisti ; tu patrimonia nostra sic administrasti, ut tamquam in tuis laborares, tamquam alienis abstineres ; tu gratiae nostrae,

9 iacet *Gertz* nemo magis illum contemnit *Gertz*

tamquam alienis rebus uteris, pepercisti; et ex honoribus nostris nihil ad te nisi uoluptas et impensa pertinuit. numquam indulgentia ad utilitatem respexit. non potes itaque ea in erepto filio desiderare, 5 quae *in* incolumi numquam ad te pertinere duxisti.

15. Illo omnis consolatio mihi uertenda est, 1 unde uera uis materni doloris oritur: ' ergo complexu filii carissimi careo; non conspectu eius, non sermone possum frui! ubi est ille, quo uiso tristem uultum 10 relaxaui, in quo omnes sollicitudines meas deposui? ubi conloquia, quorum inexplebilis eram? ubi studia, quibus libentius quam femina, familiarius quam mater, intereram? ubi ille occursum? ubi matre uisa semper puerilis hilaritas?' adicis istis loca ipsa 2 15 gratulationum et conuictuum, et, ut necesse est, efficacissimas ad uexandos animos recentis conuersationis notas. nam hoc quoque aduersus te crudeliter fortuna molita est, quod te ante tertium demum diem quam percussus sum, securam nec quicquam tale 20 metuentem digredi uoluit. bene nos longinquitas 3 locorum diuiserat, bene aliquot annorum absentia huic te malo praeparauerat: redisti, non ut uoluptatem ex filio perciperes, sed ut consuetudinem desiderii perderes. si multo ante afuisses, fortius tulisses, 25 ipso interuallo desiderium molliente; si non recessisses, ultimum certe fructum biduo diutius uidendi filium tulisses: nunc crudele fatum ita composuit, ut nec fortunae meae interesses nec absentiae aduēsceres. sed quanto ista duriora sunt, tanto maior tibi uirtus 4

5 in *add. Haase* 13 illi *Gertz* 20 digredi *Haase*, ad ḡdi *A*
24 antea fuisses *A*: *corr. Gruter*

aduocanda est, et uelut cum hoste noto ac saepe iam uicto acrius congregiendum. non ex intacto corpore tuo sanguis hic fluxit : per ipsas cicatrices percussa es.

1 **16.** Non est quod utaris excusatione muliebris nominis, cui paene concessum est inmoderatum in 5 lacrimis ius, non inmensum tamen : et ideo maiores decem mensum spatium lugentibus uiros dederunt, ut cum pertinacia muliebris maeroris publica constitutione deciderent. non prohibuerunt luctus sed finierunt ; nam et infinito dolore, cum aliquem ex caris- 10 simis amiseris, adfici, stulta indulgentia est, et nullo, inhumana duritia : optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est, et sentire desiderium 2 et opprimere ; non est quod ad quasdam feminas respicias, quarum tristitiam semel sumptam mors 15 finiuit (nosti quasdam, quae amissis filiis inposita lugubria numquam exuerunt) : a te plus exigit uita ab initio fortior. non potest muliebris excusatio con- 3 tingere ei a qua omnia muliebria uitia afuerunt. non te maximum saeculi malum, inpudicitia, in numerum 20 plurium adduxit ; non gemmae te, non margaritae flexerunt ; non tibi diuitiae uelut maximum generis humani bonum refulserunt ; non te, bene in antiqua et seuera institutam domo, periculosa etiam probis peiorum detorsit imitatio ; numquam te fecunditatis 25 tuae, quasi exprobraret aetatem, puduit ; numquam more aliarum, quibus omnis commendatio ex forma petitur, tumescentem uterum abscondisti quasi in- 4 decens onus ; non faciem coloribus ac lenociniis

6 lacrimis *scripsi* : lacrimas *A* ius **5**, eius *A* 19 fuerunt *A* :
corr. Fickert 21 abduxit *malit Gertz*

polluisti; numquam tibi placuit uestis, quae nihil
 amplius nudaret cum poneretur: unicum tibi
 ornamentum, pulcherrima et nulli obnoxia aetati
 forma, maximum decus, uisa est pudicitia. non 5
 5 potes itaque ad optinendum dolorem muliebrem nomen
 praetendere, ex quo te uirtutes tuae seduxerunt:
 tantum debes a feminarum lacrimis abesse, quantum
 uitii. ne feminae quidem te sinent intabescere
 uolneri tuo, sed uel pio necessarioque maerore cito
 10 defunctam iubebunt exurgere, si modo illas intueri
 uoles feminas, quas conspecta uirtus inter magnos
 uiros posuit. Corneliam ex duodecim liberis ad duos 6
 fortuna redegerat: si numerare funera Corneliae uelles,
 amiserat decem, si aestimare, amiserat Gracchos.
 15 flentibus tamen circa se et fatum eius execrantibus
 interdixit ne Fortunam accusarent, quae sibi filios
 Gracchos dedisset. ex hac femina debuit nasci, qui
 diceret in contione: 'tu matri meae male dicas, quae
 me peperit?' multo mihi uox matris uidetur ani-
 20 mosior: filius magno aestimauit Gracchorum natales,
 mater et funera. Rutilia Cottam filium secuta est 7
 in exilium et usque eo fuit indulgentia constricta,
 ut mallet exilium pati quam desiderium, nec ante in
 patriam quam cum filio rediit. eundem iam reducem
 25 et in republica florentem tam fortiter amisit quam se-
 cuta est, nec quisquam lacrimas eius post elatum
 filium notauit. in expulso uirtutem ostendit, in
 amisso prudentiam; nam et nihil illam a pietate

2 cum poneretur *Lipsius*, componeretur *A* 9 uel pio
 necessarioque *Gertz*, leuior necessario *A* 17 dedisset:
 ademisset *Bentley* 20 aestimauit *Haase*, estimabit *A*

deterruit, et nihil in tristitia superuacua stultaque
detinuit. cum his te numerari feminis uolo : quarum
uitam semper imitata es, earum in coercenda com-
primendaque aegritudine optime sequeris exemplum.

1 17. Scio rem non esse in nostra potestate, nec 5
illum adfectum seruire, minime uero eum qui ex
dolore nascitur ; ferox enim et aduersus omne reme-
dium contumax est. uolumus interim illum obruere
et deorare gemitus : per ipsum tamen compositum
fictumque uultum lacrimae profunduntur. ludis 10
interim aut gladiatoribus animum occupamus : at
illum inter ipsa quibus auocatur spectacula leuis
2 aliqua desiderii nota subruit. ideo melius est uincere
illum quam fallere ; nam qui delusus et uoluptatibus
aut occupationibus abductus est, resurgit et ipsa 15
quiete impetum ad saeuendum conligit : at quisquis
rationi cessit, in perpetuum componitur. non sum
itaque tibi illa monstraturus, quibus usos esse multos
scio, ut peregrinatione te uel longa detineas uel
amoena delectes, ut rationum accipiendarum dili- 20
gentia, patrimonii administratione, multum occupes
temporis, ut semper nouo te aliquo negotio implices :
omnia ista ad exiguum momentum prosunt nec
remedia doloris sed impedimenta sunt ; ego autem
3 malo illum desinere quam decipi. itaque illo te duco, 25
quo omnibus, qui fortunam fugiunt, confugiendum
est, ad liberalia studia : illa sanabunt uulnus tuum,
illa omnem tristitiam tibi euellent. his etiam-
si numquam adsuesses, nunc utendum erat ; sed
quantum tibi patris mei antiquus rigor permisit, 30
omnes bonas artes non quidem comprehendisti, attigisti

tamen. utinam quidem uirorum optimus, pater 4
 meus, minus maiorum consuetudini deditus uoluisset
 te praeceptis sapientiae erudiri potius quam imbui!
 non parandum tibi nunc esset auxilium contra for-
 5 tunam sed proferendum. propter istas, quae litteris
 non ad sapientiam utuntur sed ad luxuriam instru-
 untur, minus te indulgere studiis passus est. beneficio
 tamen rapacis ingenii plus quam pro tempore hausisti;
 iacta sunt disciplinarum omnium fundamenta: nunc
 10 ad illas reuertere; tutam te praestabunt. illae con- 5
 solabuntur, illae delectabunt, illae si bona fide in
 animum tuum intrauerint, numquam amplius intra-
 bit dolor, numquam sollicitudo, numquam adficta-
 tionis inritae superuacua uexatio: nulli horum patebit
 15 pectus tuum; nam ceteris uitiis iam pridem clusum
 est. haec quidem certissima praesidia sunt et quae
 sola te fortunae eripere possint.

18. Sed quia, dum in illum portum, quem tibi 1
 studia promittunt, peruenis, adminiculis quibus
 20 innitaris opus est, uolo interim solacia tibi tua osten-
 dere. respice fratres meos, quibus saluis fas tibi non
 est accusare fortunam. in utroque habes quod te 2
 diuersa uirtute delectet: alter honores industria con-
 secutus est, alter sapienter contempsit. adquiesce
 25 alterius filii dignitate, alterius quiete, utriusque pietate.
 noui fratrum meorum intimos adfectus: alter in hoc
 dignitatem excolit, ut tibi ornamento sit; alter in hoc
 se ad tranquillam quietamque uitam recepit, ut tibi
 uacet. bene liberos tuos et in auxilium et in oblec- 3
 30 tamentum fortuna disposuit: potes alterius dignitate

defendi, alterius otio frui. certabunt in te officii, et
 unius desiderium duorum pietate supplebitur. audac-
 ter possum promittere: nihil tibi deerit praeter
 4 numerum. ab his ad nepotes quoque respice: Mar-
 cum blandissimum puerum, ad cuius conspectum 5
 nulla potest durare tristitia; nihil tam magnum,
 nihil tam recens in cuiusquam pectore furit, quod non
 5 circumfusus ille permulceat. cuius non lacrimas illius
 hilaritas supprimat? cuius non contractum sollici-
 tudine animum illius argutiae soluant? quem non 10
 in iocos euocabit illa lasciuia? quem non in se con-
 uertet et abducet infixum cogitationibus illa neminem
 6 satiatura garrulitas? deos oro, contingat hunc
 habere nobis superstitem! in me omnis fatorum
 crudelitas lassata consistat; quidquid matri dolen- 15
 dum fuit, in me transierit, quidquid auiae, in me.
 floreat reliqua in suo statu turba: nihil de orbitate,
 nihil de condicione mea querar, fuerim tantum nihil
 7 amplius doliturae domus piamentum. tene in gremio
 cito tibi daturam pronepotes Nouatillam, quam sic 20
 in me transtuleram, sic mihi adscripseram, ut possit
 uideri, quod me amisit, quamuis saluo patre, pupilla;
 hanc et pro me dilige! abstulit illi nuper fortuna
 matrem: tua potest efficere pietas, ut perdidisse se
 8 matrem doleat tantum, non et sentiat. nunc mores 25
 eius compone, nunc forma: altius praecepta descen-
 dunt, quae teneris inprimuntur aetatibus. tuis
 adsuescat sermonibus, ad tuum fingatur arbitrium:
 multum illi dabis, etiamsi nihil dederis praeter
 exemplum. hoc tibi tam sollemne officium pro 30

remedio erit ; non potest enim animum pie dolentem a sollicitudine auertere nisi aut ratio aut honesta occupatio. numerarem inter magna solacia patrem quoque tuum, nisi abesset ; nunc tamen ex adfectu tuo, qui illius in te sit cogita : intelleges, quanto iustius sit te illi seruari quam mihi impendi. quotiens te inmodica uis doloris inuaserit et sequi se iubebit, patrem cogita ! cui tu quidem tot nepotes pronepotesque dando effecisti, ne unica esses : consummatio tamen aetatis actae feliciter in te uertitur. illo uiuo nefas est te, quod uixeris, queri.

19. Maximum adhuc solacium tuum tacueram, i sororem tuam, illud fidelissimum tibi pectus, in quod omnes curae tuae pro indiuiso transferuntur, illum 15 animum omnibus nobis maternum. cum hac tu lacrimas tuas miscuisti, in huius primum respirasti sinu. illa quidem adfectus tuos semper sequitur ; 2 in mea tamen persona non tantum pro te dolet. illius manibus in urbem perlatus sum, illius pio maternoque 20 que nutricao per longum tempus aeger conualui ; illa pro quaestura mea gratiam suam extendit ; et, quae ne sermonis quidem aut clarae salutationis sustinuit audaciam, pro me uicit indulgentia uerecundiam. nihil illi seductum uitae genus, nihil modestia in 25 tanta feminarum petulantia rustica, nihil quies, nihil secreti et ad otium repositi mores obstiterunt quo minus pro me etiam ambitiosa fieret. hoc est, 3 mater carissima, solacium quo reficiaris : illi te, quantum potes, iunge, illius artissimis amplexibus 30 alliga. solent maerentes ea quae maxime diligunt

5 qui *Haase*, quis *A*12 taceo, materteram *Gertz*

fugere et libertatem dolori suo quaerere : tu ad illam te, quidquid cogitaueris, confer ; siue seruare istum habitum uoles siue deponere, aput illam inuenies uel
 4 finem doloris tui uel comitem. sed si prudentiam perfectissimae feminae noui, non patietur te nihil pro- 5
 futuro maerore consumi, et exemplum tibi suum, cuius ego etiam spectator fui, narrabit. carissimum uirum amiserat, auunculum nostrum cui uirgo nupserat, in ipsa quidem nauigatione ; tulit tamen eodem tem-
 10 pore et luctum et metum euictisque tempestatibus 10
 5 corpus eius naufraga euexit. o quam multarum egregia opera in obscuro iacent ! si huic illa simplex admirandis uirtutibus contigisset antiquitas, quanto ingeniorum certamine celebraretur uxor, quae, oblita inbecillitatis, oblita metuendi etiam firmissimis maris, 15
 15 caput suum periculis pro sepultura obiecit, et dum cogitat de uiri funere, nihil de suo timuit ! nobilitatur carminibus omnium, quae se pro coniuge uicariam dedit : hoc amplius est, discrimine uitae sepulcrum uiro quaerere ; maior est amor, qui pari periculo minus 20
 6 redimit. post hoc nemo miretur, quod per sedecim annos, quibus Aegyptum maritus eius optinuit, numquam in publico conspecta est, neminem prouincialem domum suam admisit, nihil a uiro petiit, nihil a se peti passa est. itaque loquax et in contu- 25
 25 melias praefectorum ingeniosa prouincia, in qua etiam qui uitauerunt culpam non effugerunt infamiam, uelut unicum sanctitatis exemplum suspexit, et, quod illi difficillimum est cui etiam periculosi sales placent,

16 uiri *post* sepultura *add.* Gertz 21 miretur *scripsi coll.*
 Polyb. 16 § 4: miratur A

omnem uerborum licentiam continuit et hodie similem illi, quamuis numquam speret, semper optat. multum erat, si per XVI annos illam prouincia probasset : plus est, quod ignorauit. haec non ideo refero, ut laudes 7
 5 eius exsequar, quas circumscribere est tam parce transcurrere, sed ut intellegas magni animi esse feminam, quam non ambitio, non auaritia, comites omnis potentiae et pestes, uicerunt, non metus mortis iam exarmata naue naufragium suum spectantem
 10 deterruit, quo minus exanimi uiro haerens non quaereret, quemadmodum inde exiret sed quemadmodum efferret. huic parem uirtutem exhibeas oportet et animum a luctu recipias et id agas, ne quis te putet partus tui paenitere.

15 20. Ceterum quia necesse est, cum omnia feceris, 1
 cogitationes tamen tuas subinde ad me recurrere nec quemquam nunc ex liberis tuis frequentius tibi obuersari, non quia illi minus cari sunt sed quia naturale est manum saepius ad id referre quod doleat,
 20 qualem me cogites accipe : laetum et alacrem uelut optimis rebus. sunt enim optimae, quoniam animus omnis occupationis expers operibus suis uacat, et modo se leuioribus studiis oblectat, modo ad considerandam suam uniuersique naturam ueri audius insurgit.
 25 terras primum situmque earum quaerit, deinde 2
 condicionem circumfusi maris cursusque eius alternos et recursus. tunc, quidquid inter caelum terrasque plenum formidinis interiacet, perspicit, et hoc tonitribus, fulminibus, uentorum flatibus ac nimborum niuisque

et grandinis iactu tumultuosum spatium. tum peragratis humilioribus ad summa perumpit et pulcherrimo diuinorum spectaculo fruitur; aeternitatis suae memor in omne quod fuit futurumque est uadit omnibus saeculis.

NOTES

NOTE.—The three dialogues are referred to as *Paul.*, *Polyb.*, *Helu.* In quotations from Seneca, the author's name is not prefixed.

AD PAVLINVM

I

Page 1

It is a general complaint among mankind that Nature has given us such short lives. Yet the fault is not in her but in ourselves: our life is long enough, if we used it well; but we squander it recklessly.

§ 1. 1. **Pauline**: see Introd. p. ix.

2. **in**, 'with a view to': this final use of *in* is common in silver-age writers (cf. § 2 *in tam multa*, § 3 *in consummationem*), but was unknown to Cicero, who uses *causā* with the gen. to express the same notion: see Madvig *Opusc.* i § 167.

exiguum aevi, 'a brief span of life': cf. § 3: the neut. adj. is used as a noun: cf. Livy xl 28, 4 *exiguum temporis*; Lucan ii 128 *paruum sanguinis*: in classical Latin *pauillum* and *multum* are so used, but not *exiguum* or *paruum*: see Madvig *Em. Liu.* § 577.

4. **spatia** is a metaphor from the race-course, where it means 'laps': cf. *Dial.* ix 9, 3 *non in cursu tantum Circique certamine sed in his spatiis uitae interius flectendum est* (you must take the inside course).

5. **in ipso uitae apparatu**, 'just when they are getting ready to live.' The repetition of *uita* in different cases is characteristic of Seneca's style: neither word should be omitted in translating.

6. **publico**, 'universal,' has the sense which *communis* bears in classical Latin: cf. *Polyb.* 14 § 1: Ovid begins the use and has it often, e.g. *Met.* ii 35 *lux inmensi publica mundi* (the sun); cf. Pliny

Nat. Hist. xxxvi 119 *hauriri urbes terrae hiatibus publicis mortalium dolor est.*

ut opinantur goes with *malo*: it is not really an evil.

malo: for the dat., cf. 20 § 2; *Helu.* 16 § 5.

7. **imprudens** = *imperitum*, the common epithet of the vulgar herd: *impudens* (the reading of A) is strange in itself and does not give a good contrast with *clarorum* below.

8. **adfectus**, 'feeling': cf. 17 § 1: Cic. would use *adfectio animi* here. *adfectus* has two other senses in Sen.: (1) 'passion' e.g. hope or fear: see n. to 10 § 1; (2) 'affection': cf. *Helu.* 18 § 9.

9. **maximi medicorum**: Hippocrates of Cos, b. 460 B.C.: described by Sen. in the same terms *Epp.* 95, 20, by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii 171) as *princeps medicinae*, by Quintilian (iii 6, 64) as *clarus arte medicinae*. Sen. refers to the famous first Aphorism of Hippocrates, ὁ βλος βραχὺς ἢ δὲ τέχνη μακρῆ.

§ 2. 10. **Aristotelis**: Sen., often inaccurate in matters of detail, gives the wrong name by a slip of memory: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii 69 *Theophrastus moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, quod ceruis et cornicibus uitam diuturnam, quorum id nihil interesset, hominibus, quorum maxime interfuisset, tam exiguam uitam dedisset.*

11. **exigentis**: the construction is awkward, because *cum r. n.* has to be taken both with *exigentis* and with *lis* (sc. *est*). For *exigere cum*, 'to expostulate with,' cf. *Epp.* 27, 1 *mecum exige*; Pliny *Epp.* vi 12, 3 *cum sic exegeris mecum ut solebas cum tuo filio.*

(As precisely these two passages are quoted here by Gertz, I think it right to say that I do not owe them to him: my note was printed as it stands, before I had seen his edition. The same is true of the quotation to p. 15, l. 18, and of the explanations given of p. 51, l. 18; p. 65, l. 9; p. 85, l. 15.)

12. **lis**, 'grievance': see n. to 3 § 2.

13. **saecula**, 'life-times,' i.e. periods of human life: the distributives are used, because *each* animal has a separate allowance.

According to Hesiod, the raven lives nine times as long as a man, the stag four times as long as the raven: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 153 *Hesiodus cornici nouem nostras attribuit aetates, quadruplum eius ceruis, id triplicatum coruis, et reliqua fabulosius in phoenice ac Nymphis.* See Mayor on *Juv.* 10, 247.

Lowell (*Latest Essays* p. 57) complains of the length of modern

biographies, as 'fitter for the nine-fold vitality of another domestic animal than for the less lavish allotment of man.'

educerent: cf. *Dial.* ix 3, 1 *cura corporis diem educunt*: for the simple verb so used, cf. *Mart.* iv 66, 4 *duxit et aestates synthesis una decem*.

homini cet.: this clause is opposed to the previous clause with asyndeton: i.e. there is no such particle as *sed* to introduce the contrast: this constr., of vital importance in all Latin, is especially common in the antithetical style of Sen.

in tam multa ac magna genito: many moralisers contrast the vast ambitions of men with their short life: e.g. *Moschus Epitaph. Bi.* 54 ἄμμες δ', οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροὶ ἢ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες, ὅπποτε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα | εὐδομες εὐ μάλα μακρὸν, ἀτέρμονα, νήγρετον ὕπνον.

14. **citeriorem**, 'on the hither side,' i.e. *breuiorem*.

15. **stare**, 'is fixed': cf. *Polyb.* 4 § 1: for the fixed boundary, cf. *Lucr.* i 77 *terminus haerens*.

§ 3. 16. **uita**, sc. *est*.

Page 2

1. **si bene collocaretur**, 'if it were well invested': the metaphor from finance, thus begun, runs on to the end of the chapter.

2. **sed**: as the previous supposition is denied, the usual particle here would be *nunc*: see n. to *Polyb.* 6 § 3.

per luxum = *luxuriose*: cf. *Hor. Carm.* iv 2, 29 *per laborem*.

diffuit, 'it is squandered.'

3. **ultima necessitas** = death: the phrase is used of Seneca's own death *Tac. Ann.* xv 61, 7 *intromisit ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus qui necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret*.

4. Note the play on words in *ire* and *transisse*, and the antithesis between *intelleximus* and *sentimus*: all four words are emphatic, and it is this constant strain of emphasis which makes the style fatiguing even to a reader.

Most Latin writers would insert *eam* before *transisse*; but this position of the antecedent immediately after the relative clause, though constant in Greek and Latin, is rare in Sen.

§ 4. 5. **ita est**, 'so it is': the phrase recurs *Polyb.* i § 1 and often: cf. *Livy* xxii 29, 1; *Pliny Nat. Hist.* ii 156 (but he prefers

ita est profecto: e.g. vii 132, xvi 5, xvii 38); Cic. *Pro Flacco* 53 *non est ita, iudices, non est profecto*; Hor. *Epod.* 7, 17 *sic est*.

non accipimus, 'we are not given....'

6. **inopes eius**, 'ill-provided with it.'

7. **dominum**, 'owner': so constantly, not only of slaves but of inanimate things, money, a house etc.

8. **momento**, 'in a moment': often used with a gen. such as *temporis* (so usually in Livy) or *horae*: sometimes *punctum* is)(*momentum* and then signifies a still shorter time: e.g. Pliny *Paneg.* 56 *quod momentum, quod inmo temporis punctum, beneficio sterile?*

quamuis modicae, 'however limited.'

9. **usu** = *utendo*.

10. **bene disponenti** = *si bene disponas*: see n. to *Polyb.* 1 § 1.

multum patet, 'gives ample room': cf. 15 § 5; *Medea* 425 (she has one day granted her before banishment) *non queror tempus breue*: | *multum patebit*.

II

Men squander life in many different ways: between their occupations and their vices, they are never at rest. Those who seem most prosperous sink under the load of their prosperity. It is unjust to complain that your superiors in rank are impatient of your society, when you are unable to endure your own.

§ 1. 11. **se benigne gessit**, 'has behaved handsomely': i.e. the charge of *malignitas* (1 § 1) is unfounded.

12. **si uti scias**, 'if one knows how to use it': the 2nd pers. of the pres. subj. has often this generalising force: Paulinus is not meant specially: cf. *Polyb.* 13 § 4.

13. **in superuacuis**—**sedulitas**: *labor ineptiarum*, Martial calls it: a man thus busy over trifles is called *ardalio*: his pursuits are described at length *Dial.* ix 12; cf. also Mart. iv 78.

16. **ambitio** = *honorum petitio*; and *aliena iudicia* are the 'opinions' of those who elect to office, i.e. senators: in republican times, *suffragia* of the people had been decisive, but under Tiberius the tribes and centuries ceased to elect magistrates.

mercandi: the Roman *mercator* was not a shop-keeper (*institor*

is used for the trader of sedentary habits) but a traveller and explorer, who ran risks on land and greater risks at sea, to gather and bring home his wares.

18. **cupido** seems, like *cupiditas* above, to refer to desire of gain; and **militiae** = *militum*, as *mercandi* = *mercatorum*: cf. Quint. xi 1, 88 (when a barrister attacks a class of men, he should also say something in their praise) *reprehendens, aliā laude compenses: si cupidos milites dicas, sed 'non mirum, quod periculatorum ac sanguinis maiora sibi deberi praemia putent.'*

19. **alienis periculis**, the dangers they inflict on others: cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv 48 *suo quisque periculo intentus. suis*, the dangers they incur themselves. *suis* is abl. of cause: for a different constr., cf. *Epp.* 98, 6 *animus futuri anxius*.

20. **superiorum cultus**, 'attendance on the great': described in many epigrams by Martial, who never uses the noun in this sense, but the verb often, e.g. v 19, 8 *colit ingratas pauper amicitias*: for *cultor*, cf. § 4.

uoluntaria, 'self-imposed.'

§ 2. 21. **adfectatio alienae fortunae**, 'the pursuit after other men's money,' by *captatores*, 'will-hunters,' constantly attacked in Roman writers from Horace onwards: cf. *Dial.* ii 9, 2 *magno labore adfectata hereditas*; and see nn. to Juv. 3, 129: 4, 19.

22. **fortunae** is corrupted in the mss. to *formae*: in Suet. *Iul.* 65 the opposite corruption is found: for the best ms. gives *fortuna*, while the sense requires *forma*.

suae, 'of their own poverty,' *fortuna* meaning either 'poverty' or 'wealth.'

querella: *qua* is the reading of A: see *Introd.* p. lv.

detinuit, 'occupies for long': cf. *Helu.* 17 § 2.

plerosque = *multos*: common in silver Latin: earlier than Livy *plerique* has the sense of *plures* or *plurimi*.

24. **leuitas**, 'fickleness,' 'changeableness': cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 4.

quibusdam: these have no aim at all in life; the people of the former sentence have an aim but never stick to it. For the same distinction, cf. *Dial.* ix 2, 6 *omnes in eadem causa sunt, et hi qui leuitate uexantur ac taedio adsiduaque mutatione propositi, et illi qui marcent et oscitantur*.

26. **fata deprendunt**, 'death takes them unawares': *deprendunt*

is often 'caught in the act,' but also means 'taken unawares': cf. Mart. vi 64, 3 *peperit deprensa sub ilice coniunx*.

maximum poetarum generally means either Homer or Virgil; but there is no such passage in either. Sen. refers, either to a fragment of Menander (Kock III p. 120) *μικρὸν τι τὸ βλοῦν καὶ στενὸν ζῶμεν χρόνον*, or, more probably (for the meaning in Menander is clearly not the same as here), to a lost line of a tragic poet, perhaps Euripides. To make a verse, Gertz alters the text thus: *exigua uitae pars ea est qua uiuimus*.

27. **more oraculi**, i.e. with the impressiveness of an oracle: cf. *Polyb.* 14 § 2.

uerum esse, for *quin uerum sit*: the constr. is common in Livy and later writers, after *non dubitare*: cf. *Helu.* 1 § 1.

28. **uiuimus**= we really live: cf. 3 § 5.

29. **ceterum**: adj., not adverb.

quidem should be noted. In Latin generally *quidem*=*μέν*, e.g. Mart. i 108, 2 *pulchra quidem uerum Transtiberina domus*; but Sen. often uses it as here to introduce the second of two opposed clauses, so that it appears to have the sense of *δέ*; really, the second clause is asyndetic, and *quidem*, like *γε*, emphasises the word which it follows: cf. 8 § 1; *Helu.* 11 § 7; *De Clem.* i 21, 1 *regem et seruus occidit et serpens et sagitta: seruabit quidem nemo nisi maior eo quem seruauit*. Others have this use, but much more rarely: e.g. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i 67 *haec magna, haec diuina, haec sempiterna sunt; qua facie quidem (=γε) sit aut ubi habitet (the soul), ne quaerendum quidem est*.

tempus, 'merely time.'

Page 3

§ 3. 1. **circumstant**: for the position, cf. *Polyb.* 6 § 1.

2. **dispectum ueri**, 'the discernment of truth': the word implies that it is hard to discern.

sinunt: the object understood is mankind in general.

3. **premunt**, 'keep them down.'

4. **ad se**, i.e. to their true selves. The image seems to be from a culprit, whose head and legs are fixed in stocks.

6. **post uentum quoque**, 'even when the storm is over': *quoque* constantly has the sense of *etiam* in silver Latin.

uolutatio, 'a swell': cf. *Herc. Fur.* 1095 *sed ut ingenti uexata Noto | seruat longos unda tumultus | et, iam uento cessante, tumet.*

fluctuantur: the deponent form seems confined to silver Latin: Quintilian (ix 3, 7) recognises both forms: *pleraque utroque modo efferuntur* (many verbs are conjugated in both voices): *luxuriatur, luxuriat; fluctuatur, fluctuat.*

7. **stat** = καθέστηκε, 'is fixed,' 'is calm': cf. I § 2.

§ 4. 8. **de istis**, 'of those only.'

in confesso sunt, 'are undisputed': also *De Ben.* iii 11, 2; v 17, 5; *Nat. Quaest.* ii 22, 3; *Tac. Dial.* 25 and 27; *Pliny Nat. Hist.* viii 119 *uita ceruis in confesso longa.*

9. **ad-concurritur**, 'whose prosperity people flock to see': cf. *Epp.* 98, 9 *de his loquitur bonis, ad quae concurritur*: millionaires and great orators excited, as they still excite, public interest.

11. **multorum** is to be taken with both *eloquentia* and *sanguinem*.

12. **sanguinem educit** is to be understood literally: they burst a blood-vessel owing to their exertions: cf. *Dial.* iv 36, 4 *alii nimio feruore rupere uenas, et sanguinem supra uires elatus clamor egressit*; *Pliny Epp.* v 19, 6 (of his reader) *dum intente instanterque pronuntiat, sanguinem reiecit.*

14. **nihil liberi**, 'no freedom.'

populus has the sense of *magnus numerus* or *multitudo*: common in *Sen.*, e.g. *Dial.* vii 2, 4 *quam magnus mirantium, tam magnus inuidentium populus est.*

15. **istos** here includes great and small: it denotes the inhabitants of Rome in general, as seen in a law-court.

16. **pererra**, 'go through at haphazard.' The verbs that follow all belong to the law-court: *aduocat* is said of the suitor, *adest* of the *patronus*, *periclitatur* of the *reus*, *iudicat* of the juryman.

17. **nemo se sibi uindicat**, 'but no one asserts his claim to himself,' i.e. to his own life and his own time: the verb is again technical: it would often be the duty of a *patronus* to assert the freedom of (*uindicare*) his client.

18. **in alium**, 'for the sake of another': see n. to I § 1.

19. **nomina**: those, whose 'names are learned by heart,' are people in the fashion, notorious for wealth or eloquence: cf. *Tac. Dial.* 7 (of orators) *quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt?* These are no more independent than others.

his, 'the following.'

illos are the same as *istis*: the distinction between demonstrative pronouns, so sharp in classical Latin, tends to get blurred later.

notis, 'distinguishing marks.'

20. **suus nemo est**, 'to himself no man pays attention': with *suus*, supply *cultor*.

§ 5. 22. **ipsis non uacauerint**, 'were too busy to see them': *ipsis* does not mean 'in person,' but is used for *sibi*, an innovation which begins in Livy: cf. 20 § 1: see Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* iii 40. For this sense of *non uacare*, cf. Mart. ix 7, 3 (of a disappointed caller) '*non uacat*' (Not at Home) *aut* '*dormit*' *dictum est bis terque reuerso*.

24. **tamen**, 'after all,' i.e. in spite of rudeness carried to a certain length: cf. *Polyb.* 10 § 6.

25. **quisquis es** = however obscure you are.

respexit: cf. Juv. 3, 185 (of the insolent condescension of a great man) *ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello*.

26. **ures...demisit**, 'condescended to listen': *demitto auriculas* in Horace (*Sat.* i 9, 20) is quite different.

te ad latus suum recepit, 'suffered you to walk beside him': the inferior walked on the left of the great man and was said *latus ei tegere*—a survival from the times when the great warrior did execution with his right arm, while his humbler friends protected him from attack on the shield-side.

27. **tu non** cet.: this is opposed to what precedes: but the antithesis is not complete, as nothing here answers to *ille...recepit*.

28. **itaque**: often 2nd or 3rd word in the sentence in Sen., sometimes even the 4th: cf. *Dial.* iv 17, 1 *et apud iudices itaque* cet.: in Cicero it comes first, as, by derivation, it should do.

ista officia, 'your attentions,' i.e. the *salutatio*, *deductio*, and other tiresome duties of a client.

Page 4

1. **imputes**, 'claim credit for': *nemo tibi debet* (is obliged to you for them) would express the same.

imputare, a favourite word in silver Latin, is a metaphor from book-keeping: *hoc tibi imputo*, 'I set this down against you,' = *hoc mihi debes*: cf. *De Ben.* vi 12, 1 *quaedam homines sibi praestant*,

aliis imputant (there are things which men do to please themselves and yet claim credit for from others). The verb has another metaphorical sense, i.e. *hoc tibi imputo*, 'I make you responsible for this': cf. *Dial.* iv 27, 2 *dementes illis imputant saevitiam maris* (only madmen make the gods responsible for the violence of the sea).

2. **non esse** cet., 'the reason was not that you wished for someone else's company but that you could not endure your own.'

III

Men, who are by no means inclined to part with their money or their land, think nothing of squandering their time, their most precious possession, upon others. Even at the end of a century of life, a man must admit, on reflexion, that most of it has been wasted. Men are prodigal of life, because they forget that it must end; they reckon on a future which they may never see.

§ 1. 3. **ingenia** has the sense of *scriptores*: 'the brilliant intellects of all ages': cf. *Helu.* I § 2.

4. **in hoc unum**, 'to write on this one theme': see n. to I § 1.

5. **mirabuntur** denotes, not the feeling of wonder, but the expression of it. Madv. would read *miserabuntur*; and the two words were often confused by copyists, e.g. *Juv.* 12, 73, where see n.: but *mirabuntur* is supported by *mirari* (8 § 1).

5—14. **praedia—auaritia est**: in a Greek equivalent there would be three μέν clauses and three δέ clauses: the Latin uses no particles to express the contrast but places the words so as to suggest it.

6. **nullo**, here a noun: cf. 6 § 2: *nemine* is very rarely found; see n. to *Polyb.* 14 § 2.

exigua, 'even a trifling....'

7. **finium**, 'land' here, not 'boundaries': cf. *Dial.* vi 17, 4 *laxius territorium quam multarum urbium fines sunt*.

lapides, being provided by nature, are often mentioned as weapons in a *rixa* arising from this cause, e.g. *Cic. Pro Flacco* 73.

8. **incedere**, 'to trespass,' the previous statement having started the metaphor.

9. **possessores eius futuros**, 'persons who will eventually occupy it,' having ousted the rightful owner; they are only 'squatters' at first.

inducunt: the verb implies that the new occupier has no legal title: cf. *De Ben.* iv 37, 3 *illum induci in bona, quae petebat, iussit.*

10. **diuidere**, 'to distribute' (not 'to share with another'): cf. 15 § 3.

11. **adstricti is**) (**profusissimi**: cf. Pliny *Epp.* i 20, 20 *qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit.*

13. **in eo, cuius—est**, 'in the case of that one thing, of which it is right to be miserly.'

§ 2. 15. **ultimum aetatis**: so *exiguum aevi* (1 § 1): Cic. would write *ultimam aetatem.*

16. **tibi premitur**, lit. 'is pressed hard by you,' i.e. is close in front of you: so the hound is said *premere* the flying hare: cf. *Epp.* 101, 5 *ipsam, quam premimus horam, casus incidit.*

17. **ad computationem...reuoca**, 'hold an audit of your life.'

18. **duc**, the reading of A, is clearly better than *dic* of other mss.; for the man is not asked to answer a judge but to perform a calculation for himself.

creditor, 'money-lender': he robs you of time *appellando* (by coming for his money).

19. **rex**, 'patron,' is) (**cliens**: it was common for a man to be a client and yet have clients of his own: the real poor objected to this doubling of parts: cf. Mart. ii 18, 8 *qui rex est, regem, Maxime, non habeat.*

This peculiar sense of *rex* is found in Latin writers from Plautus (*Stich.* 455) to Juvenal (1, 136 etc.): it is regularly applied by the parasite to the man who feeds him: Persius, a contemporary of Seneca, has it often (1, 67 etc.).

20. **lis uxoria**, 'quarrelling with your wife': *lis* and *litigo* are often used with no reference to a law-court: cf. *Dial.* v 33, 1 *propter hanc* (money) *uxorum maritorumque noctes strepunt litibus*; Juv. 6, 268 *semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus, | in quo nupta iacet.*

coercitio, 'punishment,' rather than 'control': cf. *Dial.* iii 16, 1; iv 9, 1.

21. **officiosa** = *per officia*, 'on social duties': cf. 2 § 5, and

Mart. x 58, 14 *et non officiosus amo* (even though I do not call on you, I love you).

22. **manu** here as often is) (*naturā*: the diseases are not due to nature but have been 'artificially' contracted by our vices: so those who disinherited their children are said *orbitatem manu facere* (*Dial.* vi 19, 2) where *manu*=against nature.

quod, 'the time which...'

23. **uidebis**: the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis being represented by the imperative which precedes: a constr. found in many languages, e.g. 'ask and ye shall receive.'

In Cicero's use of this constr., there is no *et* between the imperative and future: and so here: but Sen. often uses such a form as *considera et intelleges* (*Epp.* 13, 16): see Madvig *Opusc.* ii § 162.

§ 3. 24. **quando**=how seldom.

certus consilii: objective gen.: for the constr., cf. Virg. *Aen.* iv 554 *certus eundi*; Tac. *Ann.* iv 34, 2 *relinquendae uitae certus*; Pliny *Epp.* vi 16, 12 *certus fugae*.

26. **in statu suo uoltus**, 'your face wore its natural expression': in general your expression was determined by the feelings of someone else whom you wished to be well with: cf. *Dial.* iii 19, 2 *placidus esse debet et in statu uoltus*. See n. to *Helu.* 18 § 6.

Comp. *Emma* c. 13 'With men he can be rational and unaffected, but when he has ladies to please, every feature works.'

27. **intrepidus**, 'free from excitement,' 'calm': *trepidus* is 'in a flutter' from either hope or fear; it means 'frightened' only where the context gives it that meaning: see n. to 8 § 3.

facti operis: partitive after *quid*: 'what you have of work done, to show for your long life': cf. *Epp.* 22, 14 *nemo quicquam habet facti*: *in futurum enim nostra distulimus*.

Page 5

1. **uanus dolor**, 'groundless sorrow': cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 4: some writers, e.g. Livy, prefer *uanus* to *falsus* as the opposite of *uerus*.

2. **blanda conuersatio**, 'the society of those whom you flatter': the adj. might mean 'who flatter you,' but the context seems in favour of the former meaning. *blanda* must have a bad sense here, to harmonise with the three preceding epithets.

conuersatio, very common in Sen., is never = *sermo*: it means 'society,' 'intercourse': cf. *Helu.* 7 § 9; *Dial.* v 8, 1 *sumuntur a conuersantibus mores* (a man gets his character from his company). Cic. uses *consuetudo* in this sense.

§ 4. 4. **in causa**: for the phrase, cf. *Helu.* 7 § 8; *Epp.* 56, 8 *quid in causa putas esse?*

tanquam, 'in the belief that...': cf. l. 9.

5. **uobis...succurrit**, 'enters your heads': cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 9: *occurro* is more often used with the same meaning: cf. 10 § 1.

fragilitas: cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* vii 44 *is demum profecto uitam aequa lance pensabit qui semper fragilitatis humanae memor fuerit.*

6. **obseruatis**, 'take notice': this verb is almost always active: in *Pliny Epp.* iv 30, 4 *si diutius obserues, utrumque iterum ac tertio uideas*, there is no expressed object.

7. **perditis**, 'you squander,' *tempus* being understood as object. The wise man *dat*, the foolish or over-rich man *perdit*: cf. *Mart.* iv 40, 7 *iam donare potes, iam perdere* (you are so very rich).

8. **cum interim**, 'though all the while': the subj. (*sit*) is potential, 'may be': the mood is not due to *cum interim*. This phrase is followed by pres. ind. *Dial.* i 1, 4; vi 11, 5; *Epp.* 1, 3; 81, 31; 101, 6; 115, 17; *Nat. Quaest.* i *prol.* § 14, iv *praef.* § 11: by fut. ind. *Epp.* 104, 11: by perf. ind. *Dial.* iv 33, 4; vi 1, 7; ix 12, 4. There is a single instance in Sen. (*Dial.* iv 27, 2) where the pres. subj., not potential, follows *cum interim*. *Valerius Maximus* uses it often and always with ind.

qui...donatur, 'which you make a present of.'

9. **tamquam mortales**, 'in the belief that you will die': this seems inconsistent with l. 5, but cf. 8 § 2: it is certainly irrelevant.

10. **concupiscitis**: as your life is limited, so your desire for this world's goods should be limited also.

§ 5. 11. **plerosque** = *multos*: see n. to 2 § 2.

quinquagesimo: see n. to 20 § 4.

12. **sexagesimus**: for retirement from active life at sixty, cf. *Juv.* 14, 197 *aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus | adferat.*

13. **officiis** here has a wider meaning than in 2 § 5: it would include the work of a public office (cf. *Polyb.* 6 § 4, *Helu.* 6 § 2), or business at the bar, often called *officia ciuilia* (see n. to *Juv.* 7, 106).

14. **ista** = your course of life.

disponis, 'you plan it out.'

tu (added by Gertz) seems to us an improvement; but Latin, esp. in poetry, often omits a personal pronoun where English needs it: cf. Mart. v 13, 9 *quod sum, non potes esse* (what *I* am, *you* cannot be).

16. **bonae menti**, 'for wisdom,' i.e. for the study of philosophy, which will make you a better man: *bona mens* occurs very often in Sen., in the sense of 'wisdom and virtue': e.g. *Epp.* 16, 1 *perseuerandum est, donec bona mens sit, quod bona uoluntas est* (till honest endeavour in the present turn to true virtue in future).

18. **uiuere** has a pregnant sense, 'to live in earnest': cf. 2 § 2.

20. **inde...quo**, 'at a point, to which...'

uelle, 'to intend.'

IV

The most powerful, the most prosperous, of mankind often sigh for a time when they can safely step down from their high place. No man had ever more power than Augustus; yet his position involved such troubles and dangers that his chief pleasure was to dwell on thoughts of a retirement which he was never able to realise.

A treatise of this kind generally consists partly of *praecepta*, partly of *exempla*: see n. to *Polyb.* 14 § 1. Having devoted three chapters to the first, Sen. now gives an equal space to the second.

§ 1. 22. **potentissimis...excidere uoces**, 'that the most powerful men let drop remarks': the verb suggests that the words are not deliberately spoken: being casual utterances, they are more likely to be sincere.

23. **optent**, 'pray for': cf. *Epp.* 95, 2 *saepe aliud uolumus, aliud optamus et uerum ne dis quidem dicimus*: 'to wish' is a rarer meaning of this verb.

24. **interim**, 'at times': cf. *Helu.* 17 § 1: the classical Latin is *interdum* or *aliquando*.

25. **fastigio**: cf. *Dial.* ix 10, 6 *multi sunt, quibus necessario haerendum sit in fastigio suo, ex quo non possunt nisi cadendo descendere*.

ut, 'supposing that...'

26. **lacessat** denotes less destructive power than *quatiat*.

in se ipsā fortuna ruit, 'greatness comes crashing down upon itself': cf. Lucan i 81 (of the fall of the Roman republic) *in se magna ruunt*; Sen. *Agamem.* 87 *licet arma uacent cessentque doli | sidunt ipso pondere magna | ceditque oneri fortuna suo*.

§ 2. 27. **diuus**: in historic times, Augustus was the second Roman to be deified after death, Julius Caesar the first.

ulli=*ulli alii*: the ellipse is common in silver-age writers, intolerant of any word that *can* be left out: cf. Lucan i 31 *nulli* (= *nulli alii*).

Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii 147) enumerates the incidents which marred the immense *felicitas* of Augustus.

28. **a re publica** goes with *uacationem*, not with *petere*: cf. *Helu.* 2 § 4: Cic. uses the simple abl. or gen. after *uacatio*: cf. 20 § 3.

Page 6

1. **ut speraret otium**, 'his hope of leisure,' defines the preceding *hoc*.

3. **se uicturum sibi**, 'that he would live to please himself': cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 18, 107 *ut mihi uiuam | quod superest aeu;* Mart. v 20, 11 (expressing a desire for *otium*) *nunc uiuit necuter sibi*.

§ 3. 4. **cum...pollicitus esset**: the letter contained the promise, which came before the words quoted. It appears that the letter, being intended for his subjects generally, was published.

6. **ista—possunt**, 'there is more credit in redeeming this promise than in merely making it.'

speciosius is hardly the word one would expect; but cf. *Epp.* 20, 9 *magnificentior sermo tuus in grabato uidebitur et in panno; non enim dicentur tantum ista sed probabuntur*.

7. **cupido**: Augustus was a purist in language but less of a purist than Cicero, who would have used *cupiditas*: with him *Cupido* is the god only.

8. **rerum laetitia**, 'the joyful reality.'

§ 4. 10. **tanta res**, 'so great a prize.'

11. **non poterat**: it is necessary to supply *sumere* out of *praesumeret*. The licence is bold; but in zeugma of this kind Latin goes far: cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* x 4, 4 *horum imperatorum non modo res gestas non antepono meis sed ne fortunam quidem ipsam, qua illi*

florentissima, nos duriore conflictati uidemur (where out of *conflictati* must be supplied a verb with the opposite meaning).

12. **hominibus**, 'individuals,' is)(**gentibus**.

13. **fortunam dabat**, 'made happy or unhappy,' *fortuna* having two meanings: comp. *il faisait la pluie et le beau temps à tout le monde*.

illum diem, 'that future day': the words can mean 'that past day,' when the context requires it.

14. **exueret** = *exuturus esset*.

16. **exprimerent** is used in its primary sense of wringing moisture from something wet, as a sponge or cloth.

§ 5. 17. **ciuibus**, 'his countrymen,' in the civil wars, at Mutina (43 B.C.) and Philippi (42 B.C.).

18. **collegis** should mean the other two triumvirs, Lepidus and Antony; but Sen. evidently refers to the battle of Nauochus (36 B.C.) against Sextus Pompeius: it is true that the deposition of Lepidus was a consequence of this battle.

adfinibus (plur. for symmetry) refers to Antony, the husband of Octavia the sister of Augustus: he was defeated at Actium (31 B.C.).

20. **Aegyptum, Syriam Asiamque**: the historical order is not observed. Augustus went to Asia and Syria in 31—30 B.C. after the battle of Actium; but he did no fighting there, and his settlement was made by diplomacy, not by arms. From Syria he went to Egypt (30 B.C.), where he occupied Alexandria with little trouble and made Egypt into a province (Suet. *Aug.* 17 and 18).

21. **oras**, 'countries.' The language is somewhat exaggerated: it would be truer of Julius Caesar: cf. *Helv.* 9 § 8.

23. **Alpes pacat**: Augustus waged many wars, but not in person, against the Alpine peoples: these came to an end in 8 B.C., when the province of Raetia was formed; at the same time a trophy was erected, and the site named *Tropaea Augusti*, now Torbìa near Monaco.

immixtos...hostes apparently refers to the Ligures and other Alpine tribes, who held out long after Spain and Gaul had yielded to Rome. Or Sen. may refer to the Dalmatians: they and the Cantabri, not mentioned here, were the only foreign foes against whom Augustus fought in person.

paci et imperio = the peaceful empire: *paci Romanae* might have been used with the same meaning: cf. *Dial.* i 4, 14 (of the Germans on the frontier) *gentes, in quibus Romana pax desinit.*

24. **Rhenum, Euphraten, Danuuium**: the order is again perverse, and the statement is rhetoric, not history. The notorious policy of Augustus was to consolidate, not to extend, the empire: cf. *Tac. Ann.* i 11, 7 *addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii.*

The facts are as follows. (1) By his stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, Augustus waged war beyond the Rhine 13 B.C.—6 A.D., when the disaster of Varus made him withdraw finally to the south of the river. (2) The Danube was crossed only once, probably in 5 A.D., by an army of Aug.: cf. *Mon. Anc.* v 48 *trans Danuuium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit.* (3) He never fought himself or sent armies beyond the Euphrates.

At Seneca's death, Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates were still, except for the conquest of Britain, the limits of the empire.

26. **Murenae** *et.*: for conspiracies against Augustus, cf. *De Clem.* i 9, 6 (where six are mentioned) and *Suet. Aug.* 19 (who records eight). Sen. again disregards the order of time: the conspiracy of Lepidus, son of the triumvir, was suppressed 30 B.C.; that of Murena and Caepio 22 B.C., and that of Egnatius 19 B.C. (cf. *Vell. Pat.* ii 91).

Egnati, aliorum: *Egnatiorum*, the reading of A, is not confirmed, as might appear, by *Tac. Ann.* i 10, 3 *interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos*: for Tacitus uses the plurals in the sense of 'conspirators like Varro Murena etc.': cf. *Catilinas* 5 § 1: but Sen. could not use this plural in the case of one conspirator only, while mentioning three others in the singular.

27. **mucrones** = *gladii*, by the figure called synecdoche, the part being used for the whole: cf. *Quint.* viii 6, 20 *prosa, ut mucronem pro gladio et tectum pro domo recipiet, ita non puppim pro navi.*

§ 6. **nondum** = 'before he had....'

28. **filia**: Julia, the only child of Augustus, born 39 B.C., was married successively to Marcellus, Agrippa, and Tiberius: her dissolute conduct poisoned her father's private life; she died in banishment 14 A.D.

tot nobiles iuuenes: five of Julia's lovers are named by Vell. Pat. ii 100. Tacitus (*Ann.* iii 24) says that Augustus punished her lovers as guilty of treason, *maiestas*; Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii 149) speaks of *adulterium filiae et consilia parricidae palam facta*.

adulterio uelut sacramento adacti, 'enlisted in her service by her guilty favours': i.e. as her lovers, they were virtually sworn to fight for her, even against her father.

29. **iam—territabant**, 'often alarmed him, when he had become old and feeble.'

Page 7

1. **Paulus**: L. Aemilius Paulus was the husband of the younger Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus; he lost his life, at a date unknown, for a conspiracy against the emperor.

timenda cum Antonio mulier is all one phrase qualified by *iterum*. *Antonio*, 'an Antony.'

In 31 B.C. Augustus had to fight Mark Antony and Cleopatra; in 2 B.C. his enemies were Iullus Antonius, son of the triumvir, and his paramour, the elder Julia. Julia was banished, Iullus was put to death: cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv 44, 5 *Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito*.

This Antony, a son of Fulvia adopted by his stepmother Octavia, was consul 10 B.C. Some mss. of Horace in the Ode addressed to him (iv 2), and inscriptions, show that his name was *Iullus*, and the verse shows that it is a dissyllable: the name is Gaulish: why he got it, is not known: it is often misspelt in mss. as *Iulus* or *Iulius*.

2. **haec ulcera** are the two Julias: Sen. imitates the words of Augustus himself: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 65 *nec aliter eos* (the two Julias and Agrippa, his grandson) *appellare solebat quam tres uomicas a tria carcinomata sua* (sores and cancers).

cum ipsis membris, 'limbs and all': the two women seem to be identified both with the *ulcera* and the *membra*. The meaning is, that they were banished. The younger Julia died on an island off Apulia in 28 A.D., after 20 years of exile. Ovid also was banished in 8 A.D., and it has been surmised that his fate was connected with hers.

3. **uelut** cet.: the metaphor from disease now becomes a simile: as the body, in a certain state of disease, is liable to intermittent

hemorrhage, so Augustus was constantly open to danger at some point.

6. **residebant**, from *resido*: 'found relief': Cic. would probably use *adquiescebant* in this sense.

uotum has here the sense of *εὐχή*, an unrealised wish, a thing too good to be true: cf. Quint. xii 5, 6 *sed hoc uotum est et rara felicitas*.

7. **facere**: supply *homines*, 'mankind,' as object.

V

Cicero is another example of a man who played a great part in public affairs and came at last to curse his own achievements. Cicero, in his misery, sank so low as to use language of himself, to which the Wise Man would never condescend.

§ 1. 8. **Catilinas, Clodios** cet., 'men like Catiline, Clodius etc.': the regular idiom: cf. Mart. x 19, 21 *tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones* (even a stern Cato might read me then).

iactatus begins a metaphor, which is continued below, of a *gubernator* trying to save a sinking ship: the same metaphor is constantly used of statesmen by Cicero himself.

10. **dubios amicos**, i.e. the triumvirs—Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey, who could have saved him from exile in 58 B.C.

11. **pessum**: used commonly with *ire* and *dare*, and rarely (*Dial.* ii 2, 2; Lucan iii 674) with *sidere*.

tenet, 'keeps-steady,' by skilful use of the rudder and sails.

abductus, 'carried away' by the violence of the storm: cf. Quint. ii 17, 24 *gubernator...tempestate abreptus*. The syntax is not clear: an *et* is wanted somewhere to couple *iactatus* and *abductus*: it might have fallen out after *tenet*.

12. **nec aduersarum patiens**: perhaps a recollection of Livy's character of Cicero: *omnium aduersorum nihil ut uiro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem* (*ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 6, 22).

14. **laudatum** = *quem laudauerat*: Sen. prefers conciseness to clearness. For *sine fine l.*, cf. Mart. ii 14, 4 *laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine, pedes*; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxv 100 *pinxit et aegrum sine fine laudatum* (his picture 'The Invalid' is excessively admired).

I do not remember that Cicero, though he bitterly regretted the consequences, anywhere quite curses the glorious Nones of December: but he wrote to his brother from exile (i 3, 1) *meus ille laudatus consulatus mihi te, patriam, fortunas eripuit*.

§ 2. 15. **ad Atticum**: in the extant letters to Atticus, the words here quoted do not occur. But in May 45 B.C., soon after the battle of Munda, Cicero wrote to Atticus from his villa at Tusculum thus: *semiliberi saltem simus, quod adsequemur et tacendo et latendo* (*Ad Att.* xiii 31, 3). Two explanations are possible. Either Cicero repeated this phrase in another letter, not extant, of the same time; or Sen., remembering the one important word (*semiliber*), invented the rest of the sentence. Misquotation in ancient writers has wide limits: it has recently been suggested (by Mr F. W. Hall) that this inaccuracy is due in part to the great trouble of verifying quotations in rolls of the ancient form.

16. **adhuc**, 'still,' where the classical writers would use *etiam tum*: with them, *adhuc* always refers to the present and means 'up to this time.'

fili: Sextus Pompeius.

17. **refouente**, 'was trying to rekindle': the metaphor may be from nursing an invalid or nursing a fire: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 35 *Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refouentis deiecit, Pompeii liberos in Hispania*. Pharsalia was fought in Aug. 48 B.C., Thapsus in April 46, Munda in March 45.

18. **alia deinceps** cet. ; there is nothing of this kind in Cic. *Ad Att.* xiii 31, so that the hypothesis of a lost letter seems the more likely.

§ 3. 21. **me hercules**: a favourite expletive with Sen., used esp. after *at* and *tam*: there are at least 19 examples in his Dialogues, and 31 in his Letters to two of *me hercule*: he never omits the *me*, as many writers, e.g. the younger Pliny, commonly do; nor does he use *hercle*. Cic. uses all these forms, but *me hercules* least often. See Friedländer *Cena Trimalch.* p. 211.

22. **sapiens**, 'the Sage,' the Perfect Man of the Stoics, whom they admitted to be as rare as the Phoenix: some considered Hercules, some Odysseus, to have reached the high ideal: in Sen., perfect virtue is generally represented by Socrates and, still more, by Cato: cf. *Dial.* ii 2, 1 *Catonem...certius exemplar sapientis uiri...quam Vliven et Herculem prioribus saeculis*. The word

sapiens is used by him in a looser sense also, to denote those who lead a moral life on philosophical principles.

The introduction of the *sapiens* is somewhat irrelevant here.

procedet must be a compound of *cadere*: *procēdet* is unsuitable here; and the best mss. of Latin authors offer forms like *accēdere*, *recēpit* etc., where *a* of the simple verb becomes *e*, not *i*, in the compound: cf. *Helu.* 10 § 3 where A has *recepit* for *recipit*: see Munro on *Lucr.* ii 1025 (notes I).

23. **integrae**, 'complete': i.e. there is no halfness about it.

libertatis: gen. of description.

solidae, 'stable': lit. 'with no hollow or holes in it': often applied to *uoluptas* (*Helu.* 5 § 5), *pax*, *felicitas* etc.

24. **sui iuris**, 'his own master,' 'independent': used as an adj. even in the poets: e.g. *Lucan* viii 659 *iam Cornelia non est | iuris, Magne, sui*: see n. to *precario*, *Polyb.* II § 1.

25. **supra fortunam**: the smiles and the frowns of Fortune alike he treads under foot.

VI

In Livius Drusus we have another active politician, whose public career, begun in early youth, became a burden even to himself. His death, whether suicide or not, was the only issue from a hopeless situation.

No length of life can satisfy those whose lives are careless and vicious.

In 91 B.C. M. Livius Drusus, being tribune, carried an agrarian law and a corn law: the senate thereupon declared his laws null and void: on his return from the senate-house he was struck down by an unknown assassin.

§ 1. 26. **cum leges—mouisset**, 'when he had proposed revolutionary laws and revived the evil policy of the Gracchi': the verb applies in one sense to *leges* and in another to *mala*.

Cf. *Dial.* vi 16, 4 *Cornelia Liui Drusi clarissimum iuuenem inlustris ingenii, uadentem per Gracchana uestigia, imperfectis tot rogationibus, intra penates interemptum suos, amiserat incerto caedis auctore*. His legislation followed the lines laid down by the Gracchi; but we have little certain knowledge of his motives and measures.

27. **stipatus**, 'supported and surrounded': this word has often (not always, cf. *Polyb.* 3 § 4) an invidious sense. The Italians were eager for the franchise, and Drusus was favourable to their claims; this alliance, being odious to the senate, proved his ruin; and his death was the direct occasion of the Social War (90—89 B.C.).

28. **exitum rerum**, 'a successful issue to his policy.'

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1. **agere**, 'to go on with,' seems weak, where one would expect *ad finem agere*: but cf. *mouet* (= *amouet*) 15 § 4.

3. **dicitur dixisse** sounds bald to us; but the Roman ear was less sensitive to near repetitions of the same word: a number of parallels (to which add Livy ix 7, 2) are quoted by Reid on Cic. *Pro Archia* p. 86.

5. **pupillus**: cf. *Helu.* 18 § 7: he must have lost his father in early youth; the fact is not known from any other source.

adhuc: see n. to 5 § 2.

praetextatus: cf. *Epp.* 4, 2 *tenes memoriā, quantum senseris gaudium, cum praetexta posita sumpsisti uirilem togam et in forum deductus es*: to plead in the courts before this formal introduction took place, was evidently most exceptional: Quintilian speaks of such cases, as if he hardly believed them: xii 6, 1 *cum praetextatos egisse* (have spoken) *quosdam sit traditum*.

reos commendare: it was commoner for young nobles to begin public life (*tirocinium ponere* is the phrase) by prosecuting some criminal: cf. Quint. xii 7, 3 *crediti sunt etiam clari iuuenes obsidem rei publicae dare malorum ciuium accusationem*: he then quotes as instances, Hortensius, the Luculli, Sulpicius, Cicero, Caesar, and both Catos.

6. **foro**, 'the law-courts.'

7. **iudicia rapta** = *reos ereptos*: cf. Quint. vi 5, 10 (of Cicero) *ut Cornelium eripuerit*: the verb implies that the verdicts were in the teeth of the evidence: no details are known.

§ 2. 8. **quo non erumperet**, 'to what lengths was not...likely to go?' *erumperet* has the sense of *eruptura erat*: his turbulent beginnings made *future* excesses certain.

9. **scires**, 'one could have told': cf. Ovid *Met.* i 162 *scires e sanguine natos*.

priuatum apparently refers to the fate of Drusus himself, but it serves mainly as an antithesis to *publicum*.

11. I suspect that *puero* has dropped out after **contigisse**: the omission would be likely to happen owing to the repeated word, and the statement surely gains much in point by the insertion.

12. **sediciosus**, 'factious.'

foro here refers to the *rostra*, not to the law-courts: cf. Lucan iv 799 (to Curio) *quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque, | unde tribunicia plebeius signifer arce | arma dabas populis?* The *rostra* formed the *arx tribunicia*, the stronghold of the tribunes' despotic power; and Drusus, like Curio, *turbabat forum*, when he addressed *contiones* in support of his laws.

disputatur, an: as there is no expressed alternative, Cicero would use *num* or *-ne*: but this use of *an* is common in all silver-age writers.

14. **aliquo** = *multis*.

15. **tempestiua**: because prolonged life would have meant certain failure in his enterprise.

Velleius Paterculus, our chief authority for the history of Drusus, takes a different and much more favourable view of his character. He was apparently what we might call a Tory democrat. 'That he was a sincere and unselfish patriot is beyond doubt' Heitland § 835.

§ 3. **superuacuum**: *superuacancum* is Cicero's form of this word.

18. **perosi**, 'when they expressed their loathing for...': *odisse* often denotes not merely the feeling but the expression of it: so *mirabuntur* 3 § 1: see n. to Juv. 7, 35.

actum annorum, 'action of their lives': cf. Quint. xi 1, 47 *in ceteris actibus uitae*: the first noun is not used by Cicero, except for the 'act' of a play.

20. **eruperunt**: ind. of repeated action, regular after *cum* = *quoties*.

adfectus, 'their feelings': see n. to 1 § 1.

§ 4. 22. **uestra**: Sen. now turns to address men in general. The transition from his examples is strangely abrupt, and the connexion with 3 § 2 is not made clear: perhaps the abruptness is oratorical; but he seems unskilful, especially in this treatise, in the art of passing from one point to another.

23. **in artissimum contrahetur**, 'will shrink into a span': the fut. means, 'it will be found to do so': cf. *Polyb.* 11 § 5; *Lucan* i 31 *Poenus erit (= inuenietur esse)*.

24. **hoc...spatium**, 'your actual period of life.'

25. **natura**: abl. **currit**, 'hastens on': the indic. is occasionally used elsewhere by Sen. after *quamuis*, e.g. *De Ben.* iii 32, 5.

dilatata = prolongs.

27. **rei**: dat.: for the constr., cf. *Helu.* 13 § 2.

VII

Of all men, who misuse their time, the worst are gluttons and libertines. Men waste time in many ways. Their way of living is a bar to the acquirement of knowledge. The art of life, which great men have studied exclusively for a life-time, is unattainable by them. The philosopher finds life long enough, because he lets none of it run through his fingers. Many, who waste their lives on other people, have times when they realise their folly. The real length of life depends upon the use made of it.

The first paragraph of this chapter is out of place: neither *in primis* nor *et illos* can be explained here, and *istorum* (§ 2) has nothing to refer to. If Sen. had spoken first of the *occupati* as a class, and then of one form of *occupatio*, the present passage would follow well enough, and *istorum* would refer to all *occupati*. Gertz would transfer it to the beginning of c. 13, so as to follow the question, *quaeris fortasse, quos occupatos uocem?* (12 § 1). A better remedy, I think, would be to prefix 19 § 3, out of place there, to this chapter.

§ 1. 29. **in primis** = among the worst.

et is here meaningless—no other class of *occupati* having been mentioned.

nulli rei nisi uino uacant, 'give all their time to nothing but wine': *uaco alicui rei* has two meanings: (1) I have time for a thing; (2) I give time to a thing: both meanings are seen in *Mart.* xi 1, 6 *nec Musis uacat, aut suis uacaret* (he has no time for poetry; if he had, he would use it to write poetry of his own). The second is the meaning here.

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2. **occupati**: the term begins here and pervades the rest of the treatise: for its peculiar meaning, see *Intro.* p. xv.

uana, = *falsa*, is emphatic: see n. to 3 § 3.

3. **speciose errant**: i.e. there is nothing outwardly disgusting in their fault.

4. **odia** and **bella** are both carried on by the *iracundi*, according to their share of power: the anger of kings shows itself by war: cf. *Dial.* v 5, 6. *iniusta* belongs to both nouns.

5. **in uentrem**: 'but' must begin this clause in English.

6. **inhonesta**, 'ugly,' is)(*speciose* above: cf. *Tac. Hist.* ii 31 *Vitellius uentre et gula sibi inhonestus ducebatur.*

§ 2. 7. **istorum** seems, from what follows, to refer to the *auari* only: if so, the arrangement is confused and the interposition of the *iracundi* very awkward: but probably it = *occupatorum*, the paragraph being misplaced.

excute, 'examine.'

computent, 'calculate their gains.'

8. **timeant**: supply *insidias* from the preceding verb.

9. **uadimonia sua atque aliena** = civil actions in which they are defendants or plaintiffs: *uadimonia* are bail-bonds required from the defendant in such actions.

10. **quae iam ipsa officia sunt**, 'for even they have come to be a matter of business,' though their natural object is pleasure.

12. **uel mala sua uel bona**, 'their fortune, whether you call it bad or good.'

§ 3. 13. **rem**, 'pursuit.'

14. **occupato** is used here in its ordinary sense: a mind 'taken up' by other things cannot master such a study as rhetoric; but in the next sentence *occupati* has the peculiar sense noted above.

15. **liberales disciplinas** = τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, the branches of a liberal education: seven were admitted—grammar, music, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, rhetoric, and logic: cf. 18 § 4; *Helu.* 17 § 3. See Summers on *Epp.* 88.

quando has the sense of *quoniam*: cf. *Helu.* 13 § 6: see Madvig on *Cic. De Fin.* v 21.

districtus, 'pulled in different directions,' hence 'extremely

busy': cf. *Epp.* 106, 1 *districtus occupationibus*: found in Cicero, this sense is constant in Pliny's *Letters*: see Mayor on *Epp.* iii 5, 19.

16. **altius recipit**, 'swallows right down': cf. *Helu.* 10 § 3.

inculcata, 'crammed down its throat,' if this figure may be used of the *animus*.

18. **scientia**: the *ars uiuendi* is philosophy, to which Sen. is working round.

19. **uolgo**, 'everywhere,' coupled here with an adj.

20. **pueri admodum**, 'mere boys': one such art was that of hair-dressing: cf. Mart. viii 52 *tonsorem puerum sed arte talem, | qualis nec Thalamus fuit Neronis, | Rufo, Caediciane, commodau.*

ita percepisse, 'to have mastered so completely': there is a play on the sound of the two verbs.

21. **uiuere** is so placed as to suggest the contrast.

tota uita: the abl. is regularly used to express duration of time by silver-age writers.

22. **discendum est mori**: the saying (irrelevant here) was no novelty: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i 74) attributes it to Socrates: *tota philosophorum uita commentatio mortis est*: he is referring to Plato *Phaedo* 67 D καὶ τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος.

§ 4. 23. **relictis omnibus impedimentis**: similar phrases are common: cf. *Dial.* ii 3, 2 *omnibus relictis negotiis Stoicus fio*; *Nat. Quaest.* vi 32, 12 *omnibus omissis hoc unum meditare*; *Epp.* 5, 1 *omnibus omissis hoc unum agis*; Sen. *Controu.* vii *praef.* § 4 *omnibus omissis rebus apud Fabianum philosophum sedere*; Lucr. iii 1071 *iam rebus quisque relictis | naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum*. In each of these passages, the phrase is used of a man who devotes himself exclusively to the study of philosophy. In Cic. *Ad Fam.* xii 14, 1 (a letter of Lentulus) *omnibus rebus relictis* has no reference to study.

24. **officiis**, 'business': cf. 3 § 5.

renuntiassent, 'they had renounced': cf. *Epp.* 108, 15 (of himself, influenced by the philosopher Attalus) *inde ostréis boletisque in omnem uitam renuntiatum est*. For a different sense of the verb, see n. to *Polyb.* 6 § 1.

25. **hoc unum...egerunt**, 'have made this their one object': cf. *De Ben.* iii 36, 2 *hoc agite, optimi iuuenes*. See Munro on Lucr. i 41.

27. **nedum**, 'much less,' is seldom followed by *ut*: but cf. Livy iii 14, 6 *ne uoce quidem incommodi, nedum ut ulla uis fieret*. Nettleship (*Journ. of Phil.* xx p. 179) calls the constr. 'a curious piece of surplusage': he quotes the Livy passage and Quint. xii 1, 39; Tac. *Dial.* 10. Add Sen. *Dial.* ii 8, 3.

§ 5. 28. **mihi crede**: see n. to *Polyb.* 9 § 9.

supra errores eminentis: cf. *Polyb.* 2 § 5.

29. **delibari**, 'to be frittered away': lit. 'to be skimmed.'

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1. **totum ipsi uacauit**, 'was entirely devoted to himself,' i.e. to his own improvement.

inde, = *ex eo*, survives in the French *en*: cf. Mart. i 43, 11 *nihil inde datum est*.

otiosum = ἀργόν, 'unworked,' 'fallow.'

2. **sub**, 'in the control of...'

3. **quod permutaret cum**, 'to take in exchange for...': the same constr. and much the same thought, in Horace *Carm.* iii 1, 47 *cur ualle permutem Sabina | diuitias operosiores?*

§ 6. 7. **plerosque** = *multos*: see n. to 2 § 2.

8. **quos grauat** = *quibus grauis est*: cf. *Agamem.* 440 *clades scire qui refugit suas, | grauat (=grauiore facit) timorem*; Tac. *Ann.* xiv 12, 5 *quo grauaret inuidiam matris*: the simple active verb is rare in prose.

inter is 'among' when applied to *greges*, but 'during' when applied to *actiones*.

9. **causarum actiones**, 'speeches in law-suits': *actio, agere, actor* are constantly used with this meaning: cf. Petron. c. 44 *cum ageret in foro, sic illius uox crescebat tanquam tuba*.

honestas miserias = gilded chains: cf. Livy xxxv 38, 10 *splendidiore nunc eos catena sed multo grauiore uinctos esse*.

11. **quidni non liceat**, 'of course it is impossible.' Sen. is fond of *quidni*, e.g. *De Ben.* v 24, 2 *quidni meminero* (of course I remember): and sometimes, as here, he adds *non*, so that the two negatives cancel each other, and the whole phrase = *cur*: cf. *De Ben.* v 5, 3; v 25, 2; *Epp.* 52, 10; 102, 30; 124, 10.

§ 7. **sibi aduocant** (cf. 2 § 4), **tibi abducunt**: all four words are emphatic, as there is a double antithesis.

13. **candidatus** : office being now conferred by the votes of the senate, a candidate's supporters (*suffragatores*) canvassed the senators. That much time might be spent thus by loyal backers, is shown by several letters of Pliny's: e.g. ii 9 *anxium me et sollicitum habet petitio Eruci mei. ...prenso amicos, supplico, ambio, domos stationesque circumeo*; cf. *ibid.* iv 15, vi 6 and 9.

anus: the old lady, having buried all her natural heirs, is now *orba*, so that will-hunters spend their time in paying court to her: cf. 2 § 2.

15. **simulatus aeger**. 'sham invalid.' The illness is shammed to stimulate the liberality of the *captatores*: cf. Mart. v 39 *supremas tibi triciens in anno | signanti tabulas, Charine, misi | Hyblaeis madidas thymis placentas. | defeci: miserere iam, Charine. | signa rarius, aut semel fac illud, | mentitur tua quod subinde tussis.*

16. **uos**, 'you and your like': Sen. substitutes *uos* for *te*, to show concisely that the great man has more than one retainer.

non—apparatu, 'not to be his friends but as a part of his grandeur': *apparatus* often = 'pomp,' 'magnificence.' The great man likes plenty of clients, to make a show when they call upon him in the morning and escort him about the streets.

17. **dispunge**, 'balance': lit. 'mark down on both sides' of the account: cf. *De Ben.* iv 32, 4 *apud me istae expensorum acceptorumque rationes dispunguntur.*

18. **reiculos**, 'derelict': days which no one else wanted. *ridiculos* of mss. is meaningless: the rare word evidently puzzled the copyists; but Sen. has many rare words. There can be little doubt that in *Epp.* 47, 9 *reicula mancipia* should be read, as it used to be, for *ridicula m.* of mss.

resedissee = *residuos fuisse.*

§ 8. 20. **subinde** is the French *souvent*. The office of consul expired at the end of the year; but, under the empire, few men held it for a whole year: see n. to 20 § 1.

21. **facit...ludos** = *dat ludos*: for a different meaning, cf. *Polyb.* 16 § 2. The praetor is mentioned next to the consul; for, under the empire, it was the duty of the praetor to manage the public shows: see n. to *Juv.* 8, 194.

quorum sortem cet., 'the chance of giving which, he once reckoned a great piece of luck': presumably it was the office the man coveted and not the expensive duties attached to it.

23. **diripitur**, lit. 'is torn to pieces,' i.e. is in immense demand, everybody wishing to secure him: cf. *Dial.* v 23, 5 *tota ciuitate direptus est* (the whole town scrambled for him); *Stat. Silu.* v 3, 130 *Maeoniden...urbes | diripiunt* (compete to possess Homer); *Mart.* vii 76 *te diripiunt potentiores*. The meaning is only half metaphorical in *Sen. Epp.* 74, 7 *hanc imaginem animo tuo propono, ludos facere Fortunam, et in hunc mortalium coctum honores, diuitias, gratiam excutere, quorum alia inter diripientium manus scissa sunt, alia cet.*; and not metaphorical at all in *Quint.* vi 1, 47 (children having been brought into a law-court to increase the effect of an appeal for mercy, the prosecutor managed to spoil the effect) *pueris in epilogum productis, talos iecit in medium, quos illi diripere coeperunt*.

24. **omnia**, 'all the place': common in all Latin. Many passages in Cicero's speeches, e.g. *Pro Flacco* 66, show that, if the orator spoke loud enough, he could be heard outside the court, which was not entirely shut in.

complet = causes to be crammed; for he does not take up the space himself. Similar idioms are common in silver Latin: see n. to *duxisse* (13 § 8), and cf. *Juv.* 7, 86 *fregit subsellia uersu*, where the breakage is due to the demonstrations of the audience, not to the reciter himself.

25. **res proferentur**, 'will the Term end': *rerum prolatio* was the lawyers' vacation.

26. **futuri desiderio**, 'from desire for the future': an impossible phrase in classical Latin, where *desiderium* is said only of the past and of the lost: but in silver Latin *desideria* are often merely 'wants': cf. *Helu.* 10 § 2 *corporis desideria*.

§ 9. 28. **nec optat...nec timet**: cf. *Mart.* x 47, 13 *summum nec metuas diem nec optes*.

29. **quid** is far separated from *uoluptatis* which it governs: elsewhere *Sen.* puts the gen. in unexpected places: cf. 13 § 1; *Polyb.* 2 § 6. This clause refers to the preceding *optat*, not to *timet*.

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2. **ad satietatem**, 'till he has had enough': the word 'satiety' should be avoided, as *Sen.* is describing the feelings of the wise man, who orders his life on principle and presumably does not indulge in any pleasure to excess.

percepta, 'enjoyed': in Cicero, *percipio* is used as freely of pain as of pleasure: in Sen., the sense tends to be less neutral: cf. *Epp.* 99, 4 *non computant quantum perceperint*; *ibid.* 5 *ingrati aduersus percepta* (past pleasure) *sumus*.

de cetero, 'as to the rest,' = 'in future': cf. *Dial.* iii 8, 1 once you indulge anger, *faciēt de cetero quantum uolet, non quantum permiseris*; Cic. *Ad Att.* vii, 10 *de reliquo quid agam nescio*.

3. **Fors Fortuna**: the name by which Fortune was worshipped at Rome.

ordinet, 'may dispose': potential subj.

iam is the emphatic word, not *uita*.

4. **huic** cet., 'in the case of such a life, no subtraction is possible; addition is, but only in the sense in which...' That *uitae* is to be understood with *huic*, is shown by *Epp.* 98, 15 *ipse uitae plenus est, cui adici nihil desiderat*.

6. **quod nec desiderat et capit**, 'which he does not want and yet has room for': for the sense of *desiderare*, see n. to § 9.

capit = $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$, 'can hold': usually with a negative in this sense.

§ 10. **non est itaque quod...**: a clumsy but common turn: cf. 2 § 5; *non est quod...* is too common in Sen.

7. **canos**, 'white hairs': the ellipse of *capillos* is common: cf. Cic. *Cato* 62 *non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt*; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* iii 29, 3 *legem barbae* (the necessity of growing a beard) *canorumque nondum natus infans habet*.

8. **fuit**, 'has existed.'

9. **a portu**, 'as soon as he left harbour.'

10. **huc et illuc**: except in this phrase, Sen. generally wrote *hoc* for *huc*, if his mss. can be trusted; and for *illuc* alone, he almost always has *illo*: e.g. *Helu.* 15 § 1, 17 § 3; in Caesar and Cicero this *illo* is rare: the Lyons inscription, which records a speech delivered by Claudius in 48 A.D., offers the form *illoc* (Furneaux *Tac.* II p. 211), which is exactly parallel to Seneca's *hoc*: for spelling, the authority of this inscription is much greater than that of any ms., and ranks with that of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The colloquial Latin of Petronius has *hoc et illoc* (c. 39) and also *istoc* (c. 57).

11. **per eadem...egit**, 'has driven round and round over the same course': cf. *Dial.* vi 15, 4 *it in orbem ista tempestas*.

VIII

People do not realise the value of time, because it cannot be handled or seen; they do realise it when confronted with death. Their language sometimes implies that time is precious; but their acts belie their words. Yet life hastens on inexorably; and at the end is death.

§ 1. 14. **facillimos**, 'most ready to oblige': cf. *Epp.* 101, 13 *deos faciles*.

16. **quidem**: see n. to 2 § 2.

17. **re—luditur**, 'men trifle with the most precious thing in the world': *ludere* is used thus 18 § 5: there is no reference to gambling, except in the metaphorical sense.

18. **incorporalis**, ἀσώματος, occurs first in Sen.: generally a technical term of philosophy: cf. *Epp.* 58, 11; 89, 16; 90, 29.

19. **uilissima**: *uilissime* or *uilissimum* would be more correct, as the real subject is *tempus*, not *res*.

§ 2. 20. **annua**: here a noun: cf. *De Clem.* i 15, 2 *annua illi praestitit*; *De Ben.* i 9, 4 *alienae uxori annum praestat*; Pliny *Ad Trai.* 31, 2 *ut publici serui annua accipiunt*; Juv. 6, 480 *sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent*. *annuum* is)(*congiarium*, a present given once for all.

Sen. never mentions the *sportula*, the clients' daily dole, of which we hear so much in Martial and Juvenal: that famous institution began under Nero: cf. Suet. *Nero* 16 *publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae*.

21. **illis...locant**, 'hire out for these.'

aut...aut has a distributive sense and = *alii...alii*. Some sell *labor*, e.g. the bodily toil of the client, others *opera*, e.g. the eloquence of the *patronus*, others *diligentia*, e.g. the management of property; such seems to be the distinction intended here, but the three nouns are often used without any such difference of meaning.

23. **laxius** is the opposite of *adstrictius*: cf. 3 § 1.

25. **genua tangentes** = imploring: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xi 250 *hominis genibus quaedam et religio inest, observatione gentium: haec supplices attingunt, ad haec manus tendunt, haec ut aras adorant*.

27. **discordia adfectuum**, 'inconsistency of feeling': cf. 16 § 2.

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§ 3. 1. **quomodo...trepidarent**, 'what a flutter they would be in': see n. to 3 § 3: for the original sense of *trepidare*, cf. *Dial.* v 16, 1 *aves uiscum* (bird-lime), *dum trepidantes excutiunt, plumis omnibus inlinunt*: it is used also (*Nat. Quaest.* iii 19, 4) for the 'flapping' of a fish out of water.

3. **quamuis exiguum dispensare**, 'to make a sum, however small, last out.'

5. **deficiat** has the sense of *defectura sit*: cf. *erumperet* 6 § 2.

§ 4. 6. **sit**: supply *tempus* as subject.

7. **ualdissime**: Cicero is said to have introduced *ualde* into prose-writing and often uses it but seems to have considered the superlative superfluous; Horace (*Epp.* i 9, 6) and Petronius (c. 51) have *ualdius*.

partem annorum suorum: cf. *Stat. Silu.* v 1, 177 *pars animae uictura meae, cui linquere possem | o utinam, quos dura mihi rapit Atropos, annos*.

8. **dant** cet.: 'they do give it, without realising it, and they do it in such a way that *their* loss is no gain to the recipients.' The double antithesis, and triple repetition of the verb, are characteristic.

10. **hoc ipsum, an detrahant, nesciunt**, the reading of the mss., should be kept: 'they don't know the answer to this very question, whether they are robbing themselves': cf. *Catull.* 17, 22 *ipse qui sit, utrum sit an non sit, id quoque nescit*.

11. **iactura detrimenti latentis**, 'the loss of something whose subtraction you do not notice': the expression has been suspected and a correction proposed by Gertz, on the ground that *iactura* and *detrimentum* are almost the same thing: but the text may be sound.

§ 5. 12. **te**: life is identified with personality.

ibit, qua coepit, sc. *ire*, 'will proceed along the path it began on.'

13. **cursum**, 'rapid rate.'

14. **nihil tumultuabitur**, 'it will make no demonstration': *tumultus* is 'fuss,' 'bustle,' 'display'; cf. *Epp.* 14, 4 *nihil nos magis concutit quam quod ex aliena potentia impendet: magno enim strepitu et tumultu uenit*; 24, 12 *demere rebus tumultum*; *Oedipus* 214 *regni tumultus*.

15. **regis**, 'of a king' here: for a different sense, cf. 3 § 2.

17. **missa est**, 'it was started': the word is regularly used of starting the chariots in the Circus.

curret, 'it will go on running.'

nusquam has two meanings here: Greek has two different words to express them, *οὐδαμοῖ* and *οὐδαμοῦ*.

19. **uelis nolis**, 'willy-nilly': common in Sen.: cf. *Apocol.* 1, 2; *Epp.* 117, 4; Mart. viii 44, 16: for *uelit nolit*, cf. Sen. *Dial.* vii 4, 4; Cic. *Ad Q. Fr.* iii 8, 4; Petron. 71: for *uelint nolint*, cf. Sen. *Epp.* 117, 4: for *uellet nollet*, cf. Sen. *Epp.* 53, 3. The elder Seneca has *uelim nolim* (*Controu.* ix 26, 8); Val. Max. (iii 7, 3) *uelim nolimue*.

20. **uacandum est**: to Death you cannot say 'Not at Home': cf. *uacauerint* 2 § 5.

IX

Some men spend the time, in which they ought to be living, in preparing to live. All delay is a mistake, when you cannot count upon to-morrow. Attend to Virgil's warning, and make the most of time. Taken up by other things, men forget the approach of old age and death.

The text of the first sentence is corrupt; I have printed an emendation suggested to me by Professor Housman.

§ 1. 22. **prudenciam iactant**, 'make a boast of their foresight,' in getting ready beforehand: *prudencia* is often 'wisdom,' but that sense does not suit this context.

occupati: see n. to 7 § 1.

23. **inpendio uitae uitam instruunt**, 'they spend their life in making provision for life': their object is to learn the right way to live, before practising it. So thought Browning's Grammarian, and was blamed by contemporary critics:

'Others mistrust, and say "But time escapes:

Live now or never!"

He said "What's time? Leave Now for dogs and apes!

Man has Forever."'

And surely, the philosophers, whom Sen. commends (c. 14), do much the same as the Grammarian.

24. **cogitationes**, 'purposes.'

in longum, 'with regard to a distant future'; cf. *Dial.* vii 6, 1 (*animus uoluptatibus*) *futuris iam immineat, ac spes suas ordinet et...cogitationes ad futura praemittat.*

25. **primum quemque**, 'each as it comes.'

26. **extrahit**, 'drags from them' (not 'prolongs'): *eripit*, which follows, may have caused the use of this compound.

dum ulteriora promittit, 'by her promise of the future': the promise is the instrument by which she robs you of the present.

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1. **expectatio**, 'the expectant attitude.'

3. **quo te extendis**, 'to what point do you push forward?'

5. **protinus uiue**: cf. *Mart.* i 15, 5 *non bene distuleris, uideas quod posse negari*; | *et solum hoc ducas, quod fuit, esse tuum.* l. 11 *non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere 'uiuam.'* | *sera nimis uita est crastina; uiue hodie!* Martial means by *uiue*, 'enjoy your life'; what Sen. means, is explained in c. 14. See *Introd.* p. xvi.

§ 2. **maximus uates**: Virgil: the verses are from *Georg.* iii 66: quoted again by Sen. *Epp.* 108, 24.

6. **diuino ore instinctus** is a strange phrase, because *os* properly belongs, not to the god who inspires, but to the poet who is his mouth-piece: cf. *Quint.* xii 10, 24 *instinctis diuino spiritu uatibus*. Hence the proposals of critics, in order to remove the difficulty.

9. **occupas**, 'you grasp it instantly': *occupare* often implies haste: cf. *Troades* 506 *miser occupet praesidia, securus legat* (the man at ease may pick and choose his friends, the afflicted must take the first he can get); *De Ben.* i 7, 1 *occasionem, qua prodesset, et occupauit et quaesiuit*. Another meaning, common in Sen., is 'to anticipate': cf. *Thyestes* 403 *in medio est scelus | positum occupanti* (= τῷ φθάνοντι, ready for the one who does it first); *De Ben.* iii 27, 1 *ut Caesarem occupet* (to get hold of the emperor first).

10. **et**, 'even.'

11. **celeritate—uelocitate**: the four words are arranged in the order known as *chiasmus*, one pair of antitheses being separated by the other pair.

13. **hauriendum** belongs to the simile: in English something must be supplied: 'as you must drink quickly..., so you must use time quickly.' It is common in Latin to mix up the simile with the object which it illustrates: cf. *rumpebatur* 4 § 6.

§ 3. **pulcherrime**: sc. *dicit Vergilius*.

14. **infinitam cogitationem**: it has been proposed to read *agitationem* or *cunctationem*, but this reading is supported by *cogitationes in longum ordinant* above.

16. **in tanta temporum fuga** = *cum tam cito tempora fugiant*: all Latin writers use *in* with this idiomatic sense: cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 9; *Helu.* 19 § 2.

lentus, 'indifferent': it implies too that the man is 'slow' while time flies.

§ 4. 21. **puerilis adhuc** to be taken together: see n. to 5 § 2.

24. **inciderunt in**, 'they have stumbled upon...'

non sentiebant, 'they never noticed': cf. *Juv.* 9, 129 *obrepit non intellecta senectus*.

§ 5. 25. **lectio**: Romans often used journeys as an opportunity for study: cf. *Mart.* i 2, 1 *qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos, | et comites longae quaeris habere uitae*; xiv 188 *si comes ista tibi fuerit membrana, putato | carpere te longas cum Cicerone uias*. Julius Caesar wrote his work on Grammar and a poem (called *Iter*) while travelling to join his army.

26. **cogitatio**, 'meditation'; different from *cogitatio* above.

decipit, 'beguiles.' The less studious traveller could comfort himself by counting the milestones: cf. *Quint.* iv 5, 22 *facientibus iter multum detrahunt fatigationis notata inscriptis lapidibus spatia*.

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2. **iter uitae**: the same phrase occurs in Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv 54, 3) in a speech put into the mouth of Sen. himself.

3. **eodem gradu**, 'at the same rate': so *addere gradum*, 'to mend your pace.'

X

It would be easy to prove formally that men make their lives shorter by the way in which they spend them; but such argument would be misplaced. Yet attack on the follies of men must be combined with admonition.

Compared to past time, present time is brief and insecure; but no man, unless his mind is at ease and untroubled, can derive pleasure from the recollection of his past life.

§ 1. 5. **quod proposui**, 'my theme.'

in partes et argumenta diducere, 'to divide into heads and then prove them.' He does not do this, because Fabianus had taught him that vice should not be argued with but put down by force.

6. **occurrent**: cf. 20 § 3: but *succurrit* 3 § 4.

8. **Fabianus** had taught Sen., who always speaks of him with admiration: the elder Seneca (*Controu.* ii *praef.* § 1) says of him: *adulescens admodum, tantae opinionis (= famae) in declamando, quantae postea in disputando* (philosophical teaching) *fuit.*

his, 'of our day,' is)(*antiquis.*

cathedrariis is)(*ueris*: *cathedra* is the professor's chair (Juv. 7, 203), and *cathedrarii* are philosophers who do not act as such outside their lecture-room.

9. **adfectus**, τὰ πάθη, 'passions,' often called by Cicero *animi perturbationes*: the Stoics distinguished four of these—*metus*, *aegritudo*, *libido*, and *laetitia*; the two first are excited by what men think to be evils, the two last by what they think to be 'goods': see Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii 24: all are of the nature of sin, but venial, compared to such *morbi* of the mind as *avaritia* and *ambitio*: for an account of the difference between *adfectus* and *morbi*, cf. *Epp.* 75, 11 foll.

10. **suptilitate**, 'by chopping logic.'

minutis uulneribus, 'by pin-pricks.'

11. **incursu**, 'by a vigorous attack.'

12. **cauillationem**: a translation of σόφισμα introduced by Cicero (Sen. *Epp.* 111, 1): used by Sen. in two senses: (1) 'strict logical argument,' not unfair but ineffective: so here and *Epp.* 108, 12 *relictis ambiguitatibus et syllogismis et cauillationibus et ceteris*

acuminis inriti ludicris; (2) 'unfair objection,' 'quibble': cf. *De Clem.* ii 4, 3 *possumus effugere cauillationem.*

contundi, non uellicari, 'to be smashed up, not lightly attacked': cf. *Dial.* vii 5, 3 *quae non tantum lacerationes sed etiam uellicationes effugerit.*

13. **illis** are those who suffer from *adfectus*.

error...suus, 'the fault peculiar to them.'

14. **deplorandi**, 'to be given up as hopeless': cf. *Epp.* 78, 14 *quotiens deploratus sum a meis, quotiens a medicis relictus!*; *Pliny Nat. Hist.* vii 166 *Pheraeus Iason deploratus a medicis uomicae morbo, cum mortem in acie quaereret, uulnerato pectore medicinam inuenit ex hoste.*

§ 2. A new paragraph is required here by the sense: I do not find it so marked by any previous editor.

16. **quod agimus**, 'the present time.'

17. **dubium**, 'cannot be counted on.'

hoc, 'the last.'

18. **in quod...ius**, 'control over which.'

Comp. Dryden's verses:

'Not Heav'n itself upon the Past has power;

But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour!'

19. **reduci**, 'be brought back': while present, it was liable to interference, but has now ceased to be so.

20. **illis uacat respicere**: *uacat* is often impers. and followed by the pres. inf.: cf. § 4 and *Mart.* x 58, 5 *tecum celebrare uacabat* | *Pieridas*.

praeterita respicere: Martial may have had this passage in mind, when he wrote of Antonius Primus in old age: x 23, 3 *praeteritosque dies et tutos respicit annos, | nec metuit Lethes iam propioris aquas. | nulla recordanti lux (day) est ingrata grauisque, | nulla subit, cuius non meminisse uelit. | ampliat aetatis spatium sibi uir bonus: hoc est | uiuere bis, uita posse priore frui.* For all Martial's beautiful verses, one thinks that the destruction of Cremona in 69 A.D., as well as some other incidents of his past life, might have caused Antonius some qualms (*Tac. Hist.* ii 86; iii 15-33).

§ 3. 22. **exacta**: silver-age writer; often use *exigere* rather than *agere* with *tempus, uitam* etc.

animum, 'their thoughts.'

23. **quorum**: the antecedent is not *ea*, but *ii* which must be supplied.

24. **surripiebantur**, 'were disguised'; lit. 'smuggled out of sight': cf. Quint. iv 1, 78 *oratori quid est necesse surripere hanc transgressionem* (to slur over this transition)?

25. **retractando**: cf. *pertractandum*, Polyb. 10 § 3: the subject of the gerund is different from the subject of the sentence: cf. Lucr. i 312 *anulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo* (= διὰ τὸ φορεῖν ἡμᾶς).

26. **sua** is emphatic: the fault of most men is, that they live *sub censura aliena*.

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§ 4. 1. **inpotenter**, 'with violence': *impotens* regularly = ἀκρατής, 'uncontrolled,' 'violent': it is an epithet of winds and waves and tyrants: the meaning 'powerless' is rare: Livy (ix 14, 5) has *suarum impotens rerum* (unable to manage their own affairs): cf. Tac. *Hist.* iv 44 *impotens amoris* (madly in love).

4. **sacra ac dedicata**: cf. Quint. xii 11, 7 (of the orator, who has retired from active life) *cum iam secretus et consecratus...famam in tuto collocarit*.

5. **regnum**, 'the arbitrary power': it is the distinguishing mark of a *rex*, that he is limited by no laws: cf. Sallust *Iug.* 32 § 26 *inpune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse*; *Herc. Fur.* 403 *sceptra uictrici geram | dextra, regamque cuncta sine legum metu*.

8. **intrepida**, 'free from anxiety.'

singuli—sunt, 'the present offers only one day at a time, and even that, a minute at a time.'

9. **momenta** here seem clearly to be the divisions of the day: one might expect *per horas ac momenta*, but Sen. is insisting on the shortness of present time.

10. **omnes**: sc. *dies*.

12. **quod—non uacat**: this was said before in § 2.

§ 5. 13. **omnes**: the three parts mentioned above.

14. **discurrere**, often used of aimless activity (cf. 3 § 2), is used here of free and rapid motion in all directions, like that of the spider in her web: cf. Mart. viii 33, 15 *discurrit aranea telā*.

sub iugo : the comparison is to a horse or ox, whose neck is so tightly harnessed that it can only look in one direction : there is no allusion to *missio sub iugum*.

15. **abit in profundum**, 'vanishes in an abyss.' This suggests another figure, that of the sieve into which the Danaids pour water for ever : this sieve was often used by moralists as a type of insatiable desire : cf. Sen. *Epp.* 99, 5 *adquiescamus iis quae iam hausimus, si modo non perforato animo hauriebamus et transmittente quidquid acceperat* ; Lucr. iii 936 *perтусum uas* ; Plato *Gorg.* 493 B *τερημένος πίθος*.

16. **nihil prodest** : *nihil* is adv.

17. **si non subest**, 'if there is no bottom.'

18—20. **nihil...detur** is parenthetical : for a similar parenthesis, cf. *Dial.* iii 21, 4 : **per quassos...transmittitur** is the apodosis of the conditional sentence.

Haase, perhaps rightly, punctuates : *sic nihil refert, ...subsidiat : per quassos* cet.

18. **nihil refert**, 'it makes no difference' : *rēfert* is commonly used by silver-age writers, in prose as well as poetry (where metre often prescribes it), with the sense and constr. of *interest*.

detur, by Nature : cf. *dati* I § 1.

19. **non est ubi subsidiat**, 'there is no place for it to settle down at.'

foratos : the compound *perforatus* is commoner, for which the poets use *perтусus* as a metrical substitute : see n. to *Juv.* 5, 131.

23. **uenit** is perfect tense.

§ 6. 24. **mundus**, 'the firmament,' whose unceasing revolution causes the movement of the stars : cf. *Polyb.* 7 § 2 ; *Ovid Met.* ii 70 *adde quod adsidua rapitur uertigine caelum | sideraque alta trahit*.

25. **in eodem uestigio**, 'stationary' : for this phrase, cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vii 10, 3 ; *Pliny Epp.* vi 20, 8 ; *Val. Max.* viii 13 E 1 ; *Tac. Hist.* ii 78 *eodem uestigio*. Yet Sen. admits that certain stars near the Pole are stationary (*Helu.* 8 § 6).

27. **id ipsum**, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο*, 'even this.'

illis : dat. after *subducitur*.

28. **districtis in multa** must be taken together : the sense shows this : for the constr., cf. *Helu.* 12 § 1. The order of words is not simple or natural, but quite possible in Sen. : cf. *Helu.* 18 § 9.

subducitur, 'is filched away.'

XI

The shortness of life for most men is proved by their unwillingness to leave it. When the end comes, they admit with sorrow that life has been spent amiss. But the philosopher is willing to die, because he has squandered no part of his allotted time.

§ 1. 29. **quam non diu uiuant** is an artificial equivalent for *quam breuis sit istorum uita*.

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1. **accessionem**, 'an addition': the word also means (1) a trifling addition, something thrown in: cf. *Helu.* 7 § 5; (2) an attack of illness or fit of passion: cf. *De Ben.* ii 14, 3 *cum accessio illa, quae animum inflammabat, remisit*.

minores natu: sc. *quam sunt*.

2. **mendacio, fallunt**: cf. *Mart.* iii 43 *mentiris iuuenem tinctis, Laetine, capillis, | tam subito coruus, qui modo cygnus eras. | non omnes fallis: scit te Proserpina canum; | personam capiti detrahet illa tuo*.

3. **unā** = *pariter*.

4. **inbecillitas**, 'sickness': not 'weakness,' as they are already weak through age, if this still refers to *senes*.

6. **exeant, extrahantur**: *exeunt uolentes, extrahuntur nolentes*.

8. **euaserint**, 'they pull through': cf. *Pliny Epp.* vii 26, 3 (of a sick man) *mollem in posterum et pinguem, si contingat euadere, destinat uitam*.

ualitudine, 'sickness': so often: *ualitudinarium*, 'a hospital,' is used *Dial.* iii 16, 4; *Nat. Quaest.* i *prol.* § 5; *Epp.* 27, 1. The word is probably better spelt *ualetudo*: wherever it is used in classical poetry, the 2nd syll. is long.

10. **fruerentur** = *fructuri essent*.

in cassum...ceciderit: cf. *Thyestes* 1070 *cecidit in cassum dolor*.

§ 2. 11. **quibus=iis a quibus**: the dat. of the agent, which here may be due to attraction, is not used by Cicero with a pres. tense: in *Sen.* it often is, e.g. 3 § 2 *tibi premitur*.

The words suggest a countryman's life as described in *Hor.*

Epode 2; but Sen. means philosophic retirement, as the mention of the *sapiens* (l. 18) shows.

12. **quidni...sit**, 'why should it not be,' i.e. 'of course it is': see n. to 7 § 7.

delegatur, 'is transferred to another': originally, this is a technical term of finance, for which see Summers on *Epp.* 18, 14.

13. **alio**: adv.

inde=*ex illa*: cf. 7 § 5.

16. **in reditu est**, 'is a part of income,' i.e. brings money in, is well invested. Sen. seems, by his apology, to consider the phrase technical: cf. Pliny *Epp.* iv 6, 1 *solum mihi Laurentinum meum in reditu*.

17. **quandoque**=*quandocumque*: common in silver-age writers, especially in Suetonius.

18. **sapiens**, 'the philosopher,' not here 'the Sage': see n. to 5 § 3: of course it would be even more true of the Sage.

certo, 'steady.'

XII

I apply the term 'engrossed' not only to those whose life is spent in a ceaseless round of business, but to those as well who spend their leisure amiss. Such are the dilettante in art and music, the dandy who spends his day in the hair-cutter's chair, the over-anxious dinner-giver. Even the utterly indolent and helpless cannot be said to enjoy leisure. Indolence is carried by some men to such lengths that one wonders it is not satirised on the comic stage.

§ 1. 20. **a basilica**, 'from the law-court': probably the *basilica Iulia* in the forum, the chief civil court at Rome.

21. **canes ei ciunt**: the dogs are let into the court at night-fall to act as guardians. Sen. does not mean that the dogs actually evict the loiterers, but that the coming of the dogs is the signal for these men to leave: cf. l. 23; *Helu.* 7 § 4; *Dial.* ix 12, 6 *unum quemque ex his...lux orta expellit* (the dawn is the signal for them to turn out of their houses).

At Rome, legal business began very early and ended long before dark ; but these fanatics stop on.

sua turba 'the crowd which escorts them.' They get crushed, either as *deducti* or as *deductores* ; the only difference is that, in the former case, the look of the thing is more creditable.

22. **elidi** usually = 'to be crushed to death' : here it is an exaggeration for *premi*.

23. **officia** = *salutandi officium* : see n. to 3 § 2.

domibus suis implies that they are rich men : poor men had neither *domus* nor *uilla*, but lived at Rome in *insulae*, lit. 'blocks,' i.e. tenement-houses.

foribus implies that they don't get in.

inlidant, 'bump them against' : he thus describes the knock of the *saluator* : cf. *Dial.* ix 12, 6 *cum multorum frustra liminibus inlisis nomenclatores persalutauit*. The subject to *inlidant* is *officia*.

24. **aut** (so Madvig) is more likely to have dropped out after *elidant* than *quos* which is inserted in the inferior mss.

hasta praetoris, 'the praetor's hammer' : for *hasta* = auction, see n. to *Juv.* 3, 33. The property of certain criminals was sold by the state ; such a sale was called *sectio* and the buyer *sector* : to make money thus was considered disreputable.

quandoque = *aliquando*, 'at some future time.'

suppuraturo, 'sure to fester,' i.e. to turn out ill : *Sen.* applies the word metaphorically to *uoluptates* (*Epp.* 59, 17) and *hilaritas* (*ib.* 80, 6) : it implies that the poison works unseen.

25. **exercet**, 'keeps busy' : cf. 17 § 6.

§ 2. **otium** : their lives, though idle, are so spent that they belong to the ranks of the *occupati*.

26. **uilla, lecto** : both places of comparative seclusion : callers are rarer at a country-house than in Rome : *lecto* here has no reference to sleep or sickness : it was used by the student while reading or writing : cf. *Epp.* 72, 2 *quaedam* (some kinds of writing) *lectum et otium et secretum desiderant*.

27. **omnibus** = *omnibus aliis*.

28. **desidiosa occupatio** : 'a busy idleness' : a variation upon *strenua inertia* of Horace (*Epp.* i 11, 28) : cf. *inquieta inertia* (*Dial.* ix 12, 3).

29. **Corinthia** : vessels of old Corinthian bronze were highly valued by Roman collectors: cf. *Helu.* 11 § 3; *Dial.* ix 9, 6 *honestius...huc se impensae quam in Corinthia pictasque tabulas effuderint*; *Stat. Silu.* ii 2, 68 *aeraque ab Isthmiacis auro potiora fauillis*. Statius alludes to the legendary origin of Corinthian bronze from the mixing of metals when the city was destroyed by Mummius; a burlesque version of this legend is put into the mouth of Trimalchio (*Petron.* c. 50), who tells his guests that Hannibal, when he took Troy, melted in one pile all the statues of gold, silver, and bronze, and that *Corinthia* were made from the fragments of this mass. Inscriptions show that collectors had slaves (*a Corinthiis*) whose sole duty was to take charge of these bronzes. Verres was proscribed (43 A.D.), and so lost his life at the same time as his prosecutor Cicero, because of his *Corinthia* which Antony coveted (*Pliny Nat. Hist.* xxxiv 6).

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1. **concinnat**, 'arranges,' in such an order as to show them off to the best advantage.

2. **dierum**, 'of each day.'

lamellis, 'bits of metal,' is contemptuous: cf. *Dial.* vii 21, 3 *paucae argenti lamellae*.

3. **in ceromate** = *in palaestra* : κήρωμα, properly the mixture of oil, earth, and wax which wrestlers smeared on their limbs, is also used for 'the wrestling-place' or a part of it: cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* xxxv 5 *idem palaestras athletarum imaginibus (pictures) et ceromata sua exornant*.

ne Romanis quidem : i.e. *Graecis*. Your true Roman always despised the sports of the *palaestra* and *gymnasium* : see nn. to *Juv.* 3, 68 and 115. When *Romanus* has, as here, an ethical sense, it implies 'manly,' or 'truthful.'

4. **sectator**, 'an admirer': as *sectator* in this metaphorical sense need not imply motion, there seems no necessity for the emendation *spectator* : cf. *Tac. Ann.* i 77, 5 *ne pantomimos equites Romani alibi quam in theatro sectarentur*; *Ann.* xiv 20, 5 *gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo*; *Aristoph. Vespaë* 1025 *παλαίστρας περικωμάζειν πειρών*.

rixantium is used contemptuously for *luctantium*.

5. **iumentorum** is a certain emendation for *iunctorum* of mss. : see n. to *Helu.* 11 § 3.

Bentley, on the margin of his copy, suggested *cirratorum* or *cincinnatiatorum*.

6. **nouis cibis** : the training diet of athletes was carefully studied, and this patron of the ring was up-to-date in his methods.

§ 3. 7. **quibus**, 'by whom' : see n. to 11 § 2.

aput tonsorem cet. : there is a similar scene in Juvenal (6, 487—503), where a lady's hair-dressing, at her own house, is described. Martial (viii 52) speaks of a dandy who spent so long in being shaved, that, before he was satisfied, the boy barber grew a beard.

9. **in consilium itur**, 'solemn debate is held' : cf. Juv. *l.l.* 497 *est in consilio materna*. *consilium* (connected with *consulere*) is a meeting for the purpose of deliberation ; *concilium* (connected with *conciliare*) is a gathering in general.

10. **deficiens**, 'where it is getting thin' : cf. Suet. *Iul.* 45 *deficientem capillum reuocare* (to comb forward) *a uertice adsueuerat*. **hinc atque illinc**, 'from both sides.'

12. **tamquam** = 'as he might be, if...': i.e. only an effeminate customer could object.

13. **excandescunt**, 'they flare up' : common in Sen., Petronius, and Suetonius : Cicero uses *irā* with it.

14. **iuba** is a contemptuous term for part of the hair left to grow long and sacred from the scissors.

ordinem : cf. Mart. iii 63, 3 *bellus homo est, flexos qui digerit ordine crines*.

15. **in anulos suos**, 'to form the proper ringlets' : *suos* refers to *omnia*, not to the subject of *excandescunt*. Cf. Mart. ii 66 *unus de toto peccauerat orbe comarum | anulus, incerta non bene fixus acu*. It seems that part of the hair included in the *iuba* was curled.

16. **rem publicam suam** : editors have accepted a transposition of *suam*, objecting, I suppose, to this phrase : but it occurs in Pliny *Epp.* vii 15, 2 *rei publicae suae negotia curare...laude dignissimum est*. There is a similar thought in Cic. *Ad Att.* i 18, 6 (of the *optimates*) *ita sunt stulti, ut amissa re publica piscinas suas fore saluas sperare uideantur*.

turbari : the word can express disorder either in the state or of the human hair : for the latter, cf. Mart. ii 36 *flectere te nolim sed nec turbare capillos* (but I would not have you ruffle it either).

17. **capitis** is governed by *salute* as well as by *decore*: *caput* is used in two senses: (1) his head; (2) his civil existence: the meaning is that he would rather be convicted of serious crime than have his hair badly cut.

18. **non comptior esse malit quam honestior**, 'would not prefer well-dressed hair to a good character': *comptus magis quam honestus* would be more normal, as the double comparative is properly used when both qualities are present but the second is smaller in amount. *honestior* clearly refers here to moral worth, not appearance.

19. **inter pectinem speculumque**: cf. *Epp.* 15, 3 *homines inter oleum et uinum occupati*. A list of barbers' implements (*ferramenta tonsoria*) is given in Plaut. *Curc.* 577 *at ita meae uolsellae* (tweezers) *pecten speculum calamistrum* (curling-tongs) *meum | bene me amasint meaque axicia* (scissors) *lintheumque extersui* (for wiping on).

20. **occupatos**: the dressing of their hair takes up all their time and thoughts: for a contrast, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 79 *in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret, ac modo tonderet, modo raderet barbam, eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet*: so Augustus, but the particular man held the *speculum* in his hand, ready to rap the barber with it, in case of negligence.

§ 4. **illi** has no verb: *sunt* must be supplied.

componendis: the word is not confined to musical 'composition': cf. *Polyb.* 2 § 6: it is used often by Quintilian of writing a speech.

21. **canticis**, 'airs,' 'songs': Martial (iii 63, 5) speaks of *cantica Nili* and *Gaditana* as fashionable in his time.

operati sunt, 'are engaged': for this verb, see Postgate *Journ. of Phil.* xxvi 314: he argues that *operatus* was an adjectival formation from *opera*, like *dotatus* from *dos*, and the verb *operari* a later development. The verb is certainly rare: it is used by Pliny several times of bees and ants (*Nat. Hist.* xi 17, 21, 50, 109), and of eagles (*ib.* x 15): the earliest instance I have noticed is in a fragment of Sen. (Haase iii p. 426) *artificum operantium diis immortalibus*. For *operatus*, cf. *De Ben.* vii 14, 6; *Epp.* 117, 26.

22. **rectum**: the natural tone of the voice is called 'straight' in opposition to the 'turns' (**flexus**) required by the tune: *flexus* is probably a translation of *καμπαι* (cf. Aristoph. *Nubes* 969), as the

Romans got their music and musical terminology from the Greeks. Thus *σοφῶς*, often used by Romans as a term of applause, corresponds exactly to our 'bravo!', which was first addressed to Italian singers and then came into common use.

23. **inertissimae**: the 'laziness' is not true of the tune but of the man's way of life: cf. *iners* l. 27.

24. **aliquod—metientes**, 'beating time to some unspoken tune': cf. Quint. ix 4, 51 *tempora etiam animo metiuntur, et pedum et digitorum ictu signant quibusdam notis*; Hor. *Carm.* iv 6, 35 *Lesbium seruate pedem* (the Sapphic metre) *meique | pollicis ictum* (for beating time). *metientium* would be more regular, as *se* does not refer to *digiti* but to the owner of the fingers. *secum* is commoner than *intra se* in this sense. **sonant** shows that the fingers were snapped or cracked.

26. **serias, tristes**: at a business-meeting, even at a funeral, the melomaniac misbehaves in this way: 'Mr Chick had a tendency in his nature to whistle and hum tunes, which, sensible of the indecorum of such sounds in a house of grief, he was at some pains to repress at present' (*Dombey and Son* c. 2).

27. **tacita modulatio**, 'suppressed humming.'

iners negotium = *desidiosa occupatio* above, but is preferred here for the sake of the play on words.

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§ 5. 1. **non posuerim**, 'I cannot reckon': the subj. is potential: both perf. and pres. are so used, but the perf. is commoner with the 1st pers. (as here), the pres. with the others. There is no difference in meaning between the tenses, any more than between *λέγοιμ' ἄν* and *ἐλποίμ' ἄν*.

3. **argentum**, 'their silver plate': old silver, the work of famous artists or the property of famous persons in the past, was much prized; and, like the Corinthian bronzes, was carefully arranged on side-boards (*mensae*): cf. *Helu.* 11 § 3; *Dial.* vii 17, 2 *quare ars est apud te ministrare, nec temere et ut libet collocatur argentum?*

exoletorum = pages: as they were chosen for their beauty, it was the fashion not to hide too much of it under their dress.

4. **quomodo aper...exeat**: this may refer to such a *chef-d'œuvre* as the boar at Trimalchio's feast (Petron. c. 40) which,

when cut open at table, released a flock of live thrushes. If the boar was cooked in the common way, it is not clear why the host should be so anxious.

5. **glabri**: slaves with the hair on the face pulled out, to make them look younger than they are.

Many of these details are repeated *Epp.* 47, 5—7: *cum ad cenandum discubuimus, alius (seruus) sputa deterget, ... alius pretiosas aues scindit. alius uini magister in muliebrem modum ornatus cum aetate luctatur, ... iamque glaber retritit pilis aut penitus euulsis tota nocte peruigilat.*

6. **in frustra non enormia**, 'into portions according to rule': Juvenal (11, 137) mentions one Trypherus, who used wooden models to teach his pupils how to carve game.

8. **sputa**: it was the custom to take a little wine into the mouth and then spit it out (*pytissare*), in order to test it.

his: neuter.

lautitiae fama: cf. Lucan iv 376 *ambitiosa fames* (cf. l. 10) *et lautae gloria mensae.*

9. **omnes uitae secessus**, 'all the scenes of private life.'

10. **mala sua**: cf. *error suus* 10 § 1.

ambitione, 'display,' 'ostentation': so *ambitiosas* 20 § 5: for a different meaning, cf. 2 § 1.

11. **edant**: the classical writers seem always to have used *edim* and *essem* as the pres. and imperf. subjunctive of this verb: the forms *edam*, *ederem* are later.

§ 6. **ne illos quidem...numerauerim**, 'those *also* I cannot reckon': 'not even' would imply that these are less deserving of his censure: but he does not mean this: see n. to *Helu.* 4 § 1.

12. **se...ferunt** = *se ferendos curant*: for the form of expression, see n. to *complet* (7 § 8); but here it is stranger.

gestationum, 'carriage-drives': the word has this meaning Mart. v 20, 8, but is 'a place to drive in' Pliny *Epp.* ii 17, 14. *gestari* seems not to be used elsewhere of being carried in a litter by men but only of being drawn by animals; and it is probably so used here.

14. **occurrunt ad**, 'are punctual at...': cf. *Dial.* v 29, 1 *ad ministeria agilis occurrit.*

15. **usque eo...soluuntur**, 'they are so enfeebled': cf. Lucan i 311 (of Pompey) *longa dux pace solutus*; Quintilian quoted on *Helu.* 16 § 2. Cicero uses *solutus* in this sense but not the verb. *solutus* = *liber* 5 § 3.

17. **an** used for *num*: see n. to 6 § 2.

§ 7. 18. **si modo**: see n. to *Polyb.* 2 § 1.

sunt: plur. by attraction, though the subject (*dediscere*) is singular. **uitam et consuetudinem humanam**, 'the habits of life common to all men': cf. *De Ben.* v 21, 1 *consuetudo uitae humanae omni lege ualentior*.

19. **inter manus elatus**, 'carried out': the regular idiom: cf. Livy iii 13, 3 *inter manus domum ablatum*; Cic. *Verr.* ii 5, 28 *inter manus auferrī*.

20. **dixisse interrogando** seems to mean no more than *interrogasse*.

§ 8. 25. **sentiunt**, 'they really feel.'

26. **imitantur** = *simulant*, 'they pretend.'

28. **quid facias**, 'what one is doing': *faciat* would be equally good but less idiomatic.

i nunc et...puta = after that, it is idle to suppose: a common formula of remonstrance and derision: cf. *Polyb.* 1 § 2.

mimos: actors in a *mimus* or farce, a popular form of theatrical entertainment under the empire. The actors reprov'd vice by exhibiting it on the stage; for the unveiled indecency of the farces is often mentioned by ancient writers: cf. Ovid *Trist.* ii 497 foll.; Mart. iii 86, 4 (where he says of his loosest verses, *non sunt haec mimis improbiora*). At Massilia, a strict community, *mimi* were not permitted in the theatre (Val. Max. ii 6, 7).

29. **mentiri**, 'invent.'

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1. **praetereunt**, 'they leave unnoticed': *transire* is commoner in this sense; but cf. 20 § 3.

2. **uitiorum copia**: so Juv. i, 87.

ingenioso—saeculo, 'in our time which shows cleverness in this one direction': i.e. it invents new vices: for *ingeniosus in*, cf. *Helu.* 19 § 6.

3. **processit** has the sense of *prouenit*.

ut iam—**neglegentiam**, 'that we can actually blame the actors for failing to notice them.'

4. **esse aliquem**, 'to think that there is a man ..!': *infinitiuis indignantis*.

§ 9. 6. **inponas**, 'one ought to apply to him': the 2nd pers. of the pres. subj. is constantly used as an imperative; in Cicero it usually expresses a general maxim, e.g. *De Off.* iii 82, where εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν is translated by *pietatem colas*; and so here; but later writers use it also in particular injunctions.

8. **est** here occurs six times in four lines and ends four following clauses: cf. *Polyb.* 5 § 3; 14 § 3: though unpleasing to a modern ear, this can hardly be unintentional: perhaps it is studied negligence. The tendency to break established rules of composition is marked in Sen.: he despises the commonplace.

9. **habitus**, 'positions' of sitting or standing.

10. **dominus esse**, 'to have control over': cf. Livy ix 18, 16, where absolute kings are called *domini rerum temporumque*.

XIII

Some devote their lives to games, others to antiquarian research, and both do wrong. The latter folly has spread from Greece to Rome. Men investigate the details of our military history, the origin of proper names, refinements in the slaughter of wild beasts in the Circus, the limits of the pomerium. But such enquiries, even if they elicit the truth, can have no moral influence.

It is possible that this chapter is a covert satire upon the tastes of the emperor Claudius: see *Introd.* p. xv.

§ 1. 11. **quorum** is far separated from *uitam*, to which it belongs: Sen. affects this form of hyperbaton: cf. *quid...uoluptatis* (7 § 9); *quorum...modulatio* (12 § 4).

12. **latrunculi**, lit. 'soldiers,' a name for the 'men' (*calculi*, πεσσοί) with which this game was played on a board (*tabula*): the precise rules cannot be determined; but, that the players 'took' each other's pieces, is clear from *Dial.* ix 14, 7: Kanus, when summoned for execution, *numeravit calculos et sodali suo* 'uide' *inquit* 'ne post mortem meam mentiaris te uicisse.' *tum adnuens centurioni* 'testis' *inquit* 'eris, uno me antecedere.'

pila = ball games: the main object was throwing and catching: cf. *De Ben.* ii 32, 1 *sicut in lusu est aliquid, pilam scite ac diligenter excipere, sed non dicitur bonus lusor, nisi qui apte et expedite remisit quam acceperat; ibid.* ii 17, 3—6.

excoquendi cet.: the practice of 'baking' the skin by exposing it to the sun was often prescribed by doctors for elderly people: see Mayor on *Juv.* II, 203.

13. **consumpsere uitam**: the *whole* of their life has been thus spent: this emphatic use of *consumere* is common in Sen., and the application to abstract things as well as concrete seems almost peculiar to him: cf. *De Clem.* i 14, 1 *nemo (pater) ad supplicia exigenda peruenit, nisi qui remedia consumpsit* (until he has tried every remedy); *Dial.* ii 8, 3 *maximum illud, in quo imperium suum Fortuna consumit* (does her worst); *ib.* 18, 5 *quae uitia numquam in uno homine et in una contumelia consumuntur* (entirely used up). The same use of the word is common in the tragedies of Sen.: cf. *Phaedra* 958 (Theseus says) *nunquam supremum numinis munus tui | consumeremus* (I would not have used up); *Agam.* 735 *Fortuna uires ipsa consumpsit suas* (all her power). But *Medea* 122 *adeone credit omne consumptum nefas* (is Jason so sure that I have no crime left to commit?) is different; for part of the peculiarity is the use of *consumere* without the addition of such a word as *omne*. Outside Sen., I have not noted it except in Tac. *Hist.* iii 24 *ignominiam consumpsistis* (you have reached the lowest depth of disgrace).

(The Thesaurus supplies two further instances of the same use: Ovid *Her.* vi 161 *cum mare, cum terras consumpserit, aera temptet*; Sil. Ital. ix 47 *consumitur ira | Fortunae.*)

14. **habent**, 'involve.'

nam = further: a particle of transition. 'When something has been affirmed of several particulars, one of which the same thing holds true still more evidently, often follows with *nam*' Mayor on *Juv.* 10, 204: so this *nam* is much the same as 'of course.'

16. **quae**, = 'of whom,' is attracted, as often, to agree with the predicate *manus*.

§ 2. 17. **Graecorum iste morbus fuit**, 'it was once a foible confined to the Greeks': *fuit* has emphasis. *morbus*: a common word with Sen. and others for 'ruling passion,' 'hobby,' often with

little or no suggestion of blame: see Summers on *Epp.* 79, 4. The passion of Verres for Greek works of art was called *studium* by himself, *morbis* by his friends, and *latrocinium* by the Sicilians (Cic. *Verr.* ii 4, 1).

Vlixes cet.: for riddles of this idle kind, cf. *Epp.* 88, 6, where Sen. shows the same impatience of such enquiries: the emperor Tiberius took an interest in them: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 70 *grammaticos... eiusmodi fere quaestionibus experiebatur, quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter uirgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae*: other like problems will be found Juv. 7, 233. It was the business of the *grammaticus*, *quaestiones explicare* (Quint. i 2, 14): the sensible Quintilian says (i 8, 21), *mihî inter uirtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire*.

remigum: Aulus Gellius (xiv 6) tells how a literary friend offered his bulky commonplace-book for the embellishment of the *Noctes Atticae*: this book recorded, with other items of equal value, the names of those sailors of Ulysses who were snatched by Scylla: the offer was declined with thanks.

19. **prior scripta esset Ilias** cet.: the disapproval of Sen. did not put an end to these discussions; but they turn on real problems of literature, and should not be ranked by him with the trivial question of the number of Ulysses' crew.

20. **huius notae**, 'of this sort': Sen. often uses *nota* (and *sors* also) in this sense: cf. *De Clem.* ii 2, 2 *alia huius notae*.

21. **contineas**, 'keep them to yourself,' is)(**proferas**, 'give them to the world.'

22. **non doctior uidearis sed molestior**, 'you will pass for a bore rather than a scholar': I suppose the comparatives are due to the phrase *molestior quam doctior* in the writer's mind.

§ 3. 23. **ecce**=but now: cf. *Polyb.* 2 § 2.

studium superuacua discendi, 'the passion for useless knowledge.'

24. **his diebus**, 'lately.' Sen. may refer to an antiquarian lecture; if he refers to conversation in society, he had good reason for resenting Dr Dryasdust in the drawing-room. Aulus Gellius and his friends appear to have talked after this fashion.

26. **Duilius** defeated the Carthaginian fleet 260 B.C.

Curius Dentatus triumphed over Pyrrhus 275 B.C.

27. **etiamnunc ista**, 'so far, these items of knowledge': i.e. they can plead an excuse which will not avail all that follow.

etiamnunc, very common in Sen., is used by him with many shades of meaning: (1) 'so far' here and *Polyb.* 7 § 1; (2) 'even yet' *Polyb.* 2 § 1; (3) 'once again' *Polyb.* 3 § 3; (4) 'further' *Polyb.* 8 § 1; (5) 'up till now' (of time) *Helu.* 7 § 10; 10 § 7; (6) 'in future' *Polyb.* 18 § 3. Of these (4) is much the commonest and (1) the rarest: all of them are as often expressed by *adhuc* in Seneca.

28. **circa—uersantur**, 'are nevertheless concerned with signal services to the state,' i.e. the victories of Duilius and Curius. *exempla*, not 'instances' but 'patterns.'

29. **profutura**, 'likely to improve our characters.'

30. **quae—detineat**, 'able to interest us because the theme, though idle, is attractive': the emphasis is on *speciosa*; the *res* themselves are *uanae*.

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§ 4. 1. **hoc** is object both of *quaerentibus* and *remittamus*: 'let us excuse also those who enquire...': this sense of *remittere* is rare: for an instance, cf. *Dial.* ii 14, 3 *non uindicauit iniuriam; ne remisit quidem*: as a rule, the object it governs is the penalty for a fault, not the fault itself: cf. *Polyb.* 4 § 1.

3. **Claudius**: cf. Aul. Gell. xvii 21, 40 *Appio Claudio, cui cognomen Caudex fuit*: he was consul in 264 B.C.

hoc ipsum refers to what precedes: cf. *Polyb.* 7 § 2 *propter hoc ipsum*.

4. **plurium tabularum contextus**: a wooden block, split into several writing-tablets connected by hinges, was called *caudex* or *codex*; hence the name was given to manuscripts in book-form, distinguished from the roll (*uolumen*) of papyrus; and wooden blocks of other kinds bore the same name: the 'trunk' of a tree is commonly called *caudex* by Pliny the Elder. The vessels here mentioned were rafts, which could ascend the shallow Tiber: Aulus Gellius (x 25, 5) seems to have known them as *caudicae*, not *codicariae*; but Sen. is confirmed by Varro ap. Nonium p. 535 *M antiqui plures tabulas coniunctas codices dicebant, a quo in Tiberi nauis codicarias appellamus*.

5. **publicae tabulae**, 'the Tables of the Law': cf. *Dial.* iv 28, 2 *multa pietas, humanitas, liberalitas, iustitia, fides exigunt, quae*

omnia extra publicas tabulas sunt (i.e. many virtues are not laid down in the written law). The same term is often used for the 'state archives' kept in the Temple of Saturn: cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii 28, 3: but treaties, decrees of the senate, and similar documents were engraved on metal: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv 99 *usus aeris ad perpetuitatem monimentorum iam pridem tralatus est, tabulis aereis, in quibus publicae constitutiones inciduntur*: so that Sen. does not here refer to them.

7. **subuehunt**, from Ostia to Rome: the crews formed a corporation called *codicarii*, as appears from inscriptions.

§ 5. 8. **sane**, 'if you like.'

ad rem pertineat, 'be considered important.'

9. **Coruius** took Messana 263 B.C.

§ 6. 13. **hoc...curare**, 'to be interested in the fact.'

Sulla: Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii 53) records that Sulla exhibited a hundred maned lions at Rome during his praetorship.

14. **circo**: until the Colosseum was opened by Titus in 80 A.D., wild beasts were regularly baited in the Circus. Caesar made a moat in the Circus for his games in 46 B.C., to prevent the animals from breaking out, as the elephants, shown by Pompey nine years earlier, had done, with injury to the spectators.

dedit, 'exhibited': the technical word, regularly used with *bestias, ludos, munus, gladiatores* etc.

alioquin, 'at other times': cf. *Dial.* i 2, 2: here = *antea*: for another meaning, cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 5; *Helv.* 10 § 5.

15. **ad conficiendos eos**, 'to despatch them': the word seems technical: cf. Suet. *Dom.* 19 *feras saepe in Albano secessu conficientem spectauere plerique*: so *conjector*, *Dial.* v 43, 2.

17. **Pompeium**: Pompey, when his theatre was opened in 55 B.C., exhibited elephants (20, 18, or 17 according to different accounts), which were baited in the Circus. Cicero was one of the spectators, but was not amused: he writes to a friend (*Fam.* vii 1, 3) *extremus elephantorum dies fuit, in quo admiratio magna uolgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit: quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est atque opinio eiusmodi, esse quandam illi beluae cum genere humano societatem*. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii 21) says that the spectators were so filled with pity for the elephants that they uttered against Pompey curses which were soon to be fulfilled.

18. **commissis...noxiis hominibus**, 'criminals being pitted against them.' Sen. seems to err here, as Pliny (*l.l.*) says that African javelin-throwers were brought over to fight the elephants.

20. **princeps ciuitatis**: cf. *Dial.* vi 20, 4 (of Pompey) *indubitus populi Romani princeps*: Cicero (*Post Red. in Sen.* 4) denotes Pompey thus without naming him: it is not a formal title.

antiquos = of that time: P. is, I think, compared mainly with his contemporaries, especially Caesar and Crassus; but perhaps Marius and Sulla may be included.

21. **bonitatis**, 'kindness of heart': the sense survives in the French *bonté*. It is Pompey's chief distinction, that he showed unexampled humanity in dealing with foreigners and captives, e.g. the Cilician pirates: in this respect, Caesar takes a second place.

22. **homines**, 'human beings,' is emphatic.

depugnant, 'are they to fight to the death?': Pompey is represented as debating in his own mind the fate of these men.

23. **lancinantur**: *lancinare* is said of animals which kill with teeth and claws, e.g. lions or panthers.

ingenti mole animalium, 'by animals of monstrous size': cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* viii 3 (of elephants) *et illas moles infestant morbi* (even these monsters suffer from diseases).

24. **exterantur**: cf. *Epp.* 57, 7 *animam hominis magno pondere extriti*; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xviii 298 *messis alibi equarum gressibus exteritur, alibi perticis* (flails) *flagellatur*.

§ 7. 25. **invideret** = should wish to imitate.

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1. **sub alio caelo natis**: but, if Pliny is right, the elephants and their slayers both came from Africa. This is perhaps imitated by Juv. 12, 103 *nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis | belua concipitur*.

3. **conspectu**: A reads *conspectum*: but the use of *conspectus* in the sense of *spectaculum* appears to be unexampled.

4. **mox**: i.e. at Pharsalia, Aug. 9, 48 B.C.

5. **perfidia**: the advisers of king Ptolemy invited P. to leave his ship and enter Alexandria; on his way to the shore he was murdered in the boat.

ultimo mancipio, 'the meanest of slaves': cf. *Dial.* v 37, 2 *extremo mancipio*; vi 20, 4 (of Pompey) *corpus satelliti praestitit*: i.e. Achilles, who stabbed P. first, after which Septimius cut off his head (Lucan viii 618, 668).

6. **intellecta**: the time of this action is simultaneous with that of *praebuit*; for P. never realised the truth till the moment of death. This inexact use of the past participle is found occasionally: cf. Lucan iii 126 *Crassumque in bella secutae | saeva tribuniciae uouerunt* (imprecated) *proelia dirae*, where the action described by *secutae* follows the action described by *uouerunt*. Yet it seems that Sen. might have written *intellegens* here.

7. **cognominis**: P. was born 106 B.C., fought for Sulla in Italy, Sicily, and Africa 83-81 B.C., and, on his return to Rome, was greeted by Sulla as *Magnus*, a *cognomen* inherited by his sons. Lucan often calls him by this name, Cicero and Caesar hardly ever. Livy (*fragm. libr. cxii*) makes Cornelia address her husband as '*Magne.*'

§ 8. 7. **illo**: see n. to *huc et illuc* 7 § 10.

8. **decessi**, 'I digressed': so *excessi*, *Epp.* 77, 10. The digression is certainly irrelevant.

ostendam: subj., not fut. ind.

9. **idem**: the *quendam* of § 3.

10. **Metellus** conquered Hasdrubal in Sicily 251 B.C. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii 16) gives the number of captured elephants as 140 or 142.

11. **ante currum duxisse**: cf. § 3: the triumphing general cannot properly be said *ducere aliquid ante currum*; for a man *ducit quod sequitur*, but *agit quod praecedit*: therefore *duxisse* means 'caused to be led': there was a similar use of *complet* 7 § 8, where see n. The human captives led in triumphs are generally spoken of as preceding the car: exceptions are *Troades* 162 *currusque sequens Agamemnonios | latis fiet pompa Mycenis*; Lucan iii 77 *celsos ut Gallia currus | nobilis et flauis sequeretur mixta Britannis*.

13. **protulisse pomerium**: this passage helps to date the Dialogue: see *Introd.* p. xii.

The *pomerium* (derived by the Romans from *post* and *murus*) was a space, kept sacred from occupation, on either side of the city wall (Livy i 44, 4): within this space the auspices, at Rome, had to be taken. Aulus Gellius (xiii 14), in discussing the

pomerium, differs in some respects from the account given here: he says (1) that the right to extend it belonged to anyone who, by taking hostile territory, *populum Romanum auxerat*; (2) that Julius Caesar extended it. Tacitus also differs from this account in saying (*Ann.* xii 23, 5) that Augustus extended it.

16. **Auentinum montem**: the Aventine, south-west of the Palatine and separated from it by the circus-valley, though included in the Servian wall, was outside the *pomerium* till the reign of Claudius (*Tac. l.l.*).

17. **duabus causis**: Gellius (*l.l.*) reports that Messalla, a writer on augury, gave his authority to the second reason given here for exclusion.

19. **non addixissent**, 'had not been favourable': a technical term of augury: cf. Livy xxvii 16, 15 *Fabio auspicienti aues semel atque iterum non addixerunt*. According to Livy's account, Remus first sighted six vultures from the Aventine, and then Romulus twelve from the Palatine; and number prevailed over priority (Livy i 6, 7).

20. **farta**: rare in this sense, for *referta*: hence the proposals to emend: cf. *Epp.* 33, 2 *eiusmodi uocibus referta sunt carmina*; 76, 4 *illud quidem* (the theatre) *fartum est* (is crammed).

§ 9. 21. **fide bona**, 'honestly': this phrase and also *bona fide* (e.g. *Helu.* 17 § 5) occur often in Sen.

ut ad praestationem scribant, 'even though they pledge themselves to the truth of what they write': such seems to be the meaning of this legal phrase.

22—24. **errores minuent** cet.: i.e. none of the four cardinal virtues, wisdom, temperance, courage, and justice, will be promoted by these studies: a fifth virtue, *liberalitas*, not a cardinal virtue, is then added.

errores in Sen. is often = *falsae opinioniones*, a wrong estimate of the gifts of fortune: the wise man estimates these at their true value.

25. **interim** (= *interdum*) goes, I think, with *dubitare*.

Fabianus: see n. to 10 § 1.

26. **studiis**, 'studies,' 'researches': common in silver Latin; Cicero would not use it so without an epithet.

admoueri, 'to apply oneself': middle, not passive.

implicari, 'to get entangled.'

XIV

Real life and real leisure belong to the philosopher alone. To him, by the use of books, all past ages are accessible, and he can, if he chooses, spend his time in the company of the sages of old. Think of the humiliating terms on which poor men at Rome associate with the rich; and then consider, by way of contrast, that association with the great minds of the past which is open to us all.

On this passage, see Introd. p. xviii foll.

§ 1. 27. **sapientiae uacant**, 'give their time to philosophy': see n. to 7 § 1. Note that the verb does not mean that they give their *spare* time to philosophy: they devote themselves to it.

29. **bene tuentur**, 'they are good guardians of...': cf. *Polyb.* 8 § 2.

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1. **illis adquisitum est**, 'is an addition to their store': *illis*, lit. 'for them.'

2. **sacrarum opinionum conditores**, 'the founders of sacred dogmas,' i.e. the founders of philosophic schools: cf. *Dial.* vii 26, 7 *quotiens mentio sacrarum litterarum interuenerit, fauete linguis*: so also *diuina reperta* in Lucretius, used of the Epicurean philosophy.

3. **nobis**, 'for our advantage.'

uitam = a way of life: cf. *Lucr.* v 9 (of Epicurus) *princeps uitae rationem inuenit eam quae | nunc appellatur sapientia*.

The expression is elliptic: we show ingratitude if we fail to make use of their pioneer labours.

4. **ex tenebris ad lucem**: perhaps a recollection of *Lucr.* iii 1 (to Epicurus) *e tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen | qui primus potuisti*.

5. **erutas** suggests mining: cf. *Helu.* 9 § 1: the treasures of philosophy are the true gold and silver which have been extracted for us by others: cf. *ibid.* § 2.

6. **in omnia admittimur**, 'we have access to every age': there is an allusion to a special sense of *admittere*, 'to give an audience

to...,' used of the emperors and other grandees: cf. *De Clem.* i 10, 1 *totam cohortem primae admissionis* (the whole number of those who had a first claim to an audience of Augustus).

7. **magnitudine animi** cet.: Sen. has in mind the noble panegyric on Epicurus in *Lucr.* i 72 *ergo uiuida uis animi peruicit, et extra | processit longe flammantia moenia mundi, | atque omne immensum peragrauit mente animoque.*

8. **spatiemur**, 'we may roam.'

§ 2. -9. **disputare, dubitare** cet.: each verb is intended to express the idiosyncrasy of a school: Socrates is the teacher by means of talk, Carneades the sceptic, Epicurus the quietist, the Stoics the conquerors, the Cynics the more than conquerors, of human weakness.

dubitare: the chief precept of the New Academy was *ἐπέχειν*, to withhold your assent from all propositions. Carneades was chief of the school at Athens about 150 B.C.: as ambassador at Rome in 155 B.C., he scandalised the Romans by what seemed to them his unscrupulous and diabolic cleverness.

10. **quiescere**: Epicurus preached the life of retirement and abstinence from public affairs: cf. *Hor. Ep̄p.* i 18, 103 (the Epicurean life) *secretum iter et fallentis semita uitae.*

hominis naturam bears two senses here: (1) the weakness of human nature; (2) the possibilities of human nature.

12. **cum rerum natura...patiatur**='since it is a possible thing': the laws of the universe do not forbid it: cf. *De Ben.* iii 32, 6 *capit hoc natura*; *Quint.* xii 1, 31 *natura non prohibet et esse uirum bonum et esse dicendi peritum.*

13. **quidni...nos demus**, 'why should we not betake ourselves?': see n. to 7 § 7.

14. **illa**, 'the past': see n. to 4 § 4.

15. **melioribus**, 'our betters': masc.

§ 3. 16. **per officia discursant**, 'run about the town on errands of politeness': cf. 3 § 2.

aliosque, i.e. *eos quos salutant.*

17. **cum bene insanierint**, 'when they have duly done their silly business': cf. *Mart.* i 55, 6 *matutinum portat ineptus* 'Hauē.'

This verb and the three following are fut. perf. ind., as is shown by *poterunt* (l. 22): if *possunt* had followed, Sen. would have

written *insanierunt*, *perambulauerunt* etc. ; for regular Latin usage requires the perf. to be in the ind. after *cum* = *quotiens*, when repeated action is described : cf. 6 § 3 *cum eruperunt*. The copyists, preferring the subj. after *cum*, were apt to change e.g. *cum aspexerunt* to *cum aspexerint* ; but the best mss. often preserve the true reading. See Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* v 41 : he seems to consider that no Latin writer, before Ammianus Marcellinus, could be guilty of this solecism.

insanierint etc. refer to future time.

19. **praeterierint**, 'have left unvisited' : cf. 12 § 8.

diuersissimas, 'very far apart' : cf. *Dial.* vi 24, 2 *computa, quam raro liberos uideant quae* (i.e. mothers, who) *in diuersis domibus habitant* ; Lucan iii 256 *cum Tigride magnus | Euphrates, quos non diuersis fontibus edit | Persis* (Persia sends forth from sources not far apart). There were no means of public locomotion at Rome ; but these men don't mind the trouble and fatigue.

meritoriam, 'venal' : the *saluator* hopes to get something for his pains (for the *sportula*, see n. to 8 § 2) : cf. *Epp.* 88, 1 *meritoria artificia*, 'trades,' 'bread-studies.' *mercennarius* is oftener used in the same sense.

21. **districta** : see n. to 7 § 3.

§ 4. 23. **somnus** cet. : the great man is either still asleep, or following his pleasures, or merely rude, and refuses to see his caller.

The insertion of **illos** between *quorum* and *somnus* is characteristic : see n. to 13 § 1.

24. **torserint** : i.e. by delay : see n. to *tractus* 20 § 2 : the mood is due to that of *transcurrant*.

25. **simulata festinatione** : the haste is real ; the cause for it is a pretence.

27. **obsucros aedium aditus** = a back-door.

28. **decipere**, 'to dodge a caller' : cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 5, 31 *atria seruantem postico falle clientem*.

excludere = *non admittere* (l. 6) : 'not to let him in at all' : cf. Juv. 4, 64 *exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres*.

29. **graues**, 'uncomfortable.'

illis : dat. governed by *reddent*.

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1. **rumpentibus** = *qui rumpere solent*: a convenient but not a classical use of the pres. participle: see n. to *destruentis*, *Polyb.* 1 § 1.

The *salutatio* took place at a very early hour: cf. *Juv.* 5, 19 *habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum | debeat.*

alienum somnum = the end of another man's sleep: for this use of *expectare*, P. Thomas quotes *Tac. Dial.* 20 *quis quinque in Verrem libros expectabit* (who would have patience to hear to the end...?): the use is much the same as *De Ben.* iii 27, 4 *non expectas ut tibi narrem* (you know without my telling you).

2. **uix adleuatis labris**: cf. *clauso labello* of Juvenal, quoted on 2 § 5: the quotation seems to show that the *labra* are not, as Hermes supposes, those of the *nomenculator*. This appears to be inconsistent with 'yawning': but perhaps *oscitatio* is merely 'opening of the mouth': cf. *oscitet*, *Helu.* 13 § 7.

insusurratum: the *nomenculator* repeats the caller's name many times in a whisper; the great man at last catches it and manages to get it out in the middle of a yawn. In case you could not remember a man's name, there was a semblance of resource: cf. *Epp.* 3, 1 *obuios, si nomen non succurrit, 'dominos' salutamus.*

3. **reddent** has no sense of 'restoring': *reddere nomina* is 'to call people by their right names': cf. *De Ben.* i 3, 10 *memoriae loco audaciã est, et, cuicumque nomen non potest reddere, imponit* (he christens him afresh); *Pliny Nat. Hist.* vii 88 *Cyrus rex omnibus in exercitu suo militibus nomina reddidit.*

§ 5. 4. **ueris officiis**: Sen. avails himself of the double meaning of *officia*: (1) social duties; (2) moral duties (*τὰ καθήκοντα*).

licet dicamus, 'we may fairly say.'

5. **cotidie**, in spite of its position, does not apply to Pythagoras more than to the other names. Pythagoras is not appropriate, as he left no writings, apparently. The names are chosen so as not to repeat those given in § 2; otherwise the omission of Plato would be unaccountable: above he is represented by Socrates. But, as Sen. was a Stoic, the Stoics are referred to in both places, and Zeno, their founder, is put first here.

antistites: the writers are called 'priests,' because their theme is sacred: cf. *Dial.* vii 26, 7 *suspicite* (look up to) *uirtutem, ... et*

professores eius ut antistites colite; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 110 *Platoni sapientiae antistiti.*

6. **adire**, inserted by Thomas after *artium*, improves the style: but it may be a correction of the author.

7. **nemo horum non uacabit**, 'none of these will be "Not at Home"': cf. 2 § 5. See Macaulay quoted in *Introd.* p. xix. Sen. regards the dead authors as being visited; Macaulay, as visitors; and Macaulay would not have been pleased if his visitors had all been philosophers.

8. **uenientem** = τὸν φοιτῶντα: see n. to *Polyb.* I § 1.

9. **amantiozem sui** is ambiguous: *sui* may refer (1) to the subject of *dimittet* and, in view of *ad se* above, this seems more likely; or it may refer (2) to the visitor, who gets peace of mind from the philosopher: cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 18 101 *quid te tibi reddat amicum*: it is characteristic of the *occupatus* that he *displicet sibi*: cf. 2 § 2; *Dial.* ix 2, 10 *hinc illud est taedium et displicentia sui.*

10. **conueniri**, 'to be interviewed.'

XV

Such intercourse with the mighty dead involves no danger and no expense. They will give you all you ask; their companionship will ensure the happiness of your old age. You can choose for yourself: whatever company of philosophers you care to enter, they will welcome you. The writings of the sages outlive all the works of men's hands; their fame grows with time. In this way the Wise Man enjoys all time, past and future no less than present.

§ 1. 12. **omnes docebunt**, 'but all will teach you,' how to die: the first part of this sentence was written for the sake of the second: a Roman grandee could not force his clients to die; an emperor might, as Sen. was to learn by personal experience.

13. **conteret**: cf. Mart. iv 8 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit* (*continet* some mss., but this passage supports *conterit*) *hora*: both writers refer to the bodily wear-and-tear of a client's life.

contribuet: the subject is *quisque* to be supplied out of *nemo*: cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* vii 25 *nemo huc ita adfert omniaque quae nolim* (nobody brings news here to that effect, and everybody brings only unwelcome news).

14. **sermo periculosus**: talk to living men might be caught up and reported as treasonable: cf. *De Ben.* iii 26, 1 *sub Ti. Caesare...excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium*; *ibid.* 27, 1 *sub diuo Augusto nondum hominibus uerba sua periculosa erant, iam molesta.*

amicitia capitalis: Sen. had seen the friends of Sejanus executed.

15. **sumptuosa**: the chief *sumptus* of a Roman client were: (1) his dress: the *toga*, an expensive garment, was indispensable; (2) presents to servants: cf. *Juv.* 3, 188; (3) a *strena* or New Year's gift to the patron himself.

obseruatio = *cultus* (2 § 1).

16. **per illos non stabit quominus**, 'it will not be their fault, if you do not...': a common idiom in all Latin.

17. **haurias**: i.e. they are *fontes*, from which you can draw freely.

§ 2. 19. **cum quibus**: *quibuscum* is more usual: but Sen. seems not to use this or *quocum*, *quacum*, *quicum*: cf. *Dial.* v 8, 6; *Epp.* 6, 2; 10, 2; 24, 13; 25, 6; 45, 9; 104, 29; 109, 1.

21. **a quibus**: (1) 'from whom,' with *audiat*; (2) 'by whom,' with *laudetur*.

§ 3. 24. **forte**, 'by chance': as the word is emphatic, *casu* would be more usual: but cf. *De Ben.* i 15, 1 *nec enim cordi esse cuiquam possunt forte ac temere data.*

25. **nobilis** (acc.) I have written for *nobis*, which I believe to be corrupt: the emphasis, which its position gives it, is incompatible with the sense; for Sen. means that *all* men, if they choose, can ally themselves with the illustrious dead. For the constr., *licet nasci nobilis*, cf. *Epp.* 80, 6 *non licet palam esse miseris*; *Cic. Pro Balbo* 29 *ciui Romano licet esse Gaditanum*: the dat. is the normal case.

26. **familiae** are the different schools of philosophy: cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vii 32, 3 *tot familiae philosophorum sine successore deficiunt*; *Cic. De Fin.* iv 49 *Aristoteles, Xenocrates, tota illa familia*, i.e. the Peripatetics: Sen. makes use of the double meaning of the word.

27. **in nomen**: at Rome the adopted child sometimes inherited the name only, sometimes the property as well: cf. *Suet. Iul.* 83 *Caesar, having left Octavius $\frac{3}{4}$ of his property, in ima cera Octaviium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit.*

1. **sordide nec maligne**, 'in a mean or niggardly spirit.'
2. **quo—diuiseris**, 'the more widely you distribute them': *quo* is abl. of amount of difference after *pluribus*.

§ 4. 5. **mortalitatis**=human life: for the common sense, cf. II § 1; *mortalitatis exempla* (*Dial.* vi 12, 5; *Epp.* 101, 6).

6. **quidquid—extruxit** is an amplification of *honores, monimenta*: 'all that the ambitious have either commanded by means of decrees or raised up in the shape of public buildings.'

decreta are compulsory votes of senate or people conferring titles of honour on the *ambitiosus*: cf. *De Clem.* i 14, 2 *Magnos* (i.e. Pompey) *et Felices* (i.e. Sulla) *et Augustos diximus, et ambitiosae maiestati quidquid potuimus titulorum congegimus*: the quotation fixes the meaning of *ambitio* here. **opera** are the triumphal arches and other monuments erected by monarchs to their own glory: cf. *Polyb.* I § 1.

8. **subruitur**: the verb is singular, because *honores, monimenta* have been superseded by the *quidquid* clause.

uetustas can mean either 'futuraity' as here, or 'antiquity': for the first, cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 2; Ovid *Met.* i 445 *neue operis famam possit delere uetustas*; for the second, cf. *Helu.* 7 § 8; Ovid *Met.* i 400 *quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste uetustas?*

9. **mouet** seems to bear the sense of *amouet*; but it is surprising after the stronger word, *demolitur*.

iis, 'those writings.'

10. **sequens**=*proxima*.

11. **deinde semper ulterior**=ὁ ἀεὶ ἐπιγυγνόμενος χρόνος.

12. **quoniam quidem** (cf. 2 § 5) introduces a pair of contrasted clauses, which would be distinguished by *μέν* and *δέ* in Greek: *siquidem* is often used thus.

in uicino uersatur, 'works close at hand': cf. *Dial.* vi 19, 5 *mala bonaque circa aliquam uersantur materiam* (must have some substance to work on): for the adv. *in uicino*, cf. *Dial.* ix 9, 1.

13. **simplicius**, 'more frankly': cf. *simplex*, *Helu.* 19 § 5.

The sentiment is common in antiquity: cf. Vell. Pat. ii 92 *praesentia inuidiā, praeteritā ueneratione prosequimur*; Mart. v 10, 3 *hi sunt inuidiae nimirum, Regule, mores, | praeferat antiquos semper ut illa nouis.*

- § 5. **sapientis** : here the Stoic Sage.
 14. **multum patet** : cf. 1 § 4.
 15. **legibus** = limitations, the conditions under which mortals live.
 16. **illi...seruiunt** : i.e. he is their *dominus* : cf. 12 § 9.
 17. **instat**, sc. *tempus aliquod* : 'is present now' : cf. Lucr. i 460 *transactum quid sit in aeuo, | tum quae res instet, quid, porro, deinde sequatur*. Yet *instare* is often used of an event in the near future.
 18. **praecipit** : cf. 4 § 3.

XVI

But, for those who misuse it, life is short and uneasy. Though they sometimes pray for death and often find the days and hours pass heavily, yet their life is not really long. The duration of their pleasures is short, and they make it shorter by running from pleasure to pleasure. Their pleasures are vicious; and in order to palliate the vices of men, the poets have invented monstrous fables about the gods.

§ 1. 21. **praeteritorum** : in Sen. and other silver-age writers the neut. plur. of the adj. is often used, even in the ambiguous cases, as a noun : e.g. Quint. xii *proem.* § 4 *cupiditas honestorum* (desire of excellence).

22. **cum uenerunt**, 'whenever they come' : the perf. indic. is properly used to express repeated action : see n. to *insanierint* (14 § 3).

24. **occupatos**, 'engrossed' : see n. to 7 § 1.

§ 2. **hoc**, = τῶδε, looks forward to what is coming.

26. **uexat—adfectibus**, 'their folly tosses them to and fro with shifting feelings' : *adf.* (= hopes and fears) is abl. of the instrument.

28. **mortem—timent** : cf. Lucr. iii 79 *et saepe usque adeo mortis formidine, uitae | percipit humanos odium lucisque uidendae, | ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum*. (That Lucr. took this direct from Epicurus, appears from Sen. *Epp.* 24, 22.)

optant : see n. to 4 § 1.

§ 3. 29. **argumentum...diu uiuentium** = *argumentum quo probatur illos diu uiuere* : the compression is remarkable, but common

in Sen.: cf. *Polyb.* 8 § 3; *Dial.* v 29, 2 *argumentum iuste irascentis*; vii 2, 1 *argumentum pessimi* (neut.) *turba est*; *ibid.* 24, 4 *quod argumentum est recti, contigit malis* (masc.) *displicere*.

30. **dum**, 'until.'

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1. **condictum tempus**, 'the time fixed': the common phrase is *condicere cenam alicui*, 'to invite yourself to dine with someone,' e.g. Suet. *Tib.* 42.

2. **deseruerunt**, 'fail them.'

3. **aestuant**, 'they are unsettled.'

quomodo id extrahant, 'how to make it pass': it seems so long: cf. Lucan iv 200 (of soldiers round a camp fire) *extrahit insomnes bellorum fabula noctes*. For a different sense of *extrahere*, cf. 9 § 1.

4. **aliquam**, 'some other,' with the sense of *aliam quam*: the use is found elsewhere: cf. *Epp.* 74, 9 *gaudemus, siquid inuasimus, inuadendique alios* (= *alios quos*) *spes uana delusit*; Ovid *Met.* iii 644 *obstipui, 'capiat' que 'aliquis* (= *alius quis*) *moderamina' dixi*.

6. **tam me hercules**: see n. to 5 § 3.

8. **constitutum** = appointed time: the common phrase is *constitutum habere cum aliquo*, 'to have a meeting (esp. assignation) arranged with someone': see Mayor on Juv. 3, 12: the word is used as a noun *De Ben.* iv 6, 6 *ad constitutum temporum*; vi 17, 1 *supra constitutum* (above the fixed amount); *Nat. Quaest.* iii 16, 3 *per constituta procedere*; *ibid.* 29, 4 *constituta naturae*; Petron. c. 15, where *uenire ad constitutum* = ἀπαρτᾶν, 'to appear in court to answer a charge.'

§ 4. 10. **tempus quod amant**: i.e. the time during which the expected pleasure lasts. But the text is uncertain.

11. **aliunde... alio**, 'from one pleasure to another.'

15. **exigunt**, 'they spend': classical Latin would be content with *agunt*: see n. to 10 § 3.

§ 5. 16. **furor** of a poet generally = 'inspiration': here it is 'raving madness.'

18. **duplicasse noctem**: cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 113 *et haec ob eam rem nox est facta longior, | dum cum illa quacum uolt uoluptatem capit*.

19. **incendere**, 'to inflame.'

inscribere cet., lit. 'to write the name of the gods, as setting an example, upon our vices,' i.e. to quote the gods as a precedent for our vices: the passage is imitated from Ovid *Met.* xv 127 *ipsos | inscripsere deos sceleri*: cf. *Dial.* vii 12, 3 *uitiis suis sapientiam inscribit* (he labels his vices as 'philosophy'). The classical phrase is *nomen praetendere*: cf. Cic. *In Vat.* 14 *te Pythagoreum soles dicere et hominis doctissimi nomen tuis immanibus et barbaris moribus praetendere*; cf. also Sen. *Oedipus* 682 *mentitur ista, praefereus fraudi deos*.

20. **morbo**, 'to our weakness': see n. to 13 § 2.

diuinitatis = *deorum*.

excusatam licentiam: cf. *Dial.* iv 13, 1 *non est quod patrocinium nobis quaeramus et excusatam licentiam*.

22. **diem perdunt**, 'they get no good of the day': see n. to *Helu.* 3 § 2.

XVII

Even the pleasures of such men are embittered by the thought of their short duration; so Xerxes, at the height of his power, wept to see his huge army. The higher a man rises, the less stable is his position. To maintain an exalted place is as hard as to gain it: the object is different, but the effort as great. History shows that men, who have risen by toil to great eminence, do not secure thereby a rest from their labours.

§ 1. 24. **trepidae**, 'uneasy': see n. to 3 § 3.

25. **subit**, 'comes over them': an active verb: cf. 20 § 1.

cum maxime exsultantis, 'in the very moment of their triumph': *cum maxime* is an adv. of time: see n. to *Polyb.* 9 § 4.

26. **haec**, 'the present state' (not 'this').

quam diu, sc. *durabunt?*

27. **ab**, 'as a result of.'

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1. **finis** also governs *fortuna*.

§ 2. 3. **mensuram**: Herodotus (vii 60) describes how Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscos in Thrace: ten thousand men were counted and packed together as close as possible; the space occupied

by them was then walled round and filled again and again by different detachments. The number of the army was thus ascertained to be $170 \times 10,000$, the space having been filled 170 times over.

4. **lacrimas profudit** : cf. Herod. vii 46 (Xerxes speaks) ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσοῦτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περίεσται (and therefore he wept).

Pliny (*Epp.* iii 7, 13) speaks less harshly of Xerxes: *ut mihi non uenia solum dignae uerum etiam laude uideantur illae regiae lacrimae.*

5. **tanta iuuentute**, 'so great an army': especially in the poets *iuuentus* and *iuuenes* are used for *exercitus* and *mīlites* which present metrical difficulties.

8. **consumpturus illos**, 'to destroy them *all*': see n. to *consumpsere* 13 § 1.

quibus...annum timebat: for the constr., cf. Juv. 6, 17 *cum furem nemo timeret* | *caulibus*.

§ 3. 9. **quid, quod**, 'besides': cf. *Helu.* 1 § 3.

gaudia ought to be distinct from *uoluptates*, of which just the same thing was said above; but Sen. seems to have forgotten this, and to contrast *gaudia* with the tears of Xerxes.

11. **eadem uanitate**=as causelessly: see n. to *Polyb.* 18 § 4.

13. **haec**, sc. *gaudia*; for the epithet could hardly be applied to *tempora*: cf. *Dial.* i 6, 4 *sincera felicitas*; Livy xlv 44, 1 *ne sincero gaudio frueretur*. **quibus** is then abl. of cause.

14. **super hominem**, 'above humanity': cf. *Polyb.* 17 § 5 *super humanum modum*.

§ 4. 18. **quae successere**, 'which have turned out well': the verb is not used, in this sense, with a personal subject.

uota, i.e. *alia uota*.

21. **casura**, 'what is doomed to fall' can never please; hence the great have no pleasure in their greatness.

23. **magno—possideant**: cf. *Epp.* 115, 16 *maiore cum tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritur*; Juv. 14, 303 *tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque* | *seruantur*.

§ 5. 26. **nouae occupationes**: cf. Pliny *Epp.* ii, 8, 3 *ueteribus*

negotiis noua aderescunt...; tot nexibus, tot quasi catenis maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.

29. **honores** = elections.

torserrunt: the past tense = *non iam torquent*.

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1. **suffragatores**: see n. to 7 § 7.

accusandi cet.: the man begins his career in the courts as a prosecutor of criminals (see n. to 6 § 1); next he is president of a court (cf. Pliny *Épp.* vi 2, 7 *quotiens iudico, quod uel saepius facio quam dico*); lastly he is president (*quaesitor*) of some special commission (*quaestio extraordinaria*).

4. **suis opibus** = *suarum opum procuratione*.

§ 6. **Marium caliga dimisit**, 'the boot let Marius go,' i.e. M. ceased to be a common soldier, the *caliga* being a notable part of Roman uniform: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 135 *Ventidium iuuentam inopem in caliga militari tolerasse*: and Caligula was so called because he wore the whole 'uniform' of a private: 'barrack-room' might serve as an equivalent here.

5. **exercent**, 'work him hard,' 'keep him at drill': the verb is perhaps intended to suggest the noun *exercitus*.

I have ventured to change the verb from sing. to plur.: the change is slight, and it is like Sen. to hint in this way that Marius was consul many times; and he actually does so *De Ben.* v 16, 2 *Marius ad consulatus a caliga perductus*.

Quintius: Cincinnatus is said to have been twice dictator; but *ab aratro* should refer to the first occasion, admirably described by Livy iii 26, 7 foll.

dictaturam peruadere, 'to get to the end of his dictatorship': this must be the meaning, but such a use of the verb is remarkable.

7. **ibat**: *ibit* of mss. is out of place: in view of the preceding example, it is clear that the fut. should be used (as it is in *agitabunt*) to describe the subsequent troubles of Scipio, not his early successes: the copyist has assimilated the tense to *reuocabitur* just before.

Haase removed this difficulty by reading *iuuit*; but this is an antiquated form which Sen. would hardly use. I have therefore printed *ibat*, as the impf., in its descriptive use, is suitable here:

cf. *Epp.* 94, 64 (of Pompey) *in Hispaniam et Sertoriana arma... uadebat.*

Scipio: the older of the *duo fulmina belli*: at 24 he was appointed general against the Carthaginians in Spain (210 B.C.); he beat Hannibal at Zama (202 B.C.), and, serving as *legatus* to his brother Lucius, beat Antiochus, king of Syria, at Sipylus (190 B.C.). In consequence of political troubles, he left Rome for Linternum 185 B.C. and died there two years later. Sen. describes the simplicity of the *villa* at Linternum in *Epp.* 86. See n. to *Polyb.* 14 § 4.

8. **uictor** = *cum uicisset*: his victories were the reason why the people were ready to worship him.

9. **decus**: for *decus* applied to a man, cf. Cic. *Phil.* ii 54 *Pompeium, quod imperii Romani decus ac lumen fuit.*

sponsor: Lucius would not have got the command against Antiochus, had not his brother offered to serve under him.

ni...sit, ...reponeretur: this irregular protasis is found in poetry (e.g. Tibull. i 4, 63 *carmina ni sint, | ex uero Pelopis non nituisset ebur*) and may have been used by Sen.

cum Ioue reponeretur, 'would have been consecrated beside Jupiter': explained by Livy xxxviii 56, 12 *prohibuisse (Africanum) statuas sibi in Capitolio, in cella Iouis poni*: it is to the second proposal that Sen. refers. After his death, his bust was actually placed there (*in cella Iouis*), and fetched from there to take its place in funerals of the *gens Cornelia* (Val. Max. viii 15, 1); and there it had been his habit to seek guidance of the god before any important action (Val. Max. i 2, 2).

10. **ciuiles** = in time of peace: what follows is contrasted with the three wars of the previous clause.

11. **diis aequos honores**: cf. Juv. 4, 71 *dis aequa potestas*: the constr. called *comparatio compendiaria*.

12. **contumacis—ambitio**, 'he will find pleasure in posing as a rebellious exile': he was forced into exile because he was *contumax* in resisting the lawful authorities of the state. For this sense of *ambitio*, cf. 12 § 5.

13. **felices** = due to prosperity.

14. **per**, 'in a succession of...': cf. *per consilia* 2 § 2.

uita trudetur: cf. Petron. c. 45 *sic uita truditur.*

XVIII

Give up your present business, Paulinus. You have earned a right to rest by your past exertions. To provide Rome with corn is a task beneath your powers, which may safely be left to men of inferior ability. Besides, it is a post of great anxiety. When the emperor Gaius was killed, there was nearly a famine at Rome, though the officials wisely concealed the state of affairs from the public.

§ 1. 16. **excerpe te uolgo**, 'raise yourself above the crowd': cf. *Epp.* 44, 1 *cum possis eximere te uolgo et ad jelicitatem hominum maximam emergere*; *Dial.* v 25, 3 *se exemerit turbæ*; vii 2, 3 *ut me multitudini educerem*.

17. **non pro aetatis spatio**, 'too much for the time you have lived': i.e. you have met with more rough weather than a man of your years could expect: for this *pro*, see n. to *Helu.* 17 § 4.

18. **iactatus**: cf. 5 § 1. The events alluded to are unknown.

19. **partim**, 'some of them': cf. 5 § 1.

22. **quid...faciat**, 'how it will behave.'

melior: cf. *Epp.* 47, 12 *bona aetas est* (you are still young).

23. **aliquid temporis sume**: cf. *Dial.* viii 6, 1 *refert, quo animo ciuilem agas uitam, an semper inquietus sis nec tibi unquam sumas ullum tempus, quo ab humanis ad diuina respicias*.

§ 2. 28. **repositus**, 'when you are laid aside,' 'in your retirement.'

agites = *agas*.

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§ 3. 1. **rationes**, 'the accounts' of the *frumentum publicum*, which was imported from many parts of the world.

2. **abstinenter**: see n. to *Helu.* 14 § 3.

The meaning is: 'you could not be more clean-handed, if the money belonged to a friend, or more careful, if it belonged to yourself, or more scrupulous, if it belonged to the nation.' But it *did* belong to the nation; hence Bentley proposed *sacras* for *publicas*; but the change is violent.

3. **officio**, 'a post': the *praefectura annonae*: see *Introd.* p. x.

5. **uitae suae rationem**, 'the balance-sheet of a man's own life.'

§ 4. 8. **beatam uitam** — εὐδαιμονίαν, the 'happiness' which philosophy alone can give: cf. *Helu.* 5 § 1; 10 § 8.

9. **non id egisse te**, 'that this was not your main object': see n. to 7 § 4.

omni cultu studiorum is a variation for *omnibus studiis colendis*. For *studia liberalia*, see n. to 7 § 3.

10. **milia**: supply *modiorum*.

12. **frugalitatis exactae**, 'of perfect respectability': cf. 20 § 3. *frugi* is a word of compliment to a slave or freedman but not to an *ingenuus*: cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* vii 4, 1 *frugi hominem ac, ne libertinum laudare uidear, plane uirum bonum*.

13. **tanto** is often used with a comparative in praise, e.g. *tanto fortior!* (*Dial.* ix 16, 3); but this is not in place here, where it seems to mean no more than *multo*: so *tot* has apparently the sense of *multi*, 7 § 4, and *totiens* of *saepe*, *Polyb.* 12 § 2; *Epp.* 85, 1; 104, 25; 109, 17; 121, 8.

15. **generosam**, 'thorough-bred': for this word applied to animals, cf. Juv. 8, 56 *animalia muta | quis generosa putet nisi fortia?*

§ 5. 17. **tantam molem**, 'so heavy a burden,' like the stone of Sisyphus.

18. **nec rationem patitur**, 'neither listens to reason': however good excuses you may have, it will have none of them: cf. Lucan iii 56 *adserit urbes | sola famas* (hunger alone makes cities free, i.e. dangerous to a ruler): *nescit plebes ieiuna timere*.

20. **modo modo** = χθὲς καὶ πρόην, 'a short time ago': a colloquial phrase, for which cf. *Helu.* 2 § 5; Pliny *Epp.* iii 7, 11; Petron. cc. 37, 42, 46; Mart. ii 57, 7. It is too vague an expression to help in dating the treatise.

intra paucos illos dies, quibus: for the constr., cf. Suet. *Iul.* 35 *intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in conspectum uenit horis*; Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20 *quadriduo, quo haec gesta sunt* (four days after this happened): in the phrase of Cicero, *quo* should be *a quo* but is attracted by *quadriduo*: in the exx. from Sen. and Suetonius, *quibus* is due to false analogy from the constr. used by Cicero. The exx. show that Sen. means, 'within those few days which followed the death of Gaius.' Even before his death, the

officials would be aware of the shortage; Claudius, immediately after his accession, took steps to meet the danger (Furneaux *Tacitus* ii p. 25).

21. **C. Caesar**: Gaius, the emperor Caligula, killed Jan. 24, 41 A.D. For other Caesars of the same name, cf. *Polyb.* 15 § 4; *Helu.* 9 § 6.

22. **quod**, sc. *periret*.

populo Romano superstite: an allusion to the famous wish of Caligula: *Dial.* v 19, 2 *optabat ut populus Romanus unam ceruicem haberet*; Suet. *Cal.* 30 *utinam P.R. unam ceruicem haberet!*

23. **octo dierum**: in 51 A.D. there was only a supply of corn for 15 days at Rome (Tac. *Ann.* xii 43, 3), and in 69 A.D. only enough for 10 days (*Hist.* iv 52): in each case the position was thought alarming.

certe, 'at most,' where Cicero and Livy would use *summum*.

cibaria: for the system of distributing corn gratuitously at Rome, see nn. to Juv. 7, 174 and 10, 81.

24. **dum**, as often, has a causal sense.

Dio (lix 17) says that the scarcity at Rome was caused by the lack of ships to import corn, Caligula having seized every available vessel to make his bridge. This bridge, built, according to Sen., to outdo Xerxes, was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, stretching across the sea from Baiae to the pier of Puteoli; a regular road was constructed on the top of it (Suet. *Cal.* 19). It was built in 39 A.D.; Caligula was assassinated at least a year later. So the events did not follow each other as closely as Sen. implies.

pontes nauibus iungit, 'made a bridge of ships': the common Latin idiom: what is really 'joined' is not the bridge but the land at each end of the bridge. So we say 'to mix grog,' when we mean 'to mix wine and water so as to make grog.'

uribus imperii: i.e. the ships, and the soldiers who did the construction.

25. **ultimum malorum** cet.: cf. Juv. 15, 94 *sed illic | fortunae inuidia est bellorumque ultima, casus | extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas*.

obsessis quoque, 'even to men besieged': a common meaning of *quoque* in silver-age Latin: cf. 2 § 3.

26. **constitit**, 'it cost,' with abl. of the price: cf. *Helu.* 2 § 4.

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§ 6. 2. **illi**: the *praefectus annonae* of the time, and his subordinates.

3. **saxa, ferrum, ignes** are the weapons of the starving people in their rage; but a worse danger which the officials had to face was the insane cruelty of Gaius: for this climax, cf. *Dial.* v 19, 1 (of Gaius) *torserat...fidiculis, talaribus, eculco, igne, uultu suo*. But the epigram misses fire: for (1) Gaius was dead, and could not hurt them; (2) Gaius, as we have just been told, desired the death of the people, by starvation or otherwise.

4. **tantum** governs *mali*.

inter uiscera, 'in the vitals' of the state: see n. to *Heiu.* 3 § 1. *intra* would be more correct, where concealment is implied: cf. *Dial.* iv 1, 1 *intra nos*; *ib.* 35, 4 *intra pectus*; *Epp.* 50, 4 *intra nos est, in uisceribus ipsis sedet*: perhaps *inter* is due to the copyists.

5. **cum ratione scilicet**, 'with good reason, you may be sure': cf. *Lucr.* i 935 *non ab nulla ratione*.

6. **aegris**: abl. absol.

curanda sunt, 'must be treated': English misleads here, but *curare* must not be confused with *sanare*.

XIX

Your duties as manager of the corn-supply are trivial compared to the studies which you might carry on, if you resigned your present post. You are still young enough to make a vigorous start on the road to higher things. You will gain moral improvement and peace of mind and, what is the chief boon of life, independence of others.

§ 1. 8. **recipe te ad haec**, 'retire to take up this course of life.' **tutiora**: cf. *Polyb.* 3 § 5, 8 § 2.

9. **maiora**, 'more important.'

simile esse has here the constr. and meaning of *nihil referre*.

10. **a**, 'as a result of': cf. 17 § 1.

11. **horrea**: the granaries at Puteoli and Ostia, where the grain, brought mainly from Egypt and Africa, was stored: cf. *Epp.* 77, 1; Cic. *De Fin.* ii 84.

12. **concalescat**: damp grain is apt to be spoilt by 'heating': Pliny uses both *concalescere* and *conferuescere* in this sense, of wheat (*Nat. Hist.* xviii 302 and 304): this would be caused by *neglegentia*.

13. **respondeat**, 'it may tally': if the cargo is less than the invoice, there is *fraus* on the part of the importers.

haec, 'these studies.'

14. **sciturus**: 'which will teach you' is an equivalent.

quae materia sit dei cet.: what follows describes one of the three divisions of philosophy: cf. *Epp.* 89, 9 *philosophiae tres partes esse dixerunt et maximi et plurimi auctores: moralem, naturalem, rationalem* (ethics, physics, logic). Physics (*pars naturalis*) comprises three subjects: (1) *deorum natura*; (2) *animi natura*; (3) *mundi natura*: in this order Sen. takes them.

materia: according to the Stoics, the substance of which the gods are made, was fire.

uoluptas: this word, in relation to the gods and especially to the Stoic gods, is surprising. in view of the contempt always expressed by the Stoics for *ἡδονή*, the chief good of their great antagonists, the Epicureans: nor can I think that *uoluptas* here is justified by *delectet se* in *Helu.* 6 § 8. Hence there is some ground for preferring *uoluntas*, the reading of the inferior mss.

15. **condicio**, 'law of existence': not far from 'environment.'

forma, 'shape': the Stoic gods were round: cf. *Epp.* 113, 22 *si rotundam illis figuram, qualem deo, dederint*; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i 24 *admirabor eorum tarditatem, qui animantem immortalem et eundem beatum rotundum esse uelint*: the Epicurean gods were of human shape (*l.l.* § 46).

casus = new experience: the Stoics denied chance.

16. **ubi** = *in quo loco*. **nos**, i.e. our souls.

17. **componat**, 'lays to rest': the word would not suit the Epicurean philosophy, which taught that Nature resolves our souls like our bodies, into atoms. But according to the Stoics, the part of the sky near the earth was a kind of Purgatory, from which the soul ascended to the Paradise of *aether*: see n. to *Polyb.* 9 § 8.

quid sit, 'what the power is....'

huius mundi, 'of this world,' consisting of earth, sea, and sky with the stars. The heaviest part of this complex is the earth, comprising earth and water, which remains fixed at the centre, poised on the lighter element of air. Of the four elements, fire is the lightest, and therefore rises to the top of the *mundus*, where it forms the *ather* (the part of the sky above the moon) and the stars; in point of lightness *aer* comes next, and is found both above and below the earth. This is the Stoic cosmology, attacked by Lucretius (i 1083 foll.), who argues (1) that there is no *medium* or centre (i 1070), and (2) that it is inconsistent to suppose that fire and air fly upwards, while the other two elements sink down.

18. **supra leuia suspendat**: cf. Ovid *Met.* i 12 *circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus | ponderibus librata suis* (in equilibrium).

supra: a preposition here.

in summum, 'to the highest part' of the *mundus*: cf. Ovid *Met.* i 26 *igneae conuexi uis et sine pondere caeli | emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce*.

19. **sidera uicibus suis excitet**, 'makes the stars move with their proper changes.'

20. **cetera** is governed by *sciturus* above.

miraculis: the abl. had become the normal case after *plenus* by Quintilian's time: cf. Quint. ix 3, 1: Cicero and Caesar almost always have the gen.

§ 2. **uis tu**: cf. *Dial.* ii 15, 4; v 37, 5; vi 9, 3; ix 1, 13; *Epp.* 47, 10; 58, 23; 70, 13; 78, 19; 124, 23; *Nat. Quaest.* iv *praef.* § 13: the phrase expresses a peremptory command ('you really must!'), the pronoun being a regular part of it: cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii 6, 92 *uis tu homines urbemque feris praepondere siluis?* (where Bentley calls the constr. *elegantissimus Idiotismus*).

uin tu, also used, is merely interrogative.

21. **relicto solo**: the soul, being light, flies upwards; and a man, who lives the intellectual life, is said by metaphor to do the same.

dum calet sanguis, i.e. before you are too old.

24. **usus**, 'practice' of virtues.

25. **uiuendi ac moriendi scientia**: a common definition of philosophy: cf. 7 § 3.

alta rerum quies = 'a life of profound repose.'

§ 3 is unsuited to the place it occupies; for it is not specially true of the *occupatio* of Paulinus; and a reference to any other *occupatio*, in the course of this personal appeal, is very inartistic. It would, I think, come better at the beginning of c. 7.

§ 3. 28. **ad...dormiunt**, 'regulate their sleep by...': this and what follows is true of the *saluator* and *deductor*, but not of the *praefectus annonae*: therefore it is irrelevant here.

29. **amare et odisse...iubentur**, 'love and hate to order': the two infinitives are cognate accusatives, and *res* follows in apposition.

30. **liberrimas**, 'most impatient of dictation': cf. Pliny *Paneg.* 85 *neque enim, ut alia subiectis, ita amor imperatur, neque est ullus adfectus tam erectus et liber et dominationis impatiens*.

For *iubentur*, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii 3, 3 (of Claudius) *principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat, nisi indita et iussa*.

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1. **ipsorum**: *sua* cannot be used here, because it has to follow in a different sense.

XX

Do not be envious of high magistrates or great orators. Such a career, even if successful, does not satisfy; and the death of such men has nothing noble in it. Turannius at 90 felt retirement from his post as if it were death. But men ought to give themselves some breathing-time before their busy life ends.

§ 1. 3. **uideris, inuideris**: the play on words is no doubt intentional.

praetextam: the robe of office: Sen. refers to repeated consulships: cf. *De Ben.* iii 33, 2; *Epp.* 104, 9 *male te habebit ille consul factus, ille etiam reffectus* (re-elected): under Trajan, a third consulship was the summit of distinction for a subject: cf. Pliny *Paneg.* 61 *fin. des quam plurimis tertios consulatus*.

4. **in foro**, 'in the law courts': under the empire, eloquence, banished from the Senate and the *rostra*, was to be heard only in the courts.

5. **uitae damno parantur**, 'are bought at the price of life,' lit. 'with the money-loss of life.'

ab illis numeretur: the Romans dated the year by the names of the consuls. Under the empire, the consuls seldom held office for the whole year; and the supplementary consuls (*suffecti*) had less honour, as the year was named from the *consules ordinarii* who entered upon office on Jan. 1st: cf. *Dial.* v 31, 2 *dedit duodecim fasces* (the consulship); *sed non fecit ordinarium consulem. a me numerari uoluit annum; sed deest mihi* (he does not support me) *ad sacerdotium* (the priesthoods being a still higher distinction). By Pliny (*Paneg.* 58) the *consul ordinarius* is said *aperire annum fastosque reserare*. Sen. himself was *consul suffectus*, not *ordinarius*.
ab, 'from.'

6. **conterent**: see n. to 15 § 1.

7. **eniterentur**, 'they could climb up.'

inter prima=near the bottom: cf. Quint. xii 10, 78 *desinit in aduersa niti, qui peruenit in summum; scandenti circa ima labor est*.

8. **luctantis**: Sen. is perhaps thinking of Lucr. v 1132 *angustum per iter luctantes ambitionis*; ii 12 *noctis atque dies niti praestante labore | ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri*.

aetas=*uita*.

10. **ipsos** for *se*: see n. to 2 § 5.

in titulum sepulcri, 'for the sake of an epitaph': posthumous glory is the sole result of their labours: "what atones? | they scratch his name on the Abbey stones," as Browning says: for *titulus*, see n. to Juv. 1, 130.

13. **inprobos**, 'excessive': one of the common meanings of the word: cf. *Epp.* 94, 19 *inprobo lumini* (to too strong a light).

inualida is part of the predicate. The letter in which Sen. moralises on the death of Cornelius Senecio (*Epp.* 101) is an expansion of this passage.

§ 2. 14. **ignotissimis**, 'perfect strangers': if pleading for friends, he would have more excuse.

15. **et** couples *pro ign. lit.* and *captantem* cet.: in both respects the orator is to blame.

inperitae coronae= 'the gallery': *corona*, lit. 'the ring,' is regularly used of the audience who stand (or sit) round a speaker in

the courts: cf. Quint. xii 10, 74 *nulli non agentium* (speakers) *parata uulgi corona est*. The expression is often contemptuous: e.g. *Dial.* iii 12, 3 *relicto iudice ad coronam uenis* (you play to the gallery, you talk clap-trap).

17. **officia**: here the duties of a magistrate or official.

18. **accipiendis...rationibus**: the common phrase: cf. *Helu.* 17 § 2; *Epp.* 14, 18; 122, 15; Petron. c. 30.

inmorientem: Sen. uses very freely compounds like *inmori* and *innasci* followed by a dat. of the thing or occupation: cf. *Dial.* iii 11, 3 *armorum, quibus innascuntur innutriunturque*; iv 5, 4 (of Hannibal) *innatus sanguini*.

tractus, 'tormented by delay': *tortus* is commoner in this sense: cf. *Juv.* 14, 250 *iam nunc obstas ac uota moraris, | iam torquet iuuenem longa et ceruina senectus*. The heir, having been long kept out of his inheritance, jeers at the old man for the ruling passion strong in death.

§ 3. 19. **occurrit**: cf. 10 § 1, but *succurrit* 3 § 4.

20. **Turannius**: see *Introd.* p. xiii.

22. **ultro**, 'at his own request': of an official removed for a fault, the common phrase is: *Caesar ei successorem dedit*.

componi, 'to be laid out': a technical meaning of the word.

So Trimalchio, when rather drunk, reads his will aloud, gives directions for his funeral (when *tota familia, tamquam in funus rogata, lamentatione triclinium impleuit*), and finally stretches himself out on his couch as if dead, and has funeral music played (*Petron.* cc. 71, 72, 78).

24. **lugebat**: *lugere* is properly 'to mourn for the dead.'

25. **labor suus**, 'his accustomed toil.'

§ 4. 28. **cum**, 'against.'

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1. **nomine**, 'account': cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 1; *Helu.* 14 § 1.

2. **seponit**, 'removes them from active life.'

lex—non legit: i.e. after 50, a man is not bound by law to military service: cf. Quint. ix 2, 85 *petierat ut militiā uacaret ex lege, quod quinquagenarius esset*.

3. **sexagesimo**: cf. *Pliny Epp.* iv 23, 3 *et prima uitae tempora et media patriae, extrema nobis, impertire debemus, ut ipsae leges*

monent, quae maiorem annis LX otio reddunt (the numeral is apparently due to conjecture, but some numeral is required).

§ 5. 7. **fructu**, 'enjoyment' (not 'result').

profectu animi, 'moral improvement.'

profectus means 'advance,' 'improvement,' and is often used e.g. by Quintilian of rhetorical students: but Sen. uses *proficere* and *profectus* to represent *προκόπτειν* and *προκοπή*, technical terms with the Stoics for advance towards the ideal represented by the *sapiens*: cf. *Epp.* 75, 8 *qui proficit, in numero quidem stultorum est, magno tamen interuallo ab illis diducitur.* (He then divides *proficientes* into three classes, according to their degree of progress.)

8. **in conspicuo habet**, 'keeps in view': a phrase hardly found out of Val. Maximus.

9. **intendit**: *extendit* (9 § 1) would seem more suitable.

11. **operum publicorum, munera**: cf. Pliny *Epp.* vi 34 *recte fecisti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronensibus promisisti. inde uxorem habuisti, cuius memoriae aut opus (public building) aliquod aut spectaculum debebatur.*

munera, 'shows of gladiators': the word suggests the original object of these shows: it was to honour the dead at their burial.

12. **ambitiosas**, 'pompous,' 'pretentious': cf. 15 § 4 and Petron. c. 78 *ego gloriosus uolo efferrī, ut totus mihi populus bene imprecetur.* Tacitus says of the ancient Germans (*Germ.* 27) *funerum nulla ambitio*; but their descendants have paid heavily to Mr Mould for 'long-tailed prancers, never harnessed under ten pund ten' (*Martin Chuzzlewit* c. 19).

13. **ad faces et cereos**: children were buried at night by torchlight: cf. *Dial.* ix 11, 7 *totiens praeter limen immaturas exsequias fax cereusque praecessit*; *Epp.* 122, 10 (of men who turn night into day) *quantulum a funere absunt, et quidem acerbo, qui ad faces et cereos uiuunt!*

AD POLYBIVM

I

All the works of men's hands must come to destruction in time. Nay, we are told by some that the Universe itself, with all it contains, is doomed to destruction. How then can an individual complain that he and his cannot escape the sentence pronounced against all things?

Something more than the supplement printed in the text must be lost here: the treatise cannot have begun so abruptly. But it does not appear that much is lost. For most of the stock arguments used in *Consolationes* (see Summers on *Epp.* 63) are duly found here.

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§ 1. 2. **compares**, 'one compares them': the 2nd pers. of the pres. subj. is often used in this sense: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 1. The following clause must begin with 'but' in English.

redigas has the meaning of *exigas*, 'one considers them.'

ad, 'with reference to.'

condicionem, 'the ordinance.'

3. **destruentis** = *quae destruere solet*: see n. to *rumpentibus* (*Paul.* 14 § 4): a use of the pres. participle unknown, at least in the sing., to classical prose: it represents *τῆς διαίρουσῆς*; but there is no definite article in Latin, to make the meaning clear.

5. **septem miracula**: the usual list is: the walls of Babylon, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the Pyramids, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the Colossus of Rhodes, and the hanging gardens of Babylon: of these, the Pyramids alone still make a stout resistance against time.

'As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn, have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Caesars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile' (*Gibbon* c. 71).

6. **si qua** = *quaecumque*: Sen. is alluding to the triumphs of Roman skill in architecture and engineering.

7. **ambitio**, 'love of display': cf. *Paul.* 15 § 4.

uisentur may be used ironically, with a reference to the sense shown in *Lucr.* i 726 *miranda uidetur | gentibus humanis regio uisendaque fertur*, and often elsewhere.

8. **ita est**: see n. to *Paul.* 1 § 4.

10. **ceterum**: adv.

coepit: cf. *Helu.* 12 § 4: in Cicero and Caesar this verb is always followed by an inf.

§ 2. **quidam**: the Epicureans; and also the Stoics, to whose school Sen. belonged: they believed in a future destruction of the world by fire (*ἐκπύρωσις*).

11. **hoc uniuersum**, 'this Universe.' Unlike the Epicureans, who held that the Universe (*τὸ πᾶν*) contained innumerable worlds (*κόσμοι*), the Stoics believed in a single world placed at the centre of the Universe. Hence *hoc* is for them, but not for the Epicureans, an appropriate pronoun for the Universe.

12. **fas** refers esp. to *diuina*: piety might prevent your believing in the destruction of the gods or the work of their hands: cf. *Lucr.* v 160 *nec fas esse, deum quod sit ratione uetusta | gentibus humanis fundatum perpetuo aeuo | sollicitare suis ulla ui ex sedibus umquam | nec uerbis uexare*.

13. **confusionem** = Chaos, before the four elements were separated from one another by divine agency: cf. *Dial.* viii 5, 5 *quae ratio mersa et confusa diduxerit*; *Lucan* vi 696 *Chaos, innumeros auidum confundere mundos*.

14. **demerget**, 'will plunge down'; because fire and air, the two lighter elements, will then sink down to join the two heavier, water and earth: see n. to *Paul.* 19 § 1.

eat nunc aliquis et compleret = it is idle therefore for any man to lament...: for this formula, which is commoner in the imperative, see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 8: *nunc* here does not mean 'now'; it is logical and means 'this being so.'

singulas, 'of individuals.'

completet: cf. *Paul.* 5 § 2.

15. **animas** = *mortes*.

16. **cinerem**: all these cities were burnt by Roman conquerors,

Corinth and Carthage in 146 B.C., Numantia in 134. The disregard of chronological order is characteristic of Sen.: see n. to *Paul.* 4 § 5.

altius may be either adj. (cf. *mirabilia* above), or adv. (cf. 15 § 1).

Sen. is thinking of the letter which Servius wrote to Cicero after the death of Tullia (*Ad Fam.* iv 5): § 4 *post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent. coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: 'hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interit aut occisus est, quorum uita breuior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidorum cadavera proiecta iacent!'*

Sen., using the illustration of Servius, tries to 'go one better.'

17. **hoc, quod non habet quo cadat**, 'this, which has no place into which to fall,' because there is nothing outside the Universe. This argument he uses elsewhere, to prove that the Universe cannot be destroyed: *De Ben.* v 8, § 5 *rerum natura nihil dicitur perdere, ... nec perire quidquam potest, quod, quo excidat, non habet*: cf. too *Lucr.* iii 814 *nulla loci fit copia circum, | quo quasi res possint discedere dissoluique, | sicut summarum summa* (the Universe) *est aeterna, neque extra | quis locus est quo diffugiant.*

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1. **conqueratur**, 'repine': cf. *Paul.* 1 § 1: the compound cannot have here the sense which it has in 2 § 2.

§ 3. 2. **impotentis**, 'uncontrolled': see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 4.

in=in view of.

5. **imminenti**, 'which threatens': a common sense of the verb: cf. *Ovid Met.* i 146 *imminet exitio uir coniugis, illa mariti.*

aliquam domum, 'a single family': *domum* is used with reference to *ruinae*, which commonly = the fall of a house: cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* x 7 a tortoise-shell dropt by an eagle killed Aeschylus, *praedictam fatis eius diei ruinam secuta caeli fide cauentem* (i.e. he understood that his house would fall and took precautions by keeping out of doors, but in vain).

§ 4. 6. **solacium**: this opinion, strange to us, is often expressed by the ancients: cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vi 2, 9 *ingens mortis solacium est, terram quoque uidere mortalem*; *Pliny Epp.* vi 20, 17 *nisi me*

cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire, misero, magno tamen mortalitatis solacio, credidissem.

7. **sunt** : *sint* would be more normal, as this is part of the reflexion.

8. **rerum natura** is the same as *natura* above ; but the Romans tend to use the longer form, when they make Nature either a conscious agent, as here, with a purpose in view, or a person who speaks : for the latter, cf. Lucr. iii 931 ; Mart. ix 41, 9.

10. **aequalitas** (the fact that it applies to all alike) also governs *fati*.

II

A second reflexion may help you—that your grief can be of no service either to your dead brother or to yourself. If grief can help, I will shed with you what tears I have still left ; I will reproach Fortune for you. I will say to her : ‘ You have found out the heel of Achilles in Polybius. You might have taken from him wealth, friends, reputation, health, life itself ; and he would have suffered less.’

§ 1. 11. **adiuuerit**, ‘will help’ : like aor. optative with *ān* : see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 5.

13. **quem desideras**, ‘whose loss you grieve for’ : the classical meaning of the word : see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 8.

longum esse, ‘to last long.’

14. **si quicquam profecturi sumus**, ‘if we are likely to do any good’ : from *prōficere* : cf. Philemon (Kock vol. II p. 497) *εἰ τὰ δάκρυ’ ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἦν φάρμακον, | αἰεὶ θ’ ὁ κλαύσας τῶν πόνων ἐπάυετο, | ἡλαττόμεσθ’ ἂν δάκρυα δόντες χρυσίον’ | νῦν δ’ οὐ προσέχει τὰ πράγματ’ οὐδ’ ἀποβλέπει | εἰς ταῦτα, δέσποτ’, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, | ἐάν τε κλᾶης, ἂν τε μή, πορεύεται. | τί οὖν ποιεῖς πλέον ;*

15. **fortunae**, ‘calamity’ : i.e. his exile : see *Introd.* p. xxxii foll.

16. **etiamnunc**, ‘even yet’ : see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

17. **hos** = *meos*, as often.

exhaustos iam fletibus domesticis, ‘drained dry already by weeping for their owner.’

domesticis = *pro domino*, a man being *dominus* of his bodily parts and powers : cf. Ovid *Met.* xiii 137 *meaque haec facundia, siqua*

est, | quae nunc pro domino (i.e. pro me ipso), pro uobis saepe locuta est, | inuidia careat.

Sen. adopts a very different tone in writing to his mother : see *Introductio*. p. xxxiii.

18. **si modo** : cf. *Paul.* 12 § 7 ; *Helu.* 16 § 5 : common in Sen. : classical Latin would have either *si...est* or *modo...sit*. So the relative pron. is often followed by *modo* and ind. : cf. *Helu.* 11 § 4.

§ 2. 19. **conqueramur**, 'let us lament together' : that this is the meaning here, is proved by what follows.

atque adeo, 'or rather' : especially common in the earlier speeches of Cicero : e.g. *Verr.* ii 3, 142 *nova lege atque adeo nulla lege*. In Latin generally, *ac potius* is commoner.

21. **in eo homine**, 'in the case of that human being.'

te continuisse, 'to have curbed your fury.'

22. **munere tuo**, 'thanks to you' : like *beneficio tuo* : see n. to *Helu.* 17 § 4.

23. **felicitas...inuidiam** : the second is, as a rule, the shadow of the first : cf. *Mart.* v 6, 5 (addressing an imperial favourite) *et sis Inuidia fauente felix* (may you be prosperous and may Envy smile on you in spite of it!).

24. **ecce** = 'but now' : cf. *Paul.* 13 § 3.

saluo Caesare, 'while Caesar lived' : the use of *saluus* in the sense of *uiuus* or *superstes* is constant in all silver-age writers. Only the death of Claudius, says Sen., could have touched Polybius still more nearly.

26. **circuisses** : Pol. is compared to a besieged city, Fortune to the enemy who makes a circuit of the walls, to spy out weak points : cf. *Stat. Silu.* ii 6, 68 *gnara dolorum | Inuidia infelix animi uitalia uidit | laedendique uias*.

27. **faceres**, 'could you have done.'

§ 3. 28. **illi obnoxius**, 'dependent on it' : cf. *Tac. Ann.* xvi 6, 1 *amori uxoris obnoxius erat* : the dat. after *obnoxius* in this sense is generally of a bad thing, e.g. *obnoxius morbo*, 'liable to disease' ; and the same is implied here.

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1. **quantum potest** : i.e. he cannot always repel the emperor's munificence.

Lipsius is ironical in his note: '*credamus, et praesertim in liberto Claudii, qui omnes certatim aureos floccos ab illa pecude legebant.*'

2. **in tanta facilitate**, 'though it is so easy for him': this *in* is idiomatic and cannot be translated literally: cf. *Paul.* 9 § 3.

adquirendi, 'to make money': this absolute use of the verb is common in silver-age Latin: cf. *Juv.* 14, 125 *mox acquirendi docet insatiabile uotum*; *Quint.* xii 7, 10 *neque enim uideo, quae iustior adquirendi ratio quam ex honestissimo labore.*

3. **contemptum eius**, 'the power to despise it.'

§ 4. 5. **unum**, 'alone.' Considering how many powerful freedmen there were in the palace of Claudius, this statement seems rather imprudent in an exile's mouth.

in principali domo, 'in the palace': cf. *De Ben.* vi 32, 1.

§ 5. 9. **opinionem**=*famam, existimationem*: it is used by Cicero in this sense with a gen., e.g. *opinio liberalitatis* (a reputation for generosity) *De Off.* ii 32; but in the silver age it is freely used with both the senses of δόξα: cf. *De Ben.* ii 23, 3 *opinionem clientium timent* (they fear to pass for dependents): again, when Livia is described (*Dial.* vi 4, 3) as *opinionis suae custos diligentissima*, the meaning is not (as the Bohn translator supposes) that she was 'self-opinionated.'

10. **quoque**, 'even': though your powers of destruction are so great.

ipsa is not needed after *quoque* ('even') but is often added by Sen.: cf. 18 § 4; *Helu.* I § 3.

11. **liberalibus disciplinis**: see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 3.

12. **innutritus**: cf. *Pliny Paneg.* 16 (of Trajan) *innutritus bellicis laudibus.*

innatus: see n. to *inmorientem*, *Paul.* 20 § 2: the word implies that Pol. was 'born in a library' and that his parents were cultured people, just as Hamilcar, father of Hannibal who was *sanguini innatus* (*Dial.* iv 5, 4), was a man of blood.

14. **emineret**, 'it rose superior': *animus* is probably the subject, the metaphor of *fundatum* being preserved.

§ 6. 15. **longissimum illi ingenii aeuum fama promisit**: the mss. indicate this reading; but the separation of *ingen.* and *fama* is very harsh, even for Sen.: *illi ingenio* (Fickert) gives a simple sense; *aeuum ingenii* has been generally adopted.

id egit, 'he has made it his object': cf. *Paul.* 18 § 4.

16. **melioꝛe sui parte**, i.e. *animo*: cf. *Nat. Quæst.* i *prol.* § 14 *noſtri melioꝛ pars animus eſt*: the body is *pars peioꝛ* (or *peſſima*) *hominis*: cf. *Dial.* iv 14, 2 *athletæ, in uiliſſima ſui parte occupati*.

compoſitiſ: ſee n. to *Paul.* 12 § 4.

17. **eloquentiæ** means more than our 'eloquence,' as it is often uſed of written works: ſo Livy is called by Tacitus (*Agric.* 10) *eloquentiſſimus ueterum*, 'the beſt writer among the ancients'; and Suetonius includes under the *eloquentia* of Caſar not only hiſ ſpeeches but all hiſ writings, including hiſ Commentaries and hiſ treatiſe on Grammar (*Suet. Iul.* 55).

For the writings of Polybius, ſee *Introd.* p. xxiii.

18. **litteriſ honor**, 'reſpect for literature.'

20. **gratia**: 'grace' or 'charm' is regarded as the characteristic excellence of Greek, 'ſtrength' that of Latin: cf. Quint. xii 10, 35 *qui a Latinis exiget illam gratiam ſermonis Attici, det mihi in eloquendo eandem iucunditatem* (he muſt provide me with ſounds as melodious as thoſe of Greek).

maximiſ uiriſ, 'thoſe giantſ': Homer and Virgil, as the ſequel ſhows: again one feels the want of a definite article in Latin.

21. **contulit** clearly denotes a cloſer approach than *applicuit*: 'whoſe genius he haſ either rivalled, or...kept cloſe to.' Cicero would write *ad quorum ſe ingenia applicauit*.

§ 7. 24. **ferre te**, 'to endure your aſſaultſ.' Sen. is not quite logical: if Fortune haſ *no* mark for her aſſaultſ, then ſhe doeſ not pick out the virtuoſuſ as her chief mark.

25. **inter ipſa**, 'even at the time of...'

26. **quantulum erat tibi**, 'how little it would haue coſt you': cf. § 6.

28. **ratione certa**, 'on a fixed principle': the double antithetiſ, of the two verbſ and the two adverbſ, iſ characteristic. With thiſ deſcription of Fortune, cf. *Dial.* vi 10, 6 *ut uaria et libidinosa* (capriciouſ) *mancipioꝛumque ſuorum neglegens domina, et poeniſ et muneribuſ errabit*.

29. **temere**, 'without ſufficient reaſon.'

III

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He was a brother, in all respects, worthy of you: he understood the distinction he gained through you, and the responsibility. All that I can say is too weak for such a sorrow; but I am willing once again to reproach Fortune for her cruelty and caprice. Not even the favour of the emperor could save Polybius from such a blow.

§ 1. 1. **adiciamus ad has querellas...indolem**: cf. *Helu.* 15 § 2: *indolem interceptam* is the direct object of the verb.

indolem, 'promise': the word is properly used of the young animal or plant, not of anything inanimate; it suggests growth and development, not maturity.

3. **dignus fuit** cct.: I have marked what follows here with inverted commas, as I take it to be another formal remonstrance addressed to Fortune, which breaks off at l. 16.

5. **redditur illi**, 'is borne to his character.'

aequale, 'unvarying.'

6. **in tuum honorem**, 'in compliment to you': for this use of *in*, see n. to *Paul.* 1 § 1: elsewhere (*Paul.* 19 § 3) *Sen.* is severe on those who love at another's bidding.

§ 2. 7. **quod non libenter adgnosceres**, 'which you did not gladly recognise,' i.e. as like yourself: cf. *Dial.* vii 23, 2 *quod quisque agnouerit, tollat* (let everyone carry off what he recognises as his):

8. **bono**, 'good,' but **bonus**, 'kind': so *bonitas*, *Paul.* 13 § 6: there is a play on the two senses of the word.

9. **pietas**, 'natural affection.'

nacta materiam: cf. *Helu.* 6 § 2.

11. **iniuria**, 'by suffering wrong': noun, not adv.

numquam—minatus est, 'he never used your relationship to him as a threat against any man': i.e. he never said, when he was angry, 'I will tell my big brother, and then you will catch it!' The use of *te fratrem* for the danger threatened is bold: *tuam fratrem uindicantis iram* would be simpler but too long for *Sen.*

12. **modestiae** : a regular term of praise for the imperial freedmen, just as *ciuitas* is for similar qualities in the emperor himself.

14. **onus**, 'what a responsibility you laid upon them' : Pliny is fond of *onus* and *onero* in this sense : e.g. *Paneg.* 73 *onerasti futuros principes* (i.e. they will find it hard to live up to you).

§ 3. 16. **exemptus est** : sc. *felicitati*.

parum autem cet. : there is surely something very mechanical in this pumping up of a fresh set of reproaches against Fortune.

17. **indignari** denotes the expression of anger, not merely the feeling of it : see n. to *mirabuntur*, *Paul.* 3 § 1.

18. **paria uerba reperire** : cf. *Stat. Silu.* v 5, 49 *absumptae uires, et copia fandi | nulla mihi, dignumque nihil mens fulmine tanto | reperit : inferior uox omnis et omnia sordent | uerba*.

etiannunc, 'once again' : see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

§ 4. 23. **cruenta** = *crudeli* : it does not imply that the brother died a violent death : cf. *Lucan* iii 741 *cruentus...dolor*.

turbam : there were at least four brothers : *turba* is often used of a small number : cf. *Ovid Met.* i 354 (Deucalion speaking to Pyrrha) *terrarum...nos duo turba* (the population) *sumus* ; *ibid.* vi 199 *non tamen ad numerum redigar spoliata duorum, | Latonae turbam* (but in this case the word may perhaps be ironical).

24. **stipatam** expresses what we should call the 'solidarity' of the family : so *Lucretius* (i 610) denotes the composition of the atom, in which the parts are inseparable, by this word.

25. **turbare** is rather awkwardly used, so soon after *turbam*.

§ 5. 27. **antiqua**, 'of the good old times,' 'strict' : cf. *Paul.* 10 § 1 ; *Helu.* 12 § 4 ; 16 § 3 ; *Dial.* vi 1, 1 *nisi scirem...mores tuos uelut antiquum exemplar aspici*.

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1. **in felicitatis** cet. : I have inserted *in*, because, although it may be possible to explain *potentiã conseruatã abstinentiã*, it seems to me that *abstinentia* must be nom., in order to balance *innocentia* and *frugalitas*, the other virtues of Polybius : *summa* will then be nom. agreeing with *abstinentia*. The loss of *in* after *nihil* is natural enough.

2. **abstinentia** is)(*auaritia* : see n. to *Helu.* 14 § 3.

tutus, 'safe,' in the sense that the retirement of a student is safe from many dangers : cf. *Paul.* 19 § 1 ; *Helu.* 17 § 4.

3. **luget**, 'is in mourning' : see n. to *Paul.* 20 § 3. Polybius possesses every virtue; but that does not secure him against bereavement.

4. **in**, 'in the case of.' **reliquis** shows that at least two were left.

5. **solaciis**, i.e. his surviving brothers.

7. **propitio Caesare**, 'while the Emperor smiles upon him' : this ought to keep him safe from any sorrow : cf. *Stat. Silu.* v 1, 143 (of Abascantus, a freedman of Domitian, whose wife had died) *quid enim, quamvis infida levisque, | Caesare tam dextro, posset Fortuna timeri?*

sine dubio : used by Sen. with three meanings : (1) 'clearly,' as here ; *De Ben.* vi 23, 2 ; (2) 'it is true,' like *quidem*, in which case a clause follows introduced by *sed* or *uerum* : cf. *Helu.* 9 § 7 ; *Epp.* 53, 1 ; *Nat. Quaest.* vi 18, 5 ; (3) 'forsooth' : cf. *Dial.* v, 32, 1 *magnam rem sine dubio fecerimus, si seruolum infelicem in ergastulum miserimus* ; *Epp.* 99, 14 *sine dubio multum philosophia profecit, si puerum nutrici adhuc quam patri notiozem animo forti desideras* ; *Epp.* 48, 6. Quintilian uses the phrase repeatedly in the first two senses ; Tacitus (*Agric.* 45) has *sine dubio... tamen...* In many cases, e.g. Petron. c. 31 (*Tyria sine dubio est sed iam semel lota*), it is hard to determine whether the meaning is 'beyond doubt,' or 'it is true.'

impotens : cf. 16 § 2 and see n. to 1 § 3 : in *Octau.* 388 *impotens* (*potens* edd.) *Fortuna* should be read, I think, if the writer was trying to put an epithet from Seneca in Seneca's mouth.

IV

But to revile Fortune is fruitless, and to move her by our tears is impossible. Let us make an end of fruitless weeping. How much there is in human life to call forth our tears ! It is with good reason that man begins his earthly life with crying. If we have to weep often, let us weep in moderation.

§ 1. 11. **stant**, 'they remain fixed' : cf. *Paul.* 2 § 3 ; *Prop.* v 11, 4 *non exorato stant adamante uiae*.

12. **causa** = by the goodness of his cause: this, like *accusare*, is taken from the language of the law-court.

13. **parcunt**, 'let off'; **remittunt**, 'reduce the penalty': see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 4.

14. **illis** = τοῖς ἐκεί, 'to the dead.'

16. **primo quoque tempore**, 'as soon as possible': this phrase, which many Latin writers use, is remarkable because *quisque* does not bear its usual distributive sense: *optimus quisque* is 'all the best men'; but *primo quoq. temp.* refers to one time only, the earliest time.

17. **inanibus** has the emphasis: 'from what cannot console.'

amara libidine dolendi: persistence in grief gives a morbid pleasure to the bereaved: cf. *Dial.* vi 1, 7 *jit infelicis animi prava uoluptas dolor*.

§ 2. 19. **ratio**: reason should put an end to sorrow: cf. 18 § 6. The usual argument is, that time will do so, if reason does not, and this is unworthy of a rational being: cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* xii 10, 1 *consolationum multae uiae, sed illa rectissima: impetret ratio quod dies (time) impetratura est*. But Sen. here says that, if reason does not dry our tears, the state of human life (*fortuna*) will not.

22. **ambitio**, 'ambition,' the motive of the man who seeks advancement: it = *petitio honorum*: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 1.

23. **optauerat**, 'he had prayed for': see n. to *Paul.* 4 § 1.

24. **uoto suo** = the granting of his prayer: abl. of cause.

§ 3. 28. **quae—uoluit**, 'when she decreed that the first weeping of mankind should be the weeping of their birth-time': it would be clearer, if Sen. had written *primam nascentium hominum uocem fletum esse uoluit*; but he prefers the ingenious to the simple.

For two famous examples of this thought, cf. Lucr. v 222 *tum porro puer, ut saeuis proiectus ab undis | nauita, nudus humi iacet infans, indigus omni | uitali auxilio, ... uagituque locum lugubri complet, ut accumst | cui tantum in uita restet transire malorum*; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 2 *hominem tantum nudum et in nuda humo natali die abicit (Natura) ad uagitus statim et ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrimas, et has protinus uitae principio*.

1. **principio**: abl. of origin: cf. Lucan quoted on *Paul.* 14 § 3. **huic**, sc. *principio*.

2. **sic**, 'on these terms.'

4. **a tergo**: to us, 'ahead' is more natural; but Sen. thinks that trouble dogs us from behind: cf. *Dial.* vi 10, 4 (of misfortune) *instatur a tergo*; ix 11, 9 *quae sunt diuitiae, quas non egestas a tergo sequatur?*

5. **finire lacrimas**, 'to stop weeping once for all': cf. *Helu.* 16 § 2.

reseruare, 'to keep them for emergencies': *dispensare* would give the sense in a commoner way.

V

A third consolatory thought is this: whatever the condition of the dead, your brother cannot wish that you should suffer from grief for him and be unable to perform your services to the emperor. When living, he loved you as a brother, and looked up to you as a superior; is it possible that he, whose affection for you is undoubted, would wish you to suffer torments on his account?

Again, your example will have great influence on your surviving brothers: if they see you cheerful, or at least wearing the appearance of it, they will cheer up too.

§ 1. 8, 9. **illud quoque—cogitaueris**: he repeats exactly the formula of c. 2.

10. **cui praestari uidetur**, 'for whom it seems to be done,' i.e. to whom it appears to be a tribute.

11. **non intellegit**: i.e. if, as some hold, the dead have no feeling of pleasure or pain.

nulla... officii ratio est, 'there is no sense in a service...'

2. 15. **quid ergo**, 'well, then,' marks a step in the argument: cf. *Helu.* 5 § 2. Gertz has observed that *quid ergo?* in Sen. is always followed by a further question.

nemo = 'no one else': see n. to *Paul.* 4 § 2.

16. **animum**, 'disposition.'

17. **occupationibus**, not censured here, are defined as *studio* and *Caesare*: the first must mean the work done for the emperor: see *Introd.* p. xxvii.

19. **indulgentiam**, 'tenderness,' 'love': cf. *Helu.* 2 § 1.

21. **cultum...superiori**: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 1.

23. **intabescere**: cf. *Helu.* 16 § 5, and see n. to *immorientem*, *Paul.* 20 § 2.

si quis defunctis sensus est: cf. *Paul.* 18 § 5; *Cic. Phil.* ix 13 *si qui est sensus in morte*.

§ 3. 25. **uoluntas**, 'good-will.'

in dubio, 'conditionally.'

27. **adfectu**, 'affection': for other meanings, see n. to *Paul.* I § 1.

29. **impius**, 'unnatural,' 'unloving.'

30. **in hoc**, 'in his case.'

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1—3. **est, est, esse, est**: see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 9.

2, 3. **tibi, te, tuos** are all emphatic.

4. **conturbat**: cf. *Juv.* 6, 7 *tibi, cuius | turbauit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos. oculi turbati* are red and swollen; *oculi exhausti* have no tears left.

§ 4. 9. **rebus adfectis**, 'at a time of disaster': a word which is really neutral ('in a condition') gets to mean 'in bad condition' from *Livy* onwards: cf. 13 § 1; *Livy* vi 3, 2 *legati opem rebus adfectis orantes*.

10. **de industria**: see n. to *Helu.* 2 § 5.

11. **adumbrata laetitia**: cf. *Tac. Ann.* iv 31, 3 *nec occultum est, quando ex ueritate, quando adumbrata laetitia, facta imperatorum celebrentur*. *Cicero* too uses *adumbratus* as = *simulatus*.

§ 5. 15. **ex toto**: cf. 18 § 5: one of many such adverbs used by *Sen.*: *Cicero* uses *ex toto* but would hardly add *omnem*.

si minus, 'if not': common in *Sen.*, to introduce the second of two alternatives.

17. **honestum**, 'right.'

18. **animumque ex uultu tuo sument**: cf. *Stat. Silu.* ii 6, 52 (of a devoted attendant) *tecum tristisque hilarisque nec unquam | ille suus, uultumque tuo sumebat ab ore*: usually a reproach, as it is

the mark of the flatterer to appear to feel what others feel: cf. *Juv.* 3, 105 (of the flattering Greek) *potest aliena sumere uultum | a facie*. But in this case the brothers will really feel what Pol., by his fortitude, appears to feel.

19. **solacium, consolator**: Pol. is to be the first by his looks, the second by his words: this appears to be the distinction.

20. **maerori** is more than *dolori*: cf. *Cic. Ad Att.* xii 28, 2 *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec, si possem, uellem*.

VI

In the next place, consider that your high position, due to merit and to imperial favour, makes you conspicuous and robs you of a liberty which humbler men enjoy. You are watched by crowds; they are curious to see how you will behave in misfortune. There are many other things, many innocent amusements, which your high and laborious office makes impossible for you.

§ 1. 23. **tibi ipse renuntiaueris**, 'you remind yourself': cf. *Dial.* ii 10, 3 *renuntiat sibi*; *Quint.* xii 11, 10 *renuntient sibi*: for a different meaning, see n. to *Paul.* 7 §. 4.

24. **posse subduci**, 'can pass unnoticed': a bold use of *subduci* without such an addition as *oculis hominum*: cf. *Epp.* 97, 12 *fructu peccatorum utuntur, ipsa subducunt*; *Nat. Quaest.* vii 1, 1 *magnitudinem rerum consuetudo subducit*. For *surripi* used in a similar sense, cf. *Paul.* 10 § 3; *Epp.* 53, 1 *putavi tam pauca milia a Parthenope tua usque Puteolos surripi posse*.

personam, 'part to play'; an easy transition from the original meaning, the 'mask' of actors on the stage, through which the voice sounds louder.

25. **haec tibi tuenda est**, 'you must go on playing it': cf. *De Ben.* ii 17, 2 *hanc personam induisti: agenda est*.

26. **frequentia**: often used of a crowd of clients: they all bring condolences to Polybius.

28. **utrumne**: again § 2: the *ne* is superfluous and is not used by *Cic.* in indirect question: but he uses it in a direct question, *De Inuent.* i 51.

29. **uti dextere** is a certain correction of the mss.: cf. *Hor. Sat.* i 9, 45 *nemo dexterius fortuna est usus*.

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1. **obseruantur** : to see if there are tears in them.

§ 2. 2. **adfectus**, 'feelings': here esp. sorrow : see n. to *Paul.*

1 § 1.

3. **secretum** : a noun.

fortuna : either 'Fortune' or 'your high position' : but the latter would probably need *tua*.

5. **statim percussus**, 'the moment you were struck' : cf. *Helu.* 2 § 4 *statim nata*.

in gradu steteris, 'you stood your ground' : cf. *Dial.* ii 16, 2 *gladiatores fortissimos, quorum alter premit uolnus et stat in gradu, alter respiciens ad clamantem populum significat nihil esse*; Cic. *Ad Att.* xvi 15, 3 *mihī uidetur στρατόλλαξ ille* (that braggart captain) *deiectus de gradu*.

6. **in altiozem ordinem** : of an *ingenuus*, this would mean that he became at least an *eques*; but, as even this rank was rarely bestowed on freedmen, however great their actual power, the phrase probably denotes no titular promotion.

7. **tua studia** = your proficiency in literature.

9. **consumendum**, 'to be used up utterly.'

§ 3. 10. **in luctu pari**, 'though your loss is the same' : *luctus* here = *causa luctus*.

13. **ne conuertisses** = *non debuisti conuertere*, 'you ought not to have attracted' : because the subj. is jussive, the negative is *ne*, not *non* : cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii 3, 195 *ne emisses*; *Ad Att.* ii 1, 3 *aut ne poposcisses*. A large collection of jussive subjunctives is given by Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* ii 35.

For this sense of *conuertere*, see n. to *Helu.* 10 § 10.

14. **nunc**, 'as it is,' since you *have* attracted all eyes. *nunc* in this sense generally stands alone : but, for *at nunc*, cf. *Dial.* vi 20, 4; *Nat. Quaest.* iv 2, 25; Cic. *Ad Fam.* x 28, 1; and Lucretius often : for *nunc uero*, cf. *De Ben.* iv 3, 1; *Nat. Quaest.* iv 1, 3; for *nunc tamen*, *Helu.* 18 § 9; for *sed nunc*, *Nat. Quaest.* i 3, 4; *Juv.* 5, 141. Of *nunc autem* (so mss.) I have noticed only one instance in Sen.: *Nat. Quaest.* vii 18, 1.

praestandum est, 'you must make good' : cf. *Dial.* vii 20, 1 *non praestant philosophi quae loquuntur*.

16. **describunt**, 'take copies of them': probably this was the only way you could get them, if they could not be bought in the shops, and were reserved for the eyes of a favoured few.

fortuna, 'greatness': they don't want anything of your power and wealth; but they won't be happy till they get your works of genius.

17. **custodes...sunt**, 'keep a watch on.'

18. **itaque**: for its position in the sentence, see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 5.

19. **ut non multos...paeniteat**, 'without making many repent of...': they will feel that they are deceived in you.

For *ut non* after the negative sentence, cf. *Helu.* 12 § 4 (where *num quisquam* = *nemo*).

§ 4. 22. **in partem diei**: i.e. your sleep must end with *nox*: you have so much to do. Cf. *Stat. Silu.* iii 3, 106 (to Etruscus, who was financial secretary under ten successive emperors) *hinc* (because of your duties) *tibi rara quies animoque exclusa uoluptas, | exiguaeque dapes et numquam laesa profundo | cura mero.*

24. **statione**, 'guard': a military term, used here by a complimentary metaphor.

25. **uoluptaria**, 'for pleasure': the usual phrase is *animi causa peregrinari*; a 'scientific expedition' is *studii causa nauigare* (*Epp.* 87, 28). The Romans travelled chiefly as *mercatores* to make money.

spectaculorum: in Circus or theatre.

26. **diem disponere**: cf. *Mart.* v 20 *si tecum mihi, care Martialis, | securis liceat frui diebus, | si disponere tempus otiosum...*

27. **multa tibi non licent**: for the same words addressed, in the same sense, to Nero, cf. *De Clem.* i 8, 2.

28. **in angulo** = in obscurity: cf. 13 § 3; *Medea* 249 *te iam miseris angulum ac sedem rogo | latebrasque uiles; Agam.* 1056 *ultimo in regni angulo.*

§ 5. **magna seruitus est magna fortuna**: i.e. *noblesse oblige*: *fortuna* here as often is 'rank,' 'station': cf. *Pliny Paneg.* 83 *habet hoc magna fortuna, quod nihil tectum, nihil occultum esse patitur.*

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3. **libelli**, 'petitions': see Introd. p. xxx.

rerum...congestus, 'a pile of documents.'

4. **per ordinem suum**, 'in their right order.'

5. **animo** perhaps implies, what is probable in itself, that the emperor did not read the *libelli* when arranged; if he did, *oculis* would be more appropriate.

exigendus est, 'must be carefully considered': this is an extension of one sense of *exigere*, 'to weigh,' 'to measure,' by some standard. *digerendus* (so Gertz) is a better word here, as it suits *congestus* better.

7. **misericordiam**: see n. to *clementia* 13 § 2.

8. **lacrimas siccare** seems to have dropped out because of *lacrimae* following.

VII

But of all consolations the most efficacious is the thought of Caesar. Think of your obligations to him; think of the example he sets by his unselfish devotion to the duties of his post. Imitate him, as far as you can. While Fortune spares his life, you have no right to rail at Fortune.

§ 1. 10. **haec**, 'these thoughts,' points backwards, not forwards.

tamen, in spite of its place, belongs to *adiuuabunt*: fully expressed, the sentence would run, *quamquam leuioribus te remediis adiuuabunt, tamen adiuuabunt*: cf. Ovid *Fasti* ii 311 *aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles, | quae tamen Herculae sustinuerunt manus*, i.e. *quamquam Herculae manus erant, tamen umbracula sustinebant*: see Housman on *Juv.* 6, 640.

etiannunc, 'so far,' 'up to a certain point': see n. to *Paul.*

13 § 3.

adhuc is used exactly in this sense *De Ben.* vii 10, 3 *et tamen adhuc ista materiam aliquam habent* (i.e. gold and silver are at least tangible, so that desire of them is to a certain extent pardonable); cf. Quint. vi *prooem.* § 11 *sed haec spes adhuc: illa maiora cet.*

11. **cum**, 'but when ..': this is opposed to the previous clause. **omnium rerum**, 'everything else.'

12. **Caesarem cogita** : cf. *Helu.* 18 § 9 *patrem cogita* : though *hoc cogita* is common, the use of a personal object is bold.

indulgentiae : this word soon became a technical term for 'imperial favour,' as may be seen in Pliny's letters to Trajan. The papal chancery, inheriting the word from the imperial court, made it famous in a different sense.

13. **fidem**, 'loyalty.'

14. **incuruari**, 'to bend under your burden' : Sen. likes to use this word in a metaphorical sense : cf. *Dial.* v 5, 8 *non est magnus animus, quem incuruat iniuria*; *Epp.* 71, 26 *succidere mentem et incuruari et succumbere*; 82, 11; 104, 24; Pers. 1, 91 *me uolet incuruasse querella*.

si quis modo est implies (cf. *Dial.* ii 2, 2) that the story of Atlas is fabulous : cf. Lucan viii 159 *iam pelago Titan medios demissus ad ignes | nec quibus abscondit, nec si quibus exserit, orbem, | totus erat*, where *si* conveys that the existence of the *antipodes* is disputed.

15. **tradito** : so I read for *traditus* of mss. : the sense requires this, as the story of Atlas, whether true or not, was certainly traditional : for the same kind of textual error, cf. Juv. 10, 253 *cum quaerit ab omni, | quisquis adest, socio*, where P gives *socius*.

Bentley, in his copy, inserted a comma after *est* but left *traditus*.

mundus, 'the sky' : cf. *Helu.* 6 § 7.

17. **uigilia**, 'watching,' in the sense of 'keeping awake' : it is not here = *uigilantia*.

§ 2. 18. **delicias**, 'indolence,' has a shade of censure which *otium* has not.

20. **se Caesar orbi terrarum dedicauit** : for the ignominious facts of his accession, cf. Suet. *Claud.* 10 : Sen. here is as 'poetical' as Serjeant Buzfuz in his description of the decease of Mr Bardell.

sibi eripuit, 'he has torn himself away from himself,' i.e. he has cut himself off from all selfish objects.

23. **suum** = for himself : this is true of the planets in the sense that they have no power to vary their prescribed movements.

§ 3. **ad quendam... modum**, 'to a certain degree' : not completely, for the servant must not aspire to equal his master.

24. **utilitates**, 'emoluments' ; **studia**, 'books.'

26. **impertire te**, 'give a share of yourself,' i.e. of your time.

§ 4. 28. **cariorem tibi spiritu tuo** : cf. Val. Max. vii 6 E 3 *illis dulcia uitae pignora* (i.e. children) *proprio spiritu cariora sunt*.

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1. **saluo** : see n. to 2 § 2.

2. **incolumi** = *saluo*.

5. **omnibus** : masc. : the arrangement is 'chiastic' : *omnibus* corresponds to *tui* (l. 3), *omnia* to *nihil*.

6. **piissimis** : Cicero objected to this superlative when used by Antony : *Phil.* 13, 43 *tu porro ne pios quidem sed piissimos quaeris, et, quod uerbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam diuinam pietatem nouum inducis* : it occurs fairly often in silver-age writers : cf. 15 § 4, and see n. to *Helu.* 13 § 7.

VIII

While engaged in your duties for Caesar, you will be safe from sorrow ; the time of danger will be when you go home to rest. You must find protection in literature. Homer and Virgil, who owe so much to you, will repay their debt. Write a history of Caesar's reign. As your sorrow gets less, you will return to your lighter vein and write us more fables.

§ 1. 9. **monstrabo**, 'I will prescribe' : the technical word used of the *medicus* : see n. to *Helu.* 17 § 2.

etiamnunc, 'further' : see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

10. **familiaris**, 'intended rather for private life.'

12. **numen** : i.e. Caesar.

13. **omnia in te**, 'all the feelings of your heart.'

§ 2. 16. **uacare a**, 'to be free from,' 'to be without.'

17. **studiis**, = *litteris*, includes both reading and writing.

19. **antistitem** : see n. to *Paul.* 14 § 5.

uindicent, 'let them protect' you against the insidious attacks of grief.

20. **quam tu—meruisti** : cf. 11 § 5 : Polybius had translated Homer into Latin and Virgil into Greek, thus spreading the fame of the two poets, and increasing 'the public stock of harmless pleasure' : see *Introd.* p. xxiii.

22. **quam scripserant**=*quam quibus scripserant*: thanks to Polybius, Romans will now have Homer, and Greeks Virgil, through the medium of translations.

23. **tutum, tuendum**: the play on words is no doubt intended.

24. **tunc**, 'at that time' of domestic retirement: not 'next,' which would be expressed by *tum*.

Caesaris tui, 'of your beloved sovereign': cf. *Drusi sui* 15 § 5.

opera=*res gestas*, i.e. the history of the reign of Claudius.

25. **domestico praeconio**, 'with the praise of a member of his household,' who would know the facts, though he might possibly take a partial view of them: Cic. has the same phrase *De Or.* ii 86.

26. **quantum potes**, 'with all your power': again *Helu.* 19 § 3. But here Sen. may be hinting that the task is beyond human power.

componere: see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 4.

nam cet.: there is a slight ellipse: <your position makes you the right man to do this>: 'for he himself, better than anybody, will give you both theme and example of the way to write history.'

optime is best taken with *dabit*: cf. 17 § 2 *optime imitaberis*; *Helu.* 16 § 7 *optime sequeris*.

27. **materiam**: Claudius did little campaigning in person, and had done none at this time: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 17 *expeditionem unam omnino suscepit eamque modicam*: this was the invasion and permanent occupation of Britain, where he remained only 16 days, in 43 A.D.

28. **exemplum**: for Claudius was a historian himself: see *Introd.* p. xxix.

§ 3. **te eo usque producere**, 'to push you on to the point of...'

29. **fabellas** are the same as *Aesopos logos*—fables, like those attributed to Aesop, in which animals speak: Quintilian calls them *Aesopi fabellae* (i 9, 2) and *Αἰσωπεῖοι λόγοι* (v 11, 20); Aristophanes (*Pax* 127) speaks of *Αἰσώπου λόγοι*: they are called also *μῦθοι* and *αἶνοι*.

intemptatum Romanis ingeniis: so Pliny (*praef.* § 1) calls his 'Natural History' *nouitium Camenis Quiritium opus*. Phaedrus, the freedman of Augustus, had already written the *fabulae Aesopae* which we possess: see *Introd.* p. xxiii.

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1. **ingeniis** = *scriptoribus* : cf. *Paul.* 3 § 1.

uenustate, 'charm,' or 'wit.'

conectas, 'put together,' refers, I think, to parts of the same *fabella*.

2. **hilariora studia**, 'light kind of literature' : cf. *leuiora studia*, *Helu.* 20 § 1.

4. **argumentum corroborati** : see n. to *Paul.* 16 § 3.

5. **seuerioribus scriptis**, e.g. historical composition.

§ 4. 6. **illis**, 'the former,' **haec**, 'the latter' : so usually, though there are exceptions to the rule : see Housman on Manilius ii, p. 99. **aegrum**, 'afflicted.'

7. **secum reluctantem** is not Latin for *sibi r.* : in view of *Helu.* 18 § 9 *sequi se iubebit*, I think Sen. may have written here *sequi reluctantem* : the inf. after *reluctari* is not found till later, but does not seem impossible for him ; he uses the inf. after *uitare*, *Paul.* 14 § 4. Or, the prefix may have been added to *luctantem* by error of the copyists : *secum luctantem* would offer no difficulty.

auocabit, 'will distract.'

rerum, 'of the subject.'

8. **remissa fronte**, 'with a brow unbent,' i.e. with a smile on your face : cf. Mart. iv 14, 11 *nec torua lege fronte sed remissa | lasciuis madidos iocis libellos*.

9. **commentanda sunt**, 'ought to be made up' : the word is here properly used of writing fables, but does not necessarily imply *materia commenticia*.

non feret, 'it will not endure' : this idiom occurs oftenest in the phrase *non tulit* (he refused to stand it).

sibi ab omni parte constiterit, 'is on every side consistent with itself,' i.e. 'is entirely its own master' : cf. *Dial.* iii 8, 6 *at irati quidam constant sibi et se continent*.

11. **exercere**, 'to work it hard' : cf. *Paul.* 12 § 1.

temperare, 'to bring it to a middle state,' a *temperamentum* or *κρᾶσις* which avoids either extreme.

IX

If you grieve for your own loss, you are selfish. If you grieve on his account, this is folly; for either he has ceased to feel and therefore has no pain, or he enjoys a higher and happier life than he lived on earth. He may have lost much that was good; but consider how many possibilities of evil he has escaped. All the prizes for which men strive involve more risks than they bring happiness. Life is a stormy sea, and death the only harbour. Your brother died while Fortune still smiled upon all your family. He has not left you, but gone before you.

§ 1. 13. **utrumne**: here in direct question: so Hor. *Epod.* 1, 7; see n. to 6 § 1.

meo nomine, 'on my own account': cf. *Paul.* 20 § 4.

14. **perit indulgentiae iactatio**, 'the pretence of affection is idle.'

16. **honestus** = unselfish: here, as often, *honestum* is)(*utile. utilitatem*, 'personal advantage.'

18. **calculos ponere** = *computare*, to reckon gains and losses.

§ 2. 20. **esse**, 'is true.' **iudicem**: verb.

The dilemma which follows is probably taken from Plato *Apol.* 40 B *δυσὶν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάναι· ἢ γὰρ οἶον μηδὲν εἶναι μηδ' αἰσθησὶν μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἢ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οἴσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον*: he proceeds to show that both alternatives are desirable.

nam, like *γάρ* so used, is best omitted in English.

21. **euasit omnia uitae incommoda**: cf. *Stat. Silu.* ii 1, 220 *ast hic, quem gemimus, felix hominesque deosque | et dubios casus et caecae lubrica uitae | effugit.*

22. **fuerat** has the sense of *erat*: commoner in the poets: e.g. *Ovid Pont.* iii 3, 37 *nec satis id fuerat; stultus quoque carmina feci.*

nasceretur: *natus est* would be used here in classical Latin, as there is no idea of purpose: the irregular use begins with Livy and is common in Sen.: cf. *Dial.* vi 19, 5 *mors nos in illam tranquillitatem, in qua antequam nasceremur iacuumus, reponit.*

For the thought, cf. *Lucr.* iii 972 *respice item quam nil ad nos anteacta uetustas | temporis aeterni fuerit, quam nascimur ante. |*

hoc igitur speculum nobis Natura futuri | temporis exponit post mortem denique nostram; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 188 *omnibus a supremo die eadem quae ante primum, nec magis a morte* (after death) *sensus ullus aut corpori aut animae quam ante natalem.*

locum, 'condition.'

§ 3. 26. **si** introduces the second horn of the dilemma: *sin* would make this clearer. **est** is emphatic.

animus, 'the soul': in most writers *anima* is commoner in this sense.

27. **carcere**: that the soul is imprisoned in the body was said by Plato (*Phaedr.* 250 C ἀσήμενοι τούτου, δ νῦν σῶμα περιφέρουτες ὀνομάζομεν, ὀστρέου τρόπον δεδεδεσμευμένοι) and repeated by many: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 65, 16 *corpus hoc animi pondus ac poena est: premente illo urgetur, in uinculis est, nisi accessit philosophia et illum respirare iussit*; Lucan vi 720 *umbra* (the ghost), | *exanimis artus inuisaque claustra timentem | carceris antiqui* (i.e. of its former body). Cf. *Helv.* 11 § 7.

sui iuris, 'its own master': cf. *Paul.* 5 § 3.

28. **gestit**, 'exults,' 'triumphs': cf. *Dial.* vi 23, 2 *nec unquam magnis ingeniis cara in corpore mora est: exire atque erumpere gestiunt.*

29. **ex loco superiore** is here to be understood literally, 'from a higher place': so *fragm.* 62 *cum infinita conuicia ex superiori loco ingerenti Xanthippae restitisset*: more often it means 'in a position of superiority': so *Dial.* ii 5, 6; v 40, 5; *Epp.* 41, 4 (of a living man) *si hominem uideris, ex superiore loco homines uidentem, ex aequo deos.*

Both meanings are true of the Roman magistrate sitting on his *tribunal* to deal with culprits or suppliants.

diuina, τὰ μετέωρα, i.e. the phenomena of the heavenly bodies. This is the form of future happiness regularly held out by Stoic writers for the souls of the good: cf. *Dial.* vi 25, 2 *parens tuus, Marcia, illic* (in heaven) *nepotem suum...uicinorum siderum meatus docet*: yet Marcia's father, Cremutius Cordus, had been a historian, not an astronomer, in his lifetime. And so, in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* the younger Scipio in his dream receives a lecture on astronomy from the spirit of the elder Scipio. It is a strange conception of eternal bliss. I suppose that Ethics, the other main

subject of philosophy, had no further interest for souls beyond the reach of sin.

30. **frustra quaesierat** does not mean that the dead man had studied astronomy, but that men, while they live, cannot solve these mysteries: cf. Lucr. i 152 *multa in terris fieri caeloque tuentur, | quorum operum causas nulla ratione uidere | possunt.*

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2. **nullus est**, 'does not exist at all.'

§ 4. 4. **cum maxime circumfusus**, 'which just then were showered upon him': *cum maxime* is an adv. of time: cf. *Paul.* 17 § 1; Pliny *Epp.* vi 31, 15 *fit cum maxime portus* (a harbour is being made at this very time).

bonis caruisse: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i 30 *illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque macrens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, uitae commodis priuatum arbitramur.*

5. **caruisse**, 'to have lost': cf. *De Ben.* iii 17, 2 *on tu infelicem uocas, qui caruit acie? carere*, 'to be without,' expresses the same thing: see n. to *Helu.* 6 § 2.

8. **processibus**, 'advancement' in a material sense: cf. *De Ben.* i 11, 5 *honor et processus ad altiora tendentium*: see Mayor on *Juv.* 1, 39.

9. **leuitas**, 'fickleness.'

11. **plus illi remissum est**, 'he has got off more.'

§ 5. 14. **non desiderat**: with the whole passage, cf. Lucr. iii 898 *'misero misere' aiunt 'omnia ademit | una dies infesta tibi tot praemia uitae.' | illud in his rebus non addunt 'nec tibi carum | iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'*

15. **fortuna**=the gifts of fortune.

18. **ad quae**, 'at the sight of which.'

19. **cum labore possidentur**, 'involve trouble to their possessor': see n. to *Paul.* 17 § 4.

21. **et premunt**, 'they also crush': perhaps an allusion to the story of Tarpeia (*Livy* i 11).

plus minantur quam prosunt, 'they presage more evil than they bring good': (the words might mean 'they perform less good than they promise,' but this is less well suited to the context).

23. **ut**, 'supposing that.' Yet the uneasiness of the rich and powerful does seem to arise from their fear of what may happen: so that *timeatur* appears to have the sense of *timendum sit*.

§ 6. 26. **omnis uita** : i.e. < they tell you that > all life...

27. **proiecti**, usually said of the ship-wrecked sailor, is here applied to the voyager at the mercy of storms.

alternis aestibus cet. : there are two distinct dangers: (1) the changes of tide, (2) the rising and falling of great waves.

reciprocum : often used of the ebb and flow of the tide.

30. **pendemus**, 'we hang,' on the top of the wave.

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1. **aliquando**, 'at some time or other.'

§ 7. 4. **ne inuideris** : the meaning is : to wish your brother back, is to be jealous of his happier state.

7. **prolem** : Claudius was married four times : some of his children died early : those to whom Sen. refers here are (1) Antonia, a daughter by Paetina, (2) Octavia and (3) Britannicus, the children of Messalina, both victims of Nero. Nero is not included as one of the *proles* : he was not adopted till 50 A.D., before which time Sen. was restored from exile (Tac. *Ann.* xii 25, 1).

9. **mutaret** : for the mood, see n. to *nasceretur* § 2.

stantem cet. : the second part of the figure seems inconsistent with the first : Fortune is represented first as a state of happiness which stands till it is overthrown, then as a goddess showering benefits, like Copia from her horn.

10. **plena manu** = 'generously' : cf. *De Ben.* i 7, 2 *plena manu datur*; *Epp.* 33, 6 : 120, 10; *Apocol.* 4 § 2 *Lachesis fecit illud plena manu*; Cic. *Ad Att.* ii 25, 1 *quam plena manu nostras laudes in astra sustulit!*; Petron. c. 43 *manu plena, uncta mensa.*

11. **ex humili**, sc. *loco*.

§ 8. 12. **emicuit** : cf. *emicaturus*, *Helu.* 11 § 6; Ovid *Met.* i 26 (of *aether*) *ignea conuexi uis et sine pondere caeli | emicuit* : the soul of the good man, at death, 'flashes forth' to join its kindred element in the fiery *aether* above the moon : *prosiluit* is said of Pompey's soul (Lucan ix 3) in the same sense.

quisquis ille est, 'whatever that be' : the Stoics were not agreed in their account of the destiny of the soul, but, according to the prevailing view, the *aer* (*qui medius inter lunam et terras est*; *Nat. Quaest.* i 1, 12) was a kind of Purgatory for the less virtuous, and therefore less buoyant, souls of men : see n. to *Paul.* 19 § 1 :

and cf. *Dial.* vi 25, 1 *integer ille, nihilque in terris relinquens sui, fugit et totus excessit: paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgatur et inhaerentia vitia excutit, deinde ad excelsa sublatus inter felices currit animas.*

13. **sinu**, 'refuge.'

14. **rerum naturae bona**: called in a similar passage (*Dial.* vi 25, 2) *arcana naturae*.

16. **lucem...sinceriorem**: so Gertz for *securiorem* of mss.: cf. Lucan ix 11 (of Pompey's soul in heaven) *postquam se lumine uero | impleuit*; Sen. *Epp.* 93, 5 *uidit ueram lucem*.

§ 9. 17. **illo**, 'to that place' (see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 10), *iter est* being = *eundem est*: cf. Stat. *Silu.* ii 1, 218 *quicquid init ortus, finem timet: ibimus omnes, | ibimus*.

18. **non reliquit** cet.: cf. *Epp.* 99, 7 *quem putas perisse, praemissus est*.

19. **mihī crede**: cf. *Paul.* 7 § 5; 18 § 3: often in Sen.: *crede mihī* is rare: it occurs *Dial.* v 34, 1.

in ipsa necessitate: cf. Pliny *Epp.* i 12, 2 *in illis qui morbo finiuntur, magnum ex ipsa necessitate solacium est*.

20. **in tam obscura...ueritate**, 'where the truth is so hard to see': the idiomatic use of *in*: see n. to *Paul.* 9 § 3.

21. **inuoluta**: cf. *De Ben.* vii 1, 5 *inuoluta ueritas in alto latet. diuinat*, 'guesses,' i.e. guesses right.

utrumne: see n. to 6 § 1.

22. **consuluerit** has the sense of *pepercerit*, 'has dealt kindly with': cf. Lucan iii 334 *fatum si consulat urbi* (if Fortune spares Rome).

X

Here is another thought to comfort you. Instead of brooding over your brother's death, think how fortunate you are to have had such a brother and to have enjoyed his affection for so long. Dwell on the recollection of past happiness. Nature did not give him to you, but only lent him; she does you no wrong if she fixes her own time for the repayment of her loan.

§ 1. 24. **cogitantem** = *si cogitaueris*: the constr. is a little irregular, but Sen. felt that *si cogitaueris* had been repeated often enough: cf. 2 § 1; 5 §§ 1 and 4.

26. **uti fruique** suggests the legal term *usus-fructus*, which is defined as *ius alienis rebus utendi fruendi, saluā rerum substantiā* (Paul. *Dig.* vii 1, 1).

§ 2. 27. **sui** refers to the giver, not to the subject of the sentence.

arbitrium, 'the power to deal with...'

28. **danti** = τῷ δόντι: but Latin has neither def. article nor past participle active. Latin has just half as many participles as Greek, three against six; and the silver-age writers try at times to make one participle do the work of two: thus Sen. (*Dial.* vi 26, 1) says of the historian Cremutius Cordus, *proscribentes in aeternum ipse proscripsit*, as if the history was written at the time of the proscription by the Triumvirs: but *proscribentes* is intended to stand for τοὺς προγράψαντας.

lucri loco habet, 'treat as gain': cf. *De Ben.* v 17, 7 *quanto satius est non aliorum annos computare sed suos benigne aestimare et in lucro ponere!*

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1. **quod**, 'the fact that': not the relative.

4. **et** = *etiam* (not 'both').

praeteritis, sc. *bonis*: cf. *De Ben.* iii 4, 1 *hoc loco reddendum est Epicuro testimonium, qui adsidue queritur, quod adversus praeterita simus ingrati, quod quaecumque percepimus bona, non reducamus nec inter uoluptates numeremus, cum certior nulla sit uoluptas quam quae iam cripi non potest*. Though Sen. was a Stoic by profession, he had a great admiration for the life, and for many of the doctrines, of Epicurus.

§ 3. 7. **habet, habuisse**: the contrast of tenses is characteristic.

9. **fluit et transit** cet.: much the same language was used of present time *Paul.* 10 § 6.

11. **animus**, 'our thoughts.'

12. **pertractandum est**, 'must be ruminated over.'

14. **uoluptatum** is governed by both the other nouns.

§ 4. 18. **mancipio**, 'in perpetuity': either abl. of manner, or predicative dat.: *mancipium*, 'absolute ownership,' is opposed to *usus*, 'temporary enjoyment': cf. *Lucr.* iii 971 *uitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu*.

19. **cum uisum est**, 'when she thought good.'

nec tuam in eo satietatem secuta est, 'nor was she grieved by your having had enough of him.' *in eo*, lit. 'in his case.' *secuta*: i.e. the thing she kept in view was not your feeling: cf. *De Ben.* iv 9, 2 *nostram utilitatem in beneficiis dandis sequimur*: this use of *sequi* is found in all periods of Latin: cf. *Lucr.* i 156 *quod sequimur iam rectius inde | perspiciemus*.

§ 5. 22. **gratuitum**, 'without interest.'

24. **uoluit**, sc. *exigere*.

26. **condicio**, 'terms.'

27. **subinde**: see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 8.

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§ 6. 1. **breuior uoto tuo fuerit**, 'it did not last as long as you desired.'

2. **boni consule**, 'make the most of': in this common phrase the gen. is perhaps partitive: 'consider as making part of what is good.' The reverse is *in malam partem accipere*.

3. **humanum**, 'part of man's lot.'

4. **inter se consentaneum est**: the subject being singular, the use of *inter* here is remarkable: it would be more correct to say that the two feelings are not *inter se consentanea*.

XI

You cannot justly complain of the suddenness of his death. Nature makes no concealment of what awaits us: she gives us plenty of warnings, but we do not heed them. The example of Xenophon is one for all to follow. Death awaits all men alike, and all things. Homer and Virgil, whom you know so well, teach this on every page. In translating them, your language was high and bold; do not belie it by your conduct now.

§ 1. 7. **at** = 'you say that...': cf. *Helv.* 9 § 1: *at enim* is often so used.

8. **uoluntaria**, 'wilful': it seems to have the sense of *pertinax*, but this sense of *uoluntarius* is unusual.

9. **nulli se necessitatis suae gratiam facturam esse**, 'that she will grant to none a dispensation from her stern decree.' This constr. (*tibi gratiam facio huius rei*, 'I excuse you from this') is found in Latin of all periods: cf. *Epp.* 10, 4 *uotorum tuorum licet dis gratiam facias* (you may excuse the gods from answering your prayers); *De Ben.* ii 2, 1: it is used especially in the case of a 'dispensation' from an oath: cf. *Plaut. Rud.* 1414 *iuris iurandi uolo | gratiam facias*; *Suet. Tib.* 35 *equiti R. iuris iurandi gratiam fecit*: or from a law, as here, and *Suet. Dom.* 14 *ut edicti...gratiam facere...compulsus credatur*.

There are a few instances in which the phrase has a quite different sense: e.g. *Livy* iii 41, 4 *factā per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratiā quae uellet*, where *gratia* = *potestate*. See *Madv.* on *Cic. De Fin.* ii 64.

12. **aliud agimus**, 'pay no attention': cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vii 16, 1 (of authors) *quidam lectorem, aliud acturum* (who would not attend) *si per cotidiana duceretur, miraculo excitant*; *Pliny Nat. Hist.* xi 82 (of the spider in her web) *quam remotus a medio aliudque agentis similis!* *aliud agere* is the opposite of *hoc agere*.

13. **tota uita**: abl. of duration of time.

14. **ista** (= 'the explanation') agrees with the predicate by attraction.

16. **precario**, 'on sufferance,' 'as a favour': this word (and *cum uenia*) is regularly opposed to *pro iure suo* which is said of a person acting in his own right: cf. 10 § 5; *Epp.* 88, 27 *non est ars sui iuris, cui precarium fundamentum est* (i.e. geometry is not an independent science, because the truth of the axioms is granted as a favour).

§ 2. 18. **ego cum genui** cet.: cf. *Cic. Tusc. Disp.* iii 28 *uidentur enim omnia repentina grauiora. ex hoc et illa iure laudantur*:

ego cum genui, tum morituros sciui et ei rei sustuli.
praeterea ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Graeciam,
sicbam me in mortiferum bellum, non in epulas, mittere.

These lines come from the *Telamo*, a tragedy of Ennius.

By the older commentators the saying is attributed to Anaxagoras and to Xenophon: cf. *Val. Max.* v 10, E 1: if the reference is to one of them, *fortiter mori* seems most applicable to Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, who fell in the battle of Mantinea 362 B.C.: *Sen.*

refers to Gryllus, father of Xenophon, *De Ben.* iii 32, 3. I suspect that Sen. has confused the quotation from the play with the historical fact about Gryllus.

21. **quid** governs *noui*.

§ 3. 24. **rem maioris prudentiae** = words which show greater wisdom : gen. of quality.

For *rem* = *uocem* (which Gertz would prefer), cf. *De Ben.* vii 11, 2 *ingentem rem ab illo audiui* (and the words follow).

25. **et huic rei sustuli**, 'and I reared him for this purpose.' *tollere* was said of the Roman father, who, by lifting the new-born child from the ground, signified his intention of rearing it : cf. *Stat. Silu.* ii 1, 78 *raptum te protinus aluo | sustulit exultans*.

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1. **in procinctu stet**, 'be ready for action' : cf. *Epp.* 74, 30 *honestum* (virtue) *securum et expeditum est, in procinctu stat* : a military phrase : so *in procinctu habere* = *paratum habere* : cf. *De Clem.* i 1, 4 *seueritatem abditam at clementiam in procinctu habeo* ; *Quint.* x 1, 2 *nisi in procinctu paratamque ad omnes casus habuerit eloquentiam*.

I suppose that Milton had both these idioms in mind, when he ventured to write (*P. L.* vi 19) 'war in procinct.'

2. **quod incertum est** = which may come at any time.

§ 4. 4. **ducum progeniem** probably refers to the sons of Aemilius Paulus who make their appearance in most condolences addressed to bereaved persons : cf. 14 § 5 ; *Dial.* vi 13, 3 *Paulus circa illos nobilissimi triumphii dies, quo uinctum ante currum egit Persen, duos filios in adoptionem dedit, duos, quos sibi seruauerat, extulit* (buried).

9. **uita**, while a suitable subject for *deserit* and *relinquit*, is less suitable for *emittit* : there *natura* would be more appropriate.

11. **alio atque alio tempore** is a variation for *alii alio tempore* : cf. § 5.

§ 5. 14. **quae...celebrata sunt**, 'the fame of which has been spread abroad,' because Pol. had made them accessible to more people.

15. **utriuslibet auctoris**: Homer or Virgil: it is often said that *auctor* never is used as = *scriptor*; but surely it is so here.

16. **ita resoluisti** cet., 'you have so transmuted, that, though their metrical form has disappeared, their charm is fully preserved nevertheless.' It appears therefore that Pol. had translated Homer into Latin prose and Virgil into Greek prose.

18. **alia**: one would expect *altera*.

20. **alienam orationem**, 'the foreign language': e.g. to Homer, Latin is *aliena oratio*, 'the speech of other people.'

21. **nullus liber**: 'Homer' contains 48 *libri*, and Virgil twelve (the context suggests that his *Aeneid* only was translated).

erit = *inuenietur esse*: see n. to *Paul.* 6 § 4.

23. **ex alia atque alia causa**, 'for different reasons in different cases': cf. § 4.

§ 6. 24. **lege** = read and mark: *lege...pudebit = si leges, pudebit*.

intonueris: *intonare* and *tonare* are used metaphorically (1) of an angry man, speaking loud (Livy iii 48, 3; Juv. 6, 485); (2) of a writer of epic verse or tragedy: cf. Mart. vii 23, 1 *bella tonanti* (of Lucan); viii 3, 14 *paribus bella tonare modis*; Stat. *Silu.* v 3, 96 *qui furias regumque dolos auersaque caelo | sidera terrifico super intonuere cothurno*: here the word implies that Pol. preserved the epic tone in his translations.

25. **rebus**, 'over the theme' of Homer and Virgil. For *rebus* Bentley proposed *uerbis*, abl. of the instrument: this is a more usual constr., and *ingentibus uerbis* is so used by Tac. *Dial.* 35: but, for *rebus*, cf. Quint. i 8, 5 (he is saying that Homer and Virgil are the best authors for children when they begin to read) *sublimitate heroici carminis animus assurgat, et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat*.

26. **ne commiseris ut**, 'do not let it happen, that...': cf. *Dial.* iv 6, 2 *nec unquam committet uirtus, ut uitia, dum compescit, imitetur*: a favourite turn with Cicero.

27. **exempto modo** = *sine modo*, 'without bounds': cf. Lucr. i 976 *exempta fine*; Sen. *Phaedra* 561 *dempto fine*.

XII

Think rather of the dear ones you have left. You have lost one and kept many; and they need your support and expect it, to get the better of their sorrow. And again I must speak of the Emperor, your chief source of comfort. I doubt not he has already done much to console you; but the mere sight of him, or even the thought of him, should be enough to bring relief. Heaven long preserve our gracious Emperor!

§ 1. 5. **uxorem, filium**: the only mention of them: it is rather surprising that more is not made of them as sources of consolation, in view of *Helu.* c. 18.

6. **horum** are the same as *istos* (l. 10) and *illis* (l. 13): the best writers, Latin or Greek, do not confuse pronouns in this way: see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 4: when Thucydides uses *αὐτὸς* and *ἐκεῖνος* in the same sentence of the same man (vi 61, 4), the second is emphatic.

hac tecum portione Fortuna decīdit, 'Fortune has compounded with you, in consideration of this percentage': a phrase from commerce, of the creditor who releases a debtor on payment of a certain fraction of the debt: here Fortune, content with one death, spares the other precious lives: cf. *Helu.* 16 § 1; *De Ben.* iv 39, 2 *appellare debitorem ad diem possum, et, si foro cesserit* (if he is bankrupt), *portionem feram*; *Mart.* ix 3, 5 *conturbabit Atlas, et non erit uncia tota, | decidat tecum qua pater ipse deum* (i.e. Jupiter will not be able to pay 1s. 6d. in the pound).

8. **omnibus** is awkward, because it comes so near *unus* without being opposed to it: hence, I suppose, the conjecture of Gertz: *uideatur omnibus* is in itself unobjectionable: cf. *Helu.* 12 § 4.

9. **unus dolor**, 'grief for one.'

§ 2. 11. **ultra** comes near to meaning 'on the contrary': it is often used to express that the part which you would expect the agent to play has actually been reversed: cf. *Epp.* 77, 8 the dying Marcellinus *summulas distribuit servis et illos ultra consolatus est* (he did to them what they should have done to him); *Suet. Iul.* 63 *ultra ad deditionem hortatus* (i.e. Caesar might naturally have surrendered to a superior force; but, far from that, he actually summoned *them* to surrender); *Tac. Hist.* i 71

Celsus, constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus, exemplum ultro imputavit (i.e. he actually claimed credit for the conduct charged against him). The conduct of Socrates on his trial is a typical case of such action; and a Latin writer, in describing it, would be likely to use *ultro*.

13. **doctrina**, 'acquired knowledge,' is regularly) (**ingenium**, 'natural ability': Pol. has both.

16. **diuidere**, 'to distribute': cf. *Paul.* 3 § 1.

exigua... subsidere, 'only a small fraction of it ought to be left with you': for the abl. *parte*, see n. to 13 § 1.

§ 3. 17. **totiens**, as often in Sen., has the sense of *saepe*: see n. to *Paul.* 18 § 4.

18. **tibi offerre Caesarem**, 'to press the thought of Caesar upon you': see c. 7.

19. **beneficiis...quam armis**: he probably refers to such measures as that by which the *ius honorum* was granted to Gallia Comata: part of the speech made by Claudius on that occasion (48 A.D.) is preserved in the Lyons inscription: see Furneaux, *Tac. Ann.* ii p. 208 foll.

It seems safe to infer that this sentence was written before the invasion of Britain in 43 A.D.

24. **derige**: so Gertz for *dirige* of mss.: *dirige oculos* (point the eyes in different directions) would be properly said to a squinter: 'whenever the meaning is to 'point or aim down' or 'to make straight,' *derigo* should be written, the oldest mss. generally giving this form. But by the 5th century A.D. the degeneracy of pronunciation caused *derigo* and *dirigo* to be confused" Nettleship, *Lexicogr. sub u.*

25. **numinis**: cf. 8 § 1.

26. **praestringet**, 'will dazzle': this metaphorical sense is common: for the original sense, cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* vii 64 *acies ferri praestringitur* (the edge of steel is blunted).

§ 4. 27. **diebus ac noctibus**, 'night and day': cf. *De Ben.* vii 14, 6: this abl. of duration of time is regular in the silver age: but Cic. uses *noctes diesque, noctes et dies, et dies et noctes, dies noctesque* (*Madv.* on *De Fin.* i 51); and *Lucr.* and *Virgil* have *noctes atque dies*. Once in the *Dialogues* (vii 1, 2) Sen. has *dies noctesque* in this sense. He also uses *per diem ac noctem*, e.g. *Nat. Quaest.* vi 16, 3.

28. **numquam deicis animum** : this serves to explain how Pol. can be said *intueri Caesarem* at night.

29. **aduocandus** : see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 4.

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2. **indulgentia** : it was a notable weakness of Claudius that he suffered his freedmen to do as they pleased : cf. *Apocol.* 6 § 2 (of Claudius giving an order in the next world) *putares omnes illius esse libertos : adeo illum nemo curabat.*

3. **obduxerit** : properly used of a plaster spread over a wound : cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* viii 96 (the hippopotamus, when unwell from over-eating, takes blood from a vein in his leg by spiking it on a reed, and then *plagam rursus limo obducit.*)

4. **quid porro** = 'besides' : cf. *Helu.* 9 § 7.

5. **ut**, 'supposing that.'

conspectus : participle : but *conspectus per se...Caesar* = 'the mere sight of Caesar.'

§ 5. 7. **commodent** : Claudius is *caelestis* and belongs to heaven ; but the gods have 'lent' him for a space to this earth. The flatterers of the emperors constantly pray that they will submit to a long exile from their real home in heaven : even a Horace can say to an Augustus (*Carm.* i 2, 45) *serus in caelum redeas* : and a Statius or Martial can hardly say more to a Domitian : cf. *Stat. Silu.* i 1, 105 *certus ames terras et quae tibi templa dicamus, | ipse colas ; nec te caeli iuuat aula.*

8. **annos uincat** : Augustus died at 76, Claudius at 63.

10. **imperio**, dat. after *rectorem.*

11. **filium** : Britannicus, born Feb. 13, 41 A.D., was his son by Messalina : originally called Germanicus, he was re-named in 44 A.D. after the conquest of Britain : he was poisoned by Nero in 55 A.D.

longa fide approbet, 'let him prove by the test of time' : *fides* is the confidence felt by the father that the son will rule well.

12. **patris** = *suum.*

successorem aspiciat : this he would do from heaven.

13. **caelo asserat**, 'shall claim him for the skies' : Julius Caesar and Augustus were the only two deified emperors ; but *gens sua* probably refers to the gods generally, who claim kinship with this god on earth.

XIII

Fortune, spare the Emperor, to restore our suffering country and to earn glory for her! His mercy will perhaps be extended to me, so that I may return to Rome. He showed mercy at the time of my condemnation, and interceded for me. He has restored others; and my turn may come. Under his rule an exile is more secure than the chief men in the state were under Gaius.

This is, so to speak, the business part of the treatise. Sen. has his own 'axe to grind.'

§ 1. 15, 16. **hoc, isto** refer to the same person: for the change of pronouns, see n. to 12 § 1. *iste* would not be used here, had it not lost the disparaging sense which it often bears in classical Latin.

16. **nisi ea parte qua prodes**, 'except in that part (of your activity), in which you do good,' i.e. except for good: cf. 12 § 2; *Epp.* 121, 14 *ea parte sibi carus est homo, qua homo est*.

18. **adfecto**, 'in evil case': see n. to 5 § 4.

prioris principis: Gaius or Caligula: it seems that he was really mad: cf. Suet. *Cal.* 50 *mentis ualitudinem et ipse senserat ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitauit*.

19. **suum locum**, 'its right place.'

20. **sidus hoc** cet.: this sentence was probably known to the writer of the preface to the English Bible. The likeness between Claudius and James I in their weaknesses has often been pointed out: here is another point of resemblance, that both were compared by contemporary writers to the rising sun.

22. **Germaniam pacet**: this may refer to the subjugation of the Chauci about this time by Q. Sabinus Secundus (Furneaux, *Tac. Ann.* ii p. 32). The famous general, Corbulo, was active in Germany till recalled by Claudius; but this was not till 47 A.D.

Britanniam aperiat: the wish helps to fix the date of the treatise: see *Introd.* p. xxv.

§ 2. **patrios triumphos** = triumphs over Germany, as Drusus, the father of Claudius, spent much of his life fighting in Germany and was the first *Germanicus*. He died near Maintz, 9 B.C.

23. **quorum me quoque** cet. : Sen. now gets to business ; for there can be no doubt that the object of the whole treatise was less to console Polybius than to secure his own restoration : see *Intro.* p. xxx.

Claudius did for other exiles what Sen. asks for himself : cf. *Suet. Claud.* 17 *ad cuius spectaculum* (the triumph over Britain in 43 A.D.) *commearare in urbem non solum praesidibus prouinciarum permisit uerum etiam exulibus quibusdam* : but Sen., in spite of all these fine compliments, had to wait six years longer.

25. **clementia** : yet *saeuitia* is one of the chief charges against Claudius in the satire written after his death by the same pen : cf. *Apocol.* 10 § 3 *hic, qui uobis non posse uidetur muscam excitare, tam facile homines occidebat quam canis* (a throw at knuckle-bones) *excidit* ; *Suet. Claud.* 34 *saeuum et sanguinariū natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus.*

27. **impulsum**, 'overthrown' : a very common sense of the verb in Lucan, either literally or figuratively : for the first, cf. iii 440 *nodosa impellitur* (is felled) *ilex* ; for the second, iii 389 (of Massilia) *non impulsa* (overborne) *nec ipso | strata metu.*

28. **diuinae manus** : this epithet, like *caelestis*, came to be freely used even of living emperors : cf. *Stat. Silu.* v 1 *epist.* (to a freedman of Domitian) *latus omne diuinac domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor.*

leniter...deposuit, 'let me down gently' : cf. *Epp.* 13, 11 *quosdam molliter ruinā* (a falling house) *deposuit.* No details of the banishment are given elsewhere : the cause of it is stated, perhaps falsely, by *Dio* LX 8 (of Messalina) *αὐτῆ...τῆν Ἰουλίαν...ἐξώρισεν, ἐγκλήματα αὐτῆ ἄλλα τε καὶ μοιχείας παρασκευάσασα, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἄννιος ἔφωγε.* His enemy Suillius spoke of his punishment as *iustissimum exilium* (*Tac. Ann.* xiii 42, 3).

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§ 3. 3. **uiderit**= 'I will leave that to him,' 'that is his business' : cf. *De Ben.* ii 14, 3 many say 'I know that what my friend asks of me will do him no good ; but he insists on having it : *uiderit* (that is his business) : *de se, non de me, queretur.*' For this idiomatic use of *uidero*, see n. to *Helu.* 14 § 2.

4. **bonam**, sc. *esse*. *bonam causam habere* = *innocens esse*: cf. *De Ben.* iv 40, 3 *apud bonum uirum bonam causam habeo*. Sen. does not plead guilty.

6. **siue uoluerit**, 'or decrees that I am so.'

7. **interim**, i.e. until I am recalled.

9. **angulo**, 'remote corner': Corsica: see n. to 6 § 4.

10. **multorum annorum**, i.e. that took place many years ago: the metaphor is from men crushed, or at least buried, under a falling house.

12. **transeat**, 'pass over,' 'leave out.'

13. **succurrere**: for a different sense, cf. *Paul.* 3 § 4.

14. **ne...erubescat**, 'that he may not feel ashamed to come round to me in my turn,' as he might feel, if Sen. had not earned his discharge by good conduct.

§ 4. 15. **efficit**: the relative clause, being causal, would take the subj. in Cicero: cf. *Helu.* 12 § 6.

sub te, 'in your reign.'

16. **exules, principes**: for the first, cf. Suet. *Cal.* 28 *opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas, qui uniuersos contrucidarent*; for the second, *ibid.* 32 *effusus subito in cachinnos, consulibus, qui iuxta cubabant, quidnam rideret blande quaerentibus, 'quid' inquit, 'nisi uno meo nutu iugulari utrumque uestrum statim posse?'*

17. **non trepidant**, 'they are not uneasy.'

19. **fortunae saeuientis modum**, 'a limit to the rage of Fortune': with **praesentis**, sc. *fortunae*.

20. **scias**, 'one can tell,' is not addressed to Claudius.

21. **fulmina**, 'thunderstrokes': the word is used by Ovid of his banishment by Augustus, *Trist.* i 1, 72 *uenit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput*; by Martial of a condemnation by Domitian, vi 83, 3 *nam tu missa tua reuocasti fulmina dextra*; and by Statius of the same case, *Silu.* iii 3, 158 *uenturi fulminis ictus*. It is a transference to the emperors of one of the functions of Jupiter.

XIV

I feel sure that the Emperor has already used his unequalled knowledge and wisdom in order to console you. Imagine that he speaks to you, and reminds you, from his capacious memory, of great Romans in past history who have had to mourn the loss of a dearly-loved brother.

§ 1. 23. **publicum** has the sense of *commune*: see n. to *Paul.* 1 § 1.

24. **aut me omnia fallunt, aut** = 'if I am not entirely mistaken, then...': cf. *Dial.* ix 8, 4 *aut ego fallor, aut cet.*; *Epp.* 79, 7 *aut ego te non noui, aut cet.*: the parenthetical insertion of the phrase here is remarkable. A commoner phrase of similar meaning is, *si illum noui*: cf. *Helu.* 19 § 4.

iam, 'before now' is emphatic.

25. **tam magno** for *tanto* is believed to be colloquial Latin: see Friedl. *Cena Trimalch.* p. 208: but Sen. uses it here because of the assonance with *maiora*: in general he likes to use *tam multi, quam multi* for *tot, quot*.

26. **omni modo**: as is shown by the sequel, condolence was regularly compiled out of (1) *exempla*, (2) *praecepta*: cf. *Dial.* vi 2, 1 *scio a praeceptis incipere omnes, qui monere aliquem uolunt, in exemplis desinere*. Sen. says that Claudius will have exhausted both means: in point of fact, Claudius, in his fictitious speech, confines himself to *exempla*.

28. **memoria, facundia**: the first is so far true that Claudius probably had stored in his memory a great deal of rather useless knowledge; but he was notorious for lapses of memory: Suet. *Claud.* 39 *inter cetera in eo mirati sunt homines et obliuionem et inconsiderantiam, uel, ut Graece dicam, μετεωρίαν et ἀβλεψίαν. occisa Messalina, paulo postquam in triclinio decubuit, 'cur domina non ueniret' requisiiit*.

To *facundia* he had no claim: his matter was pedantic, and his delivery was marred by a stammer: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 30; Sen. *Apocol.* 11 § 3 (Augustus speaking of Claudius) *tria uerba cito iungat* (if he can string three words together without pausing) *et seruum me ducat*.

rettulit, 'has rehearsed.'

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§ 2. 1. **nullus** is used for *nemo*: cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 190; Suet. *Cal.* 35: but it is very rare in the interval between these writers: Summers (p. lx) quotes an instance from Sen. *Epp.* 7, 11: there is perhaps another in *De Clem.* i 8, 2. The use is much commoner in the oblique cases: in the Dialogues, Sen. has *nullius* = *neminis* at least twice, *nullo* at least three times, and *nulli* at least seven times. For *nullum* = *neminem*, which is rare, cf. *De Clem.* i 3, 3; *Epp.* 108, 9 (this is a quotation).

Sen. seldom has *nemini*: in the Letters, I have noted one instance (55, 5) against 17 at least of *nulli*.

adloquendi, 'of condolence': this word is often (*gratulari*: cf. *Epp.* 121, 4 *cum...ex gratulatione natum sit, quicquid adloquimur* (i.e. all the sorrows for which we offer condolence arise from events on which we offer congratulation); 98, 9 *in epistula, qua sororem amisso filio adloquitur*; Val. Max. ii 7, 6 *urbs, incerta gratulandi prius an adloquendi officio fungeretur*. For *adlocutio* in this sense, see n. to *Helu.* i § 3.

2. **occupauerit**, 'can assume': see n. to 5 § 1.

aliud = 'special': except in this emphatic position, the word could hardly bear this meaning.

4. **contundet**, 'will annihilate,' lit. 'smash up': cf. *Paul.* 10 § 1.

hunc itaque cet.: had Sen. really believed that Claudius gave Polybius a formal lecture of this kind, surely it would have been rash to imitate the divine utterance.

5. **te...desumpsit**, 'picked you out': cf. *Epp.* 51, 1 (of Baiae) *locum illum sibi celebrandum luxuriâ desumpsit*.

8. **aliqua** = *alicuius*.

comploratione: for the verb, cf. 1 § 2.'

9. **fastus**, 'the Calendar,' the record of office, esp. of the consulship. The common form is *fasti, fastorum*; but *fastus, fastuum* is occasionally found: cf. *Dial.* iii 21, 3 *uno nomine occupare fastus uult*; and metre confirms the form in Lucan x 187 (Caesar speaking) *nec meus Eudoxi uincetur fastibus annus*.

§ 3. 11. **imagines**, the portrait-masks of ancestors displayed in the *atrium* of a noble.

13. **in ornamentum saeculorum refulgentibus**, 'whose glory lights up the world's history.'

14. **aut a suis** cet. : this clause, added for antithesis, is very like a truism : a man had to die, before his *imago* was set up.

§ 4. 16. **Scipionem** : unless the mss. are to blame, Sen. has blundered here. There is no evidence that the palace of the Caesars contained busts of heroes not related to them, and neither the Julian nor the Claudian *gens* traced descent from Scipio. It has been proposed to eject the passage, from *quid tibi referam* down to *lacrimas concupisse* (15 § 2). It would be simpler to transfer the sentence *uides omnes—desideratus est*, and place it before *nemo enim* (c. 15 § 2).

in exilio = *exulanti* (not *exulantis*).

17. Publius Scipio (see n. to *Paul.* 17 § 6) rescued his brother Lucius from the persecution of the tribunes in 186 B.C. Contrary to what Sen. here says, Livy (xxxviii 54) records that Lucius was the survivor of the two.

18. **et**, 'and yet' : cf. 18 § 5.

19. **iuris aequi**, 'political equality,' *ισονομίας* : he was too great a man to live under a republic and therefore retired into voluntary exile : cf. Livy xxxviii 52, 2 *maior animus et natura erat, ac maiori fortunae adsuetus quam ut reus esse sciret* : comp. Heitland § 492 'the great Africanus, high-handed and impatient, too touchy and self-conscious for the rude jostling of republican politics.' But Sen. is alluding also to another kind of equality, that of death.

pietas, 'brotherly love.'

21. **priuatus**, 'though he held no office.'

22. **intercessit** : i.e. he used the tribune's weapon, to which he had no right. The tribune's name is given by Aulus Gellius (vi 19) as Augurinus.

tam magno...animo, 'as bravely' : see n. to § 1.

23. **quam defenderat** : for the ellipse of *quo*, cf. 8 § 2.

§ 5. **Aemilianum** : the younger Scipio Africanus, a son of Aemilius Paulus conqueror of Macedonia, was adopted by a Scipio.

25. **fratrum funera** : see n. to 11 § 4 : the date of the triumph over Perseus is 167 B.C. The fine speech in which Paulus contrasted his public achievement and his private sorrows (Livy xlv 41) was

expanded into fine English verse by FitzGerald, II p. 483 (ed. of 1889).

27. **suae** is emphatic: he had been adopted *in alienam familiam*.

super ipsum, 'right on the top of': cf. *Dial.* ii 6, 2 *templorum super deos suos cadentium*: the image is not very apt here.

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3. **Scipio**, 'a Scipio.' The play on the two compounds of *sum* is characteristic.

Karthago: destroyed by the younger Scipio 146 B.C.

XV

'There are many instances' he may say 'in which a pair of brothers have been divided by death. But consider the imperial family alone: Augustus had to mourn a sister, as well as other near relations; Gaius Caesar lost his brother, Lucius; Tiberius closed the eyes of his heroic brother, Drusus, in the wilds of Germany.'

§ 1. 4. **Lucullorum**: Lucius the conqueror of Mithridates, and his younger brother Marcus, consul 73 B.C. For their mutual affection, cf. *Plut. Luc.* 1 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον εὐνοίας πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ὄντων. The younger pronounced the funeral oration (*laudatio*) over Lucius, and died soon after him.

5. **Pompeios**: Gnaeus, the elder, was put to death after the battle of Munda in 45 B.C.; Sextus, born in 75 B.C., was defeated by Agrippa off Sicily in 36 and put to death at Miletus in 35 B.C.

6. **una...ruina**: cf. *Lucan* vi 817 (the ghost speaking to Sextus Pompeius) *Europam, miseri, Libyamque Asiamque timete: | distribuit tumulos uestris Fortuna triumphis*; *Mart.* v 74 *Pompeios iuvenes Asia atque Europa, sed ipsum* (their father) *| terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit. | quid mirum, toto si spargitur orbe? iacere | uno non poterat tanta ruina loco.*

8. **sorori**: Pompey's only daughter was married to Faustus Sulla, son of the dictator. What follows, is not true of her: Sen. seems to have blundered, confusing her either with Julia, the *nouerca* of Sextus, or with Pompeia, the daughter of Sextus, who was at one time betrothed to Marcellus, when a peace was patched up between

the Triumvirs and Sextus. Of either of these it might be said that she averted civil war for a time, but not of Pompey's daughter.

Is it possible that Sen. supposed Caesar to have married Pompey's daughter, so that he was *gener* and Pompey *socer*?

9. **Romanae pacis**, 'peace between Romans': *pax Romana* usually means the peace maintained over the world by Roman arms.

10. **optimo fratri**: the epithet is probably conventional: at least Cassius wrote to Cicero in Jan. 45 B.C. (*Ad Fam.* xv 19, 4) *scis, Cn. quam sit fatuus; scis, quomodo crudelitatem uirtutem putet*. Lucan (vi 420) speaks disparagingly of Sextus also as *Magno proles indigna parente*.

in hoc, 'for this purpose': cf. 14 § 5; see n. to *Paul.* 1 § 1.

§ 2. 15. **succurrunt**=*occurrunt*: cf. *Paul.* 3 § 4.

16. **paria**: one such *par* is often mentioned by Martial and praised for their mutual attachment—Tullus and Lucanus, the *fratres Curuii* (v 28, 3).

§ 3. 20. **Octauiam**: she died in 11 B.C., having lost her son Marcellus, the destined heir of Augustus, in 23 B.C.

21. **rerum natura**, when she marked out Augustus for deification, took the shape of the Roman senate.

25. **generos**: Marcellus and Agrippa.

26. **liberos**: i.e. Julia: the plur. was often used by early writers of a single child (*Aul. Gell.* ii 13), and may be so used here; otherwise, it is used for symmetry: cf. *adfinibus*, *Paul.* 4 § 5.

nepotes: Gaius and Lucius.

27. **hominem esse se**, 'that he was a mere mortal,' and therefore liable to strokes of bereavement.

dum inter homines erat: by his death he became a god and presumably escaped from the attacks of Fortune.

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1. **cepit**, 'contained,' 'could hold,' i.e. mastered.

capacissimum: cf. *Lucan* i 461 *animaeque capaces | mortis* (hearts that can confront death).

2. **uictor...dolorum**: cf. *Dial.* vi 14, 3 (of Caesar after his daughter's death) *tam cito dolorem uicit quam omnia solebat*.

§ 4. 3, 5. **Gaius** and **Lucius**, sons of Agrippa and Julia, grandsons of Augustus, both died young: the former in Lycia in 4 A.D.,

the latter at Massilia in 2 A.D. The will of Augustus began with the words: *quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios* (i.e. sons by adoption) *mihi eripuit* (Suet. *Tib.* 23).

4. **auunculi mei magni**, 'my great-uncle': Claudius was the nephew of Tiberius, and Tiberius was the adopted son of Augustus.

6. **princeps iuuentutis**: a formal title conferred on them both: cf. *Mon. Anc.* c. 14 *filios meos, quos iuuenes mihi eripuit fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares, ... equites Romani uniuersi principem iuuentutis utrumque eorum ... appellauerunt*. When Augustus reorganised the equestrian order, this title was devised for the honorary chief of the *equites*, *iuuentus* being used in its military sense. As Augustus himself came first on the roll of senators, so the young princes, his heirs, came first on the roll of 'knights.' Mommsen takes this as one of the clearest indications that Augustus intended his power to be hereditary.

7. **in apparatu**, 'when he was making preparations for': cf. *Paul.* 1 § 1: he had gone to Asia for this purpose, when he was treacherously wounded in Armenia.

9. **piissime**: see n. to 7 § 4.

§ 5. **Tiberius** was born in 42, his brother **Drusus** in 38 B.C. Tiberius, travelling with great speed from Italy—he covered 200 miles in each 24 hours (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 84)—was present when Drusus died, and returned with his body, walking on foot the whole way (Suet. *Tib.* 7). Val. Maximus, writing under Tiberius, gives the fullest and most flattering description of the outward journey (v 5, 3).

13. **in complexu et in osculis**: cf. *Helu.* 2 § 5.

14. **amisit** = saw him die.

16. **attonitum**, 'distracted with grief.'

Drusi sui, 'of Drusus, their darling.'

17. **ad morem Romani luctus redegit**, 'he forced them to return to the Roman fashion of mourning,' when they were for running into excesses worthy of barbarians.

XVI

'Antony, my grandfather, bore a brother's murder with resolution. Consider how I bore the death of my own brother, whom I loved so well!' If Fortune can assail even the imperial family, how can humbler mortals hope to escape? Let us try at least to induce her by our prayers to spare the best and mildest of emperors.

§ 1. 22. **auus**: Antonia, the mother of Claudius, was a daughter of Mark Antony.

24. **triumvirali potestate**: in 43 B.C. Antony, Augustus, and Lepidus formed a coalition, under the style of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*: a merciless proscription followed, in which Cicero was the most prominent of the victims: see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 2.

26. **fratrem**: Gaius Antonius, praetor in 44 B.C., was put to death by Brutus in Macedonia (hence *auliviti*) at the beginning of 42.

§ 2. **impotens**: see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 4.

27. **quales—ludos facis**, 'how you turn the sufferings of men into amusement for yourself!': cf. Pliny *Epp.* iv 11, 2 *quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis! facis enim ex senatoribus professores, ex professoribus senatores.*

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1. **arbiter** cet. refers to the proscription. Antony had little moral right to complain of fortune.

4. **eius lugere**, 'his mourning.' The use of the inf. as a noun is much more restricted in Latin than in Greek: for Sen., cf. *Paul.* 19 § 3; *De Ben.* v 10, 2 *multum interest inter dare et accipere*; vi 7, 4 *cum utrique uelle* (τὸ βούλεσθαι) *defuerit*. But the present instance, in which a possessive gen. is attached to the inf., is much harsher than those. It used to be justified by *quid autem huius uiuere est?* (*Epp.* 101, 13), but this reading seems to have no authority and has disappeared from Hense's text (1898). The only remaining instance is Val. Max. vii 3, 7 (of Fabius Cunctator) *cuius non dimicare uincere fuit* (his refusal to fight was victory). Gertz quotes Mart. v 83, 2 *uelle tuum nolo*: but this is

less surprising than the gen. and much less rare : cf. Petron. c. 52 *meum intellegere*, and see Conington on Persius 1, 9.

5. **uiginti legionum** : i.e. the army of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi : they were not all killed, as Sen. seems to imply.

parentare = *inferias dare* : cf. *Epp.* 122, 3 *mortuis interdum parentatur* ; Livy xxiv 21, 2 *uociferatum* (they cried out), *parentandum regi sanguine coniuratorum esse*.

§ 3. 7. **bis** : yet only one bereavement of this kind is mentioned below ; and Claudius had only one brother, Germanicus, the father of Caligula. After the repeated *bis*, the reference to Germanicus alone leaves the sentence utterly lame. I have therefore inserted *amisi sororem*, which might easily be lost owing to the repeated word, and which explains *bis* ; for Claudius had also a sister, Livia or Livilla. As she was seduced by Sejanus and poisoned her husband, her death (31 A.D.) was not a subject for regret ; and Sen., if he referred to her here, realised no doubt that the less said, the better. But not to mention her at all, after writing *bis* cet., would be to call special attention to her—a failure in tact unworthy of Seneca. The insertion is supported to some extent by *sorores* (i.e. Octavia and Livia) in 17 § 3.

9. **Germanicum** : the son of Drusus and adopted son of Tiberius, a man of many gifts and unbounded popularity : he died at Antioch, in his 34th year, in 19 A.D. Of the astronomical poem of Aratus we possess a version in 686 hexameters, which was written by Germanicus.

12. **adfectum**, ‘my feeling,’ the feeling being *desiderium*, ‘lov and sorrow.’

relinquerem, ‘left undone.’

13. **a bono fratre**, ‘from a loving brother.’

14. **in principe** : Claudius was not emperor then, nor likely to be ; but love of antithesis has led Sen. astray.

§ 4. 15. **parentem publicum**, ‘the father of all men’ : a more comprehensive title than *pater patriae* : as applied to Claudius by the senate, it occurs in Pliny *Epp.* viii 6, 8 and 10, and is used again and again of Trajan by Pliny himself in his *Panegyric* (cc. 10, 26, 67, 87).

18. **petitura** is strange here, because *petere* often means ‘to attack’ : it has been proposed to read *paritura*.

20. **priuatitas domos**: cf. Juv. 6, 114 *quid priuata domus, quid fecerit Eppia, curas?* | *respice riuales diuorum!* Claudius audi | *quae tulerit!*

21. **modestiam**, 'self-restraint.'

22. **puluinaria**: couches on which the images of the gods and the deified emperors were placed in temples and carried at the *pompa Circensis* (the procession before the races): they were one of the attributes of divinity.

§ 5. 24. **publico**, 'of all men.'

25. **se...exiget**, 'will force her way': the phrase is unusual but defended by Madvig, who explains it thus: '*penetrabit et, quo ire intenderat, perget*' (*Advers.* II p. 403).

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1. **iniuriae causa**, 'in order to wrong them': *causā* has generally this final force.

2. **per templa aditur**: the meaning is uncertain. Sen. may refer to the many temples which stood on the Palatine Hill—those of Victory, Jupiter Stator, Augustus himself, and the great temple of Apollo (cf. Ovid *Trist.* iii 1); or the reference may be to an 'improvement' of Caligula's: Suet. *Cal.* 22 *partem Palatii ad forum usque promouit, ...aede Castoris et Pollucis in uestibulum transfigurata*: this building may have remained in the early part of Claudius' reign.

laureatis foribus: this privilege, granted by the senate to Augustus, was retained by all his successors. Aug. thought it of sufficient importance to include in his record of *res gestae*: cf. *Mon. Anc.* c. 34 *senatus consulto Aug. appellatus sum, et laureis postes aedium mearum uestiti* (this word is doubtful, all but the first letter being erased) *publice, coronaque ciuica super ianuam meam fixa est*. Mommsen (p. 150 of his edition) discusses whether the door-posts were adorned with laurel-wreaths or had each a laurel-tree in front of them, and inclines to the latter view, following the evidence of coins and the poets, e.g. Ovid *Met.* i 562 (Apollo speaking to Daphne) *postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos* | *ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum* (i.e. the *corona ciuica*).

atram...induet uestem: unless this is metaphorical, it implies that after a death in the imperial family the palace-doors were hung with mourning.

§ 6. 3. **optineamus** = *impetremus*.

4. **genus humanum** : without Claudius to save them, all mankind would perish.

5. **consumere**, 'to destroy utterly' : see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 1.

adhuc, 'still,' i.e. as she did in the past.

Romanum nomen : cf. Ovid *Met.* i 200 (of conspiracy against Augustus) *cum manus impia saevit | sanguine Caesareo* (by shedding the blood of Augustus) *Romanum extinguere nomen*.

Romanum nomen here and often = *Romanam gentem* : so esp. *nomen Latinum*.

XVII

Reflect that even those who are raised above humanity have suffered like you ; and bear your misfortune without repining. We cannot all attain the rank of imperial personages, but we can all practise patience. One exception, however, must be made, when I praise the imperial family for their courage in bearing bereavement. That monster Caligula behaved as unworthily, when he lost his sister Drusilla, as he did in every other scene of his wicked life.

§ 1. 11. **adscitos caelo** : Julius Caesar, Augustus, Livia, and Drusilla the sister of Caligula, were the only four members of the imperial family who had been formally deified up to this time.

proximos : sc. *caelo*.

12. **porrigentem manus** : cf. *Epp.* 82, 5 *non habet, ut putamus, Fortuna longas manus*.

13. **per quos iuramus** : so Claudius himself (*Suet. Claud.* 11) *ius iurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum* : as early as Horace, we read of the oath by Augustus : *Epp.* ii 1, 16 *iurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras* : cf. *Tac. Ann.* i 73, 2 *Rubrio crimini dabatur uiolatum periurio nomen Augusti*.

15. **in quantum**, where Cicero would use *quantum* : common in the silver age : cf. *Juv.* 14, 318 ; *Pliny Paneg.* 83 *maritum, in quantum patitur sexus, imitetur*.

§ 2. 18. **uirtus** cet. : cf. *De Ben.* iii 18, 2 *nulli praeclusa uirtus est ; omnibus patet, omnes admittit, omnes inuitat ; non eligit domum nec censum ; nudo homine contenta est*.

in medio posita est, 'is accessible to all': cf. *De Ben.* iv 28, 4 *quaedam in medio ponuntur: tam bonis* (for good men) *quam malis conduntur urbes*; *Nat. Quaest.* iv 13, 3 *quam nobis male est, quod quicquam a rerum natura in medio relictum est!* (air, light, and water are the instances there given).

19. **qui modo**, followed by ind.: cf. *Helu.* II § 4.

21. **ipsos**: used for *se*: see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 5.

22. **ius**, less appropriate than *legem*, is nevertheless preferred for the sake of the assonance with *iniuriam*.

25. **non est hominis**, 'is unworthy of a human being': *homo* here has its good sense: cf. *Juv.* 15, 131 *mollissima corda | humano generi dare se natura fatetur, | quae lacrimas dedit*: pity is the quality which distinguishes men from animals.

27. **sorores**: i.e. Octavia and Livia: S. Pompey's sister is not qualified for inclusion here.

§ 3. 28. **omni Caesarum numero**, 'from every enumeration of the Caesars': *omni* is not here, I think, used for *toto*.

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1. **in exitium**, 'in order to destroy': see n. to *Paul.* I § 1.

3. **adustum atque euersum**: the participles are in reverse order in mss., but *euersum* is constantly joined to *funditus*: cf. *Cic. In Pis.* 86 *euertisti miseris funditus ciuitates*. *adustum* is a reference to the story of Phaethon, so that Claudius repeats what Zeus did in the legend: cf. *Ovid Met.* ii 401 *at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli | circuit, et, ne quid labefactum uiribus ignis | corruiat, explorat*.

§ 4. 4. Drusilla, the favourite sister of Caligula, died in 38 A.D.: cf. *Suet. Cal.* 24 *eādem defunctā, iustitium edixit, in quo risisse, lauuisse, cenasse cum parentibus aut coniuge liberisque capital fuit. ac maeroris impatiens, cum repente noctu profugisset ab urbe transcucurrissetque Campaniam, Syracusas petiit rursusque inde profpere rediit, barba capilloque promisso*.

5. **principaliter**, 'as an emperor should.'

6. **conspectum...profugit**: for the acc., cf. *Hor. Epod.* 16, 18 *uelut profugit, execrata, ciuitas | agros*.

conuersionem, 'society,' 'intercourse': see n. to *Paul.* 3 § 3.

8. **iusta**, 'funeral rites.'

Albano suo, 'his villa at Alba.'

9. **foro**, 'dice-board': cf. Suet. *Aug.* 71 *forum aleatorium*: the board is usually called *tabula* or *alucus*. Claudius shared this taste with Caligula: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 33 *aleam studiosissime lusit: de cuius arte librum quoque emisit: solitus etiam in gestatione ludere. ita essedo alucoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur.*

peruolgatis is Haase's emendation: but it does not account for the *et* after the participle in mss.: Gertz's emendation keeps *et* and may be right.

10. **acerbissimi**, 'deeply regretted': cf. § 3: *funus acerbum* cannot have its usual sense here, as Drusilla was not very young at her death: she had been married twice.

eleuabat, 'he made light of': cf. *Helu.* 12 § 1.

pro pudor imperii, 'what a disgrace to the empire!'

§ 5. 12. **furiosa inconstantia**, 'with the restlessness of insanity': see n. to 13 § 1.

13. **submittens**: *promittere* is commoner in this sense: cf. Suet. quoted on § 4.

tondens is rightly inserted here, for the sense requires it. This form of mourning was not Roman, but barbarian: Suet. *Cal.* 5 (of the mourning for Germanicus, father of Caligula) *ferunt...regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rasisse ad indicium maximi luctus.*

14. **permetiens**: cf. *emetiamur*, *Helu.* 8 § 5.

satis certus, 'quite sure.'

15. **lugeri**, as a mortal: **coli**, as a goddess.

16. **puluinaria**: see n. to 16 § 5.

18. **animaduersione**, 'punishment': cf. *Dial.* v 19, 2 *animaduersiones, quo notiores sunt, plus in exemplum proficiunt.* The verb, in this sense, is *animaduvertere in aliquem.*

intemperie animi: cf. *Dial.* ix 2, 7.

20. **intumescebat**, 'he swelled with pride.'

§ 6. 23. **sordium** cet. refers to his letting his hair grow, **alienis malis** to the punishment inflicted on those who did not mourn enough.

malis is abl. of instrument, **solacio** abl. of manner.

24. **minime humano**, 'utterly unworthy of a human being.'

XVIII

For you, no change in your habits of life is necessary. The study of literature will defend you against the attacks of sorrow. Write something to prolong your brother's memory: the writings of men outlast anything else that they can make. The day will come when you will be able to acquit Fortune of malice against you. Do not use your powers of mind to inflame your own grief; though I do not ask you to suppress it altogether, yet observe moderation in it. Think and talk often of your brother: make the thought of him a pleasure, not a pain.

This letter comes from an exile, stupefied by his own sorrows and hardly able to express himself in his own language, surrounded as he is by barbarians.

§ 1. 25. **tibi, tua**: emphatic: other people in bereavement may have to change their way of life, but not you.

26. **quoniam quidem**: common in Sen.: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 5; 15 § 4. Val. Maximus hardly ever uses *quoniam* without adding *quidem*: cf. *quandoquidem*.

Bentley, in his copy, always changes *quoniam quidem* to *quandoquidem*.

ea...studia, 'those literary pursuits.' In what follows there is a reminiscence of Cicero's famous praise of literature (*Pro Arch.* 16) *haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur*. But how far superior to Seneca this is!

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3. **te studiis tuis inmerge altius**, 'bury yourself deep in your books': cf. Val. Max. iv 1 15 E *dum se Pythagorae praeceptis penitus immergit*.

5. **ex ulla tui parte**, 'at any point in you': for the metaphor, see n. to *circuisses* 2 § 2.

§ 2. 7. **monimento**: a play on the double sense of the word: (1) a record in writing; (2) a sepulchral monument: cf. Pliny *Epp.* ii 10, 4 (urging a friend to publish) *habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monimento potes: nam cetera fragilia et*

caduca non minus quam ipsi homines occidunt desinuntque; Mart. x 2, 9 *marmora Messalae findit caprificus*:...l. 11 *at chartis nec furta nocent et saecula prosunt*, | *solaque non norunt haec monimenta mori*.

9. **uetustas**, 'futility': see n. to *Paul.* 15 § 4. The last four words have fallen into a metrical form: so Suet. *Iul.* 44 *siccare Pomptinas paludes*.

cetera, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, is in contrast with the next clause.

10. **constructionem lapidum**: such as the Pyramids.

et...aut: either *et...et* or *aut...aut* would be more normal, as three distinct forms of monument are referred to.

marmoreas moles: the most famous of these was the Mausoleum, the magnificent tomb erected about 350 B.C. at Halicarnassus by Artemisia for her husband Mausolus. At Rome too there was a great Mausoleum built by Augustus for the imperial family.

11. **terrenos tumulos** must, like the other two phrases, refer to a sepulchral monument: the Romans must have known the great grave-mounds which still exist in Etruria.

12. **propagant**, 'prolong,' ought to have *memoriam* as an object; but Sen. prefers a less obvious expression.

quippe, 'for': its regular meaning in Latin poetry. For the thought, cf. Pliny and Martial quoted above; Juv. 10, 146 *data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris*.

13. **ingenii memoria**, 'the fame conferred by genius.' Statius often makes this comparison in his dirges for the dead: *Silu.* iii 3, 34 *tu messes Cilicumque Arabumque superbas | merge rogis*:...*nos non arsura feremus | munera, uenturosque tuus durabit in annos, | me monstrante, dolor*; *ib.* v 1, 10 *sed mortalis honos, agilis quem dextra laborat* (i.e. painting and sculpture), | *nos tibi...longa nec obscurum finem laturo perenni | temptamus dare iusta lyra*:...*haud alio melius condere sepulcro*.

14. **largire**, 'bestow in abundance': the word is more complimentary than *da* would be, because it suggests that Pol. has a boundless power to bestow immortality.

conloca: fame is spoken of as a tomb, as by Statius above.

15. **duraturo** cet.: triple antithesis, of epithet, verb, and noun.

§ 3. 17. **causa**: Fortune is the prisoner at the bar, Polybius the judge, whose mind is for the present prejudiced by his grief: cf. *Dial.* vi 1, 1 *nec spem concepissem, tam iniquo tempore, tam inimico iudice*

(i.e. yourself), *tam inuidioso crimine, posse me efficere ut fortunam tuam absolueres* (in that case there is a third party mentioned, i.e. Sen. as *patronus* of Fortune).

20. **dies**, 'lapse of time.'

23. **etiamnunc**, 'in future': see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

24. **quod**: relative.

25. **adesse** continues the metaphor from the law-court: do not be the *patronus* of your grief and use all your eloquence to make it seem greater than it is: cf. *Helu.* 2 § 1; *Dial.* vi 7, 2 *nec ulli animali longum fetus sui desiderium est nisi homini* (= τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), *qui adest dolori suo, nec tantum quantum sentit sed quantum constituit adficitur*; *Much Ado About Nothing* v 1, 1, 'If you go on thus, you will kill yourself; And 'tis not wisdom thus to second grief Against yourself.'

§ 4. 26. **approbare**, 'to make...pass.'

27. **rursus**, 'on the other hand.'

28. **alio**: adv.: 'for another occasion.'

istas uires, 'the former kind of power,' i.e. the power to make mountains out of mole-hills, which would be out of place on this occasion: *illas* would be more normal.

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2. **ne hoc iam quoque ipsum sit superuacuum**, 'whether even this be not by this time superfluous': so much time has elapsed that no *solacium* is needed.

For *quoque ipsum*, see n. to 2 § 5. *quoque*, 'even,' is separated by *iam* from the word it qualifies.

aliquid, sc. *doloris*: cf. *Epp.* 99, 16 *plus ostentatio doloris exigit quam dolor*.

3. **plus uanitate contrahitur**, 'but more is the result of no real cause': for the sense of *uanitas*, cf. *Paul.* 17 § 3, and *uanus dolor*, *ibid.* 3 § 3.

contrahitur, lit. 'is amassed': cf. *Dial.* v 6, 1 *omnia, quibus ira contrahitur*; *De Clem.* ii 5, 4 *tristitia ex alienis malis contracta*.

§ 5. 4. **numquam** cet.: cf. *Stat. Silu.* ii 1, 34 *nec te lugere seuerus | arceo*.

ne ex toto maereas is compressed for *ut maerorem ex toto deponas*.

ex toto: cf. 5 § 5.

5. **et scio**, 'and yet I know': cf. 14 § 4.

quosdam, i.e. the Stoics, to which school Sen. himself belonged; but he considers it wiser, in the present case, to keep his principles in the background.

7. **hi non videntur** cet.: cf. *Stat. Silu.* v 5, 59 *o nimium felix, nimium crudelis et expers | imperii, Fortuna, tui, qui dicere legem | fletibus aut fines audet censere dolendi!*

8. **alioquin**, εἰ δὲ μή, 'or else': for a different and far rarer sense, cf. *Paul.* 13 § 6.

excussisset—sapientiam, 'would have knocked their arrogant philosophy out of them': cf. *Epp.* 119, 15 *hoc nobis praestitit natura praecipuum, quod necessitati fastidium excussit; Troades* 584 *magnifica uerba mors prope admota excutit.*

§ 6. 10. **satis praestiterit**, 'will have done enough.' i.e. you cannot ask more of it.

ratio, 'philosophy': cf. 4 § 2.

11. **id unum**: accusative.

12. **quidem** = but: see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 2: for its ordinary sense, cf. § 4.

14. **seruet**: the subject is probably *dolor*.

impietatem, non dolendo: **insaniam, nimis dolendo**.

16. **nec motae**: i.e. *et non-motae*. *mota mens = insania*: cf. *Epp.* 94, 36 *de illis insanis loquor, quibus mens mota est, non crepta*: the full phrase is *loco mota mens*.

fluant lacrimae: cf. *Epp.* 99, 16 *permittamus illis* (i.e. tears) *cadere, non imperemus: fluat, quantum adfectus* (our feeling) *eiecerit, non quantum poscet imitatio*.

18. **rege** has the sense of *tempera*: cf. 16 § 3: philosophers will approve, if you do not weep too much; brothers, if you do not weep too little.

§ 7. 20—26. **effice ut frequenter** cet.: a commonplace in *consolationes*: cf. *Epp.* 99, 23 *frequenter de illo loquere et memoriam eius, quantum potes, celebra* (keep mentioning him); *quae ad te saepius reuertetur, si erit sine acerbitate uentura. nemo enim libenter tristi* (masc.) *conuersatur, nedum tristitiae*.

§ 8. 28. **in promissis**, sc. *seruandis*.

1. **qualis sperari potuerit**, 'what a future it was possible to expect for him.'

quid—posset: though the order of words is very harsh, I believe that Sen. means: *quid de illo non sponderi posset, tuto fratre*, i.e. if you lived, your influence made his advancement certain. Strange as this is, it seems to me less strange than that *fratre*, placed where it is, should agree with *illo*.

I should also expect this closing sentence to contain a compliment to Polybius, which it does not, if *tuto* is an adv. qualifying *sponderi*. It is possible that *tuto* and *sponderi* should be transposed.

§ 9. 3. **utcumque potui**, 'as best I could' under present circumstances.

longo iam situ: see Introd. p. xxiv.

situs, lit. 'mould,' hence 'disuse.'

4. **hebetato animo**: cf. *Thyestes* 923 (to a restored exile) *pectora longis hebetata malis, | iam sollicitas ponite curas*; Cic. *Ad Att.* iii 7, 3 (writing in exile) *plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset*.

respondere, 'to come up to,' 'to be on a level with': this meaning is found in Cicero, e.g. *Tusc. Disp.* i 3 *nec tamen, si qui magnis ingeniis in eo genere extiterunt, non satis Græcorum gloriæ responderunt*. The order of *respondere* and *mederi* is reversed in what follows, by the figure called *chiasmus*.

6. **uacare**, 'to have leisure for': cf. *Paul.* 14 § 1: he cannot have 'a mind at leisure from itself, to soothe and sympathise.'

8. **latina uerba** = correct language: Sen. does not mean that he has forgotten his mother tongue, but that he is afraid of lapsing into barbarisms and solecisms in the use of it: cf. Cic. *De Opt. Gen. Or.* 4 *pure et emendate loquentes, quod est, latine*; *Herenn.* iv 17 *uitia in sermone, quo minus is latinus sit, duo possunt esse: solecismus et barbarismus*; *Mart.* ii 8, 2 *latina parum* (bad grammar).

barbarorum: cf. *Helv.* 7 § 9.

9. **gravis**, 'unpleasing.'

10. **fremitus**, lit. 'howling': used of wild animals, or stormy seas and winds, or an angry crowd: here it implies loud and unintelligible sound.

This conclusion is perhaps an imitation of Ovid's account of Tomi, his place of exile: *Trist.* iii 14, 47 *Threicio Scythicoque fere circumsonor ore | et uideor Geticis scribere posse modis. | crede mihi, timeo ne sint inmixta latinis | inque meis scriptis Pontica uerba legas. | qualemcumque legas, uenia dignare libellum, | sortis et excusa condicione meae.*

AD HELVIAM

I

My dear mother, many motives have made me wish to write that I might console you in this calamity; and other motives have held me back. To dry your tears was a great object; but I feared to meddle with your grief while it was fresh; and I had no precedent for writing in a case like mine: no ordinary forms of condolence were suitable here. I shall make the attempt, trusting more to your love for me than to my skill as a writer.

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§ 1. 1. **impetum cepi**, 'I have had an impulse': *impetus* is used of hasty, instinctive action, which reason may check or reverse: cf. *Epp.* 78, 2 *saepe impetum cepi abrumpendae uitae: patris me indulgentissimi senectus retinuit*; Suet. *Cal.* 43 *expeditionis Germanicae impetum cepit*.

consolandi te, 'to write and comfort you.' The language of the whole passage suggests that Sen. had been some time in Corsica.

2. **continui**, sc. *impetum*.

multa: three motives for writing follow, and are symmetrically balanced by three against.

3. **depositurus** contains the protasis of a conditional sentence, 'I thought I should get rid of all my troubles...'

4. **supprimere**: but *premere*, *Polyb.* 15 § 5.

6. **habiturum**: for this constr. after *non dubito*, cf. *Paul.* 2 § 2.

7. **excitandam, surrexissem** : the suggestion is that Sen. and all his relations have been prostrated by the blow of his exile: they are described as soldiers lying wounded on a battlefield: if the principal victim is the first to rise, his example will have special force with the others.

8. **a me uicta**, 'which I have conquered,' as the treatise proceeds to show.

fortuna, 'the power of fortune.'

9. **utcumque**, 'as best I could': for the longer form *utcumque potui*, cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 9.

10. **obliganda**, often used of medical aid, e.g. *Dial.* i 5, 3: as Sen. had no one to bandage his own wound, he had to stop the blood by pressing his hand upon it, before giving first aid to the rest of the party.

uestra = *tua et meorum* : his brothers and other members of the family are mentioned later in the treatise.

11. **reptare**, 'to crawl on hands and knees,' is the action of one too severely wounded to walk: cf. *De Ben.* v 24, 2 *quia impeditus* (with a sprained ankle) *ire ad fontem proximum non poteram, reptare manibus uolebam.*

§ 2. **rursus**, 'on the other hand': cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 4: there were cons as well as pros, and the same number of each.

12. **saeuiret**: subj., because the clause is in virtual *oratio obliqua*.

14. **accenderent**, 'inflare': cf. *incendere*, *Paul.* 16 § 5.

15. **immatura medicina**, 'too hasty treatment': the wise physician holds his hand till the trouble is ripe for handling: cf. *Dial.* v 39, 2 *remedia in remissionibus prosunt; ... initia morborum quies curat*; *Pliny Epp.* v 16, 11 *ut crudum adhuc uulnus medentium manus reformidat, ... sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit ac refugit.*

16. **ipse...suas**, i.e. with no interference on my part.

17. **mora**, 'by mere lapse of time': a common meaning: cf. *Ovid Met.* i 400 *saxa... | ponere duritiam coepere... | mollirique mora.*

18. **cum**, 'though' or 'when': either is equally good here.

omnia—monimenta, 'all the writings of the most famous authors.' Cicero, when he lost his daughter Tullia, did the same,

and then, dissatisfied with the result, composed a *Consolatio* addressed to himself, which one may be sure that Sen. read: cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* xii 14, 3 *nihil de maerore minuendo scriptum ab ullo est, quod ego non domi tuae legerim; sed omnem consolationem uincit dolor. quin etiam feci, quod profecto ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolaretur, quem librum ad te mittam, si descripserint librarii.* The comfort, which many mourners would now seek from religion, the ancients sought from philosophy.

This shows that Sen. in his exile had access to books, whether he found them in Corsica or took them with him.

20. **euoluerem**, 'I unrolled,' i.e. 'I read': the words are equivalent because the ancient book was a roll (*uolumen*): cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i 24 *euolue diligenter eius eum librum qui est de animo* (i.e. the *Phaedo* of Plato): so *complicare* = 'to shut' a book.

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1. **consolatus** refers again to a formal condolence in writing: many, at the point of death, had *spoken* words of comfort to the survivors: see n. to *Polyb.* 12 § 2.

comploraretur: a stronger form of *plorare*, esp. used of lamentation over the dying or dead: cf. Livy v 39, 4 *complorati omnes pariter uiui mortuique*: for *comploratio*, cf. *Polyb.* 14 § 2.

2. **in re noua**, 'where I had no precedent': the idiomatic use of *in*: cf. *Paul.* 9 § 3.

§ 3. 3. **haec** takes, as usual, the gender of the predicate.

quid, quod, 'besides,' 'thirdly' here: a common way of adding a fresh detail: cf. *Paul.* 17 § 3.

4. **nouis uerbis**: Lucretius (i 138) complains of the same difficulty when he has to explain in a Latin poem the philosophy of Epicurus. But Sen. means that, whereas in most cases A is consoling B for the loss of C, in the present case C himself is consoling B, so that the stock arguments will not do.

5. **adlocutione**, 'condolence': see n. to *Polyb.* 14 § 2: the noun is used in this sense as early as Catullus, 38, 7 *paullum quid lubet adlocutionis | maestius lacrimis Simonideis.*

ex ipso rogo, exile being equivalent to death: cf. *Epigr.* 1, 7 *parce relegatis, hoc est, iam parce sepultis*; *ib.* 4, 8 *hoc tibi nunc manes dicere crede meos* (both epigrams were written, or profess to have been written, in Corsica).

6. **omnis**: nom. **magnitudo doloris** = *magnus dolor*: so *turrium altitudinem* = *turres altas* (*Dial.* ii 6, 4).

7. **dilectum uerborum**, 'power to choose words': there is surely some confusion of thought: a man might be able to write, even if his utterance was choked by sobs.

9. **intercludat**, 'stops for a time,' the preposition having the force which it has in *interiungere* (to give the horses a rest) and some other verbs. *includere* is simply 'to stop,' as death would stop a man's voice.

§ 4. **fiducia ingenii**, 'relying upon my eloquence.'

10. **sed quia—consolator**, 'but because the mere fact that I am the comforter may amount to a most effective comfort': i.e. the very fact that I can show such strength of mind may cheer you more than anything else could.

instar: originally 'bulk' or 'size': then 'as big .as': cf. *Epp.* 90, 43 *non habebant domos instar montium*: and lastly 'as good as,' 'in place of': so here and *De Ben.* vii 15, 2 *Mucio manus, in hostili ara relictâ, instar occisi Porsenae fuit.*

11. **cui...**, **huic** *cet.*: the constr. is not English: we must say: 'you never denied me anything; therefore I hope...'

hoc utique: *utique* has here and often the sense of *certe*; *hoc* is defined in the *ut* clause which follows.

13. **desiderio**: the love and sorrow felt for the absent or the dead: see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 8.

II

I have so much confidence in my power with you, who love me, that I mean to take what may seem a strange course: I intend to remind you of all your forgotten sufferings. This is the right way with you, because all your life has been one long succession of sorrows. As you conquered those, so you must conquer this. You lost a mother in infancy, you have mourned for a husband, for the children of your sons. You buried my son, and only twenty days later you heard that I myself was torn from you.

§ 1. 14. **quantum...promiserim mihi**, 'how great a thing I have promised to myself,' i.e. how sure I am of success in my hard task: *quantum* is explained in what follows.

de indulgentia tua=*de te quae mihi tantopere indulges*: cf. *Paul.* 18 § 4 *maius quiddam de te promiseras*. For *indulgentia*, 'love,' cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 1.

17. **ne...concurram**, 'not to join battle.'

18. **adéro illi**, 'I will support it': instead of fighting against your grief, I shall back it up: see n. to *Polyb.* 18 § 4.

omnia, 'all those wounds.'

19. **iam**: because they belong to the past.

obducta: see n. to *Polyb.* 12 § 4: in this case the wounds are covered with new skin: cf. *Val. Max.* vi 2, 8 *obducta iam uetustis cicatricibus bellorum ciuiliū uulnera*.

§ 2. 21. **aerumnarum**: this word, called by Cicero (*De Fin.* ii 118) *tristissimum uerbum*, is the strongest term for 'sorrows.'

22. **unius patientem**: the pres. participle of an active verb, when used as an adj., usually takes the genitive:

24. **conualuerint**, 'they have become strong': cf. *Epp.* 2, 3 *non conualescit planta quae saepe transfertur*: *inualesco* is commoner in this sense. For *conualescere*, 'to get well,' cf. 19 § 2.

contrariis, i.e. to the usual remedies: cf. *De Clem.* i 9, 6 *fac, quod medici solent, qui, ubi usitata remedia non procedunt, temptant contraria*. The procedure seems unscientific.

25. **curari**, 'are treated' (not 'are cured'): see n. to *Paul.* 18, 6.

illi, i.e. *animo*.

26. **lugubria**, 'dress of mourning,' i.e. occasions when it was

worn, bereavements : cf. 16 § 2 ; *Herc. Fur.* 630 *unde iste, genitor, squalor et lugubribus | amicta coniunx?* ; Prop. v 11, 97 *numquam mater lugubria sumpsit* ; Lucan ii 365 *maesti seruat lugubria cultu-*

admouebo, 'will exhibit' : properly used of applying remedies : cf. *De Ben.* vi 16, 4 *non fuit contentus remedia monstrare: et (=etiam) admouit.*

27. **urere ac secare**, *κατεν και τέμνειν*, often used of the surgeon : cf. *De Ben.* v 20, 2 *multa beneficia tristem frontem et asperam habent, quemadmodum secare et urere, ut sanes.*

29. **tam cicatricoso**, 'bearing the scars of so many wounds' : *cicatrix*, a healed wound : *perducere ad cicatricem*, 'to heal' a wound.

§ 3. 30. **delicatas mentes eneruauit felicitas** : cf. *Dial.* i 4, 9 *fugite delicias, fugite eneruantem felicitatem.*

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2. **per**, 'in a succession of' : cf. *Paul.* 14 § 3.

3. **quoque**, 'even.'

§ 4. 6. **uacationem**, 'respite' : cf. *Paul.* 4 § 2.

7. **natalem tuum**, 'the day of your birth' : we have no 'birth-day' till we are a year old.

8. **dum nasceris** : cf. Pliny *Epp.* iv 21, 2 *infantium, quae sunt parentibus* (i.e. mothers) *statim et dum nascuntur orbatae.*

ad uitam...exposita es, 'entering life, you were like a child exposed' : because she lost her mother at birth, Helvia is compared to an *infans expositus*, a child whom the parents refuse to rear and 'expose' to perish of neglect. There is a good deal about *expositi* in the *controuersiae* of the elder Seneca, e.g. *Controu.* x 4 (33).

ad uitam, lit. 'on the occasion of life' : cf. l. 1 *ad motus* ; *Dial.* iv 28, 6 *ad singula quibus offenditur* ; *ib.* 25, 1 *ad ista concitari.*

9. **sub nouerca**, 'under the care of a stepmother' : cf. Hor. *Epp.* ii 1, 99 *sub nutrice puella uelut si luderet infans.*

11. **conspici** = 'to be admired' : cf. *conspicua uirtus* 16 § 5.

matrem fieri = *maternum animum sumere.*

12. **magno constitit** : i.e. in the most favourable circumstances, a child loses much, if not reared by its own mother.

14. **uirum** : there is a little awkwardness in the repetition of *uirum* below in a different sense, also preceded by a superlative.

aduentum : if the uncle was Seneca's uncle, he was probably returning from Egypt: cf. 19 § 4: if he was Helvia's uncle, which the text certainly suggests, the circumstances are unknown.

16. **diducendo**, 'by dividing it,' i.e. by leaving an interval between her blows.

17. **uirum** : Lucius Annaeus Seneca : see Introd. p. xxxvii.

trium liberorum : Marcus Novatus (later by adoption Junius Gallio), Lucius Annaeus Seneca, and Marcus Annaeus Mela : see Introd. p. xli.

§ 5. 18. **lugenti**, 'when you were mourning already' for the uncle.

nuntiatus shows that Helvia and her husband were apart at the time of his death, so that *extulisti* is not to be taken literally : one may have been at Corduba, the other at Rome ; but the facts are not known.

19. **de industria**, 'on purpose' : cf. *De Ben.* i 1, 5 *longis sermonibus et de industria non inuenientibus exitum*. Sen. also uses *ex industria*.

20. **coniectis**, 'concentrated,' is) (*diductis*.

22. **modo modo** : see n. to *Paul.* 18 § 5.

23. **tres nepotes** : whose children these were, is not stated : nor is it clear whether the writer's son, mentioned below, was one of them. *emiseras* probably means that the boys had grown out of infancy, so that Helvia no longer carried them in her arms.

For **sinus** of the grandparent—a regular convention—cf. Pliny *Epp.* vi 26, 3 *mihī nepotes tuos ex uestro sinu sumere continet*.

24. **ossa recepisti** : cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii 75, 1 *Agrippina ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici, miserantibus cunctis, quod...ferales reliquias sinu ferret* ; Lucan ix 60 *ossibus et tepida uestes implere fauilla*. When the pyre was extinguished, the nearest relative gathered the ashes in his arms: the fullest description of the ceremony (*ossilegium*) is given by Tibullus iii 2, 9 foll.

25. **quam** = *postquam* : the ellipse is common after numerals.

26. **raptum me**, 'that I had been snatched from you,' by the sentence of exile to Corsica.

audisti : for she was absent from Rome at the time.

hoc adhuc defuerat tibi, 'this thing only had not happened to you before': i.e. there was only one thing wanting, to complete your experience of sorrow: cf. *De Ben.* iii 15, 4 *hoc unum deest auaritiæ, ut beneficia sine sponsore non demus*: the phrase is common in the tragedies of Sen.: cf. *Herc. Fur.* 836 *derat hoc solum numero laborum*; *Phoen.* 7 *derat aerumnis meis, | ut et hostem amarem*; *Phædr.* 1195 *hoc derat nefas, ut...*; *Troad.* 898 *hoc derat unum Phrygibus euersis malum, | gaudere*: *Med.* 1000 *derat hoc unum mihi, | spectator iste*, differs in sense. The elder Seneca uses *id decrat, ut...* several times in a similar sense (*Controu.* i 2, 2 and 3, 1): cf. Val. Max. ix 2, 2 *id malorum miserrimæ tunc rei publicæ decrat, ut Caesar caderet*. So we speak of 'the last straw,' and the French say, *il ne manquait plus que cela!*

27. **lugere uiuos**, 'to mourn for the living as dead,' exile being as bad as death: for the meaning of *lugere*, cf. *Polyb.* 3 § 5; *Juv.* 10, 257 *Ithacum lugere natantem*.

III

This is the most grievous wound you have ever suffered. But, like the veteran soldier in hospital, you are bound in honour to submit with courage to the surgeon's knife. The cries and tears of most women are not for you, after all your experience of sorrow. My method of treatment has placed all your past griefs before you.

§ 1. 28. **grauissimum**: to the modern reader it is remarkable that Sen. takes for granted that his mother suffers more from her son's exile than she did from her husband's death. But the fact that her husband had reached a great age, may have seemed to make his death, as a natural event, no fit subject for sorrow.

29. **descenderunt**, 'have gone deep': cf. *Epp.* 40, 4 *haec oratio, quæ sanandis mentibus adhibetur, descendere in nos debet*.

30. **non** = not merely.

uiscera, 'the vital parts': *uiscera* has three meanings: (1) 'the flesh' (the skin and bone: the commonest meaning; (2) 'the vital parts,' i.e. the heart, lungs, and liver; (3) 'the entrails': the rarest meaning.

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2. **manus**, 'handling,' i.e. surgery, constantly used of *medici*: cf. Pliny quoted on 1 § 2: the same use is seen in 'surgeon,' formerly 'chirurgeon' from *χειρουργός*.

3. **ferrum**, 'the sword' of the enemy.

quamuis confossi, 'though their wounds are deep.'

4. **uelut aliena corpora**, 'their bodies as if they belonged to other people': cf. Thuc. i 70, 3 *τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται*.

exsaniari, 'to be drained of matter': the *sanies* (corrupted blood) of their wound has to be removed: the meaning is different in *Epp.* 86, 6 *multā sudatione corpora exsaniatā* (drained of moisture).

For the contrast between veterans and young soldiers, cf. *Dial.* i 4, 7 *ad suspicionem uulneris tiro pallescit, audacter ueteranus cruorem suum spectat, qui scit se saepe uicisse post sanguinem* (after his blood has flowed).

6. **curationi**, 'to treatment,' i.e. to the drastic means of consolation adopted by her son.

§ 2. 7. **per quae**, 'by means of which.'

8. **perdidisti tot mala**, 'you have suffered so many sorrows to no purpose': cf. *Dial.* v 23, 4 *Timagenes...quaedam in ipsum dixerat, nec perdiderat (=frustra dixerat) dicta*. This idiom, by which *perdere* = *pati frustra*, *dicere frustra*, and many other verbs so qualified, is found chiefly in Seneca and Lucan: cf. *Thyest.* 1101 *perdideram (=frustra admiseram) scelus, | nisi sic doleres*; *Med.* 984 *non in occulto tibi est | perdenda uirtus*; *Agam.* 539 *ignaua fortes fata consument uiros? | perdenda (=frustra patienda) mors est?*; *Lucan* ii 440 *quod non ipsum perdat (=frustra faciat) iter*; iii 706 *non perdere (=frustra pati) letum | maxima cura fuit*; x 370 *quod fecimus una | perdidimusque (=frustra fecimus) nefas*. The passive of *perdere*, i.e. *perire*, is also so used. We can hardly use 'waste' in this sense; but the Latin idiom was preserved by the man who called out in a Dublin theatre, when an objectionable person was being ejected from the gallery: 'Don't waste him, boys! Kill a fiddler wid him!'

misera esse, 'how to be wretched,' i.e. how to bear wretchedness.

IV

I intend to confront your grief openly and conquer it. To effect this, I shall prove two points: first, that my condition is not properly to be called unhappy; secondly, that the same may be said of you. As to the first, in spite of the circumstances, I assure you that I am not unhappy and am even beyond the reach of unhappiness.

§ 1. 12. **magno animo**, 'in a courageous spirit.'

13. **circumscribere**, 'to cheat': cf. *Epp.* 87, 41 *satius est expugnare adfectus, non circumscribere*. The proper meaning of *circumscriptio* is 'cheating in business': cf. *Epp.* 97, 11 *laetatur ille circumscriptione furtoque*: here it is metaphorical.

16. **quos contingo**, 'to whom I am related': *sanguine* or some such word is almost always found with the verb in this sense.

17. **ne tuam quidem** cet.: as Sen. is the chief sufferer, *ne quidem* here does not mean 'not even,' but 'also not,' there being no idea of comparison between the things negated: cf. *De Ben.* iv 9, 2 we ought to select the recipients of our benefits, *quod ne agricolae quidem semina harenis committant* (farmers also do not plough the sand): there, 'not even' would imply that farmers know less of agriculture than other people: so here, 'not even' would imply that Helvia had more to bear than her son.

§ 2. 19. **hoc**, used for *id*, is the antecedent of *quod*: otherwise *illud* would be used for 'the first point' of two to be proved.

pietas, 'love,' said of either parents or children.

20. **me premi**, 'that I am crushed.'

21. **putat** has *pietas tua* for subject: but it is probably a copyist's error for *putas*.

22. **at**, 'yet,' 'at least.'

mihi ipse placebo, 'I shall be proud of myself': *sibi placere aliqua re* has generally a bad sense, 'to be conceited about a thing': cf. Mart. vii 76 *quod te diripiunt* (scramble for you) *potentiores*, | *...nolito nimium tibi placere*: | *delectas, Philomuse, non amaris*.

23. **ero**, 'I am': the Latin tense is due to the preceding future.

§ 3. 24. **de me**, 'with regard to my condition,' don't heed what other people say: cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 16, 19 *sed ueror ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas*.

25. **incertis opinionibus**, 'by not knowing what to think'; or the *opiniones* may be those of *alii*.

26. **indico**, 'I inform you,' from *indicare*.

V

Happiness depends upon a man's self, not upon outward circumstances. The Sage can never be unhappy. I have not attained to his height of glory; but I have taken service with wise men, who are able to protect one who cannot yet stand alone. Thanks to them, I never clung too closely to wealth and power and popularity; hence I can part from these things without a painful wrench. And I have always been prepared for a reversal of fortune. Exile is not so terrible as it sounds.

§ 1. 28. **bona—sumus**, 'we are born under conditions which would be favourable': *bona* contains the protasis of a conditional sentence: cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 15 *o morem praecclarum disciplinamque, quam a maioribus accepimus, si quidem teneremus!*

geniti=*nati*.

29. **id egit rerum natura**, 'Nature's intention was...'

bene uiuendum, 'happiness,' = *beatam uitam*: see n. to *Paul.*

18 § 4.

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1. **apparatu**, 'equipment,' *χορηγία* of Aristotle.

2. **momentum**: 'power to turn the balance': this has two epithets, *leue* and the adjectival clause introduced by *quod*: as often in such cases, the clause is in the subjunctive: cf. 11 § 7.

3. **aduenticiis rebus**: these are 'external goods,' *τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά*, such gifts of Fortune as wealth, power, station: not only these, but 'bodily goods,' *σώματος ἀγαθά*, such as health, strength,

beauty, were refused the title of 'good' by the Stoics, who maintained that the only 'goods' were $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ ἀγαθά, i.e. virtues: cf. *De Ben.* v 13, 1 *sunt animi bona, sunt corporis, sunt fortunae; illa animi bona a stulto ac malo submouentur; ad haec* (the other two kinds) *admittitur*. This triple division of 'goods' passed from Plato to Aristotle.

4. **sapientem**, 'the Sage,' the Perfect Man, the Stoic ideal: see n. to *Paul.* 5 § 3.

5. **ut in se plurimum poneret**, 'to rely entirely upon himself': cf. 13 § 4; *Dial.* ii 5, 4 *sapiens omnia in se reposuit, nihil fortunae credit*.

§ 2. 7. **quid ergo**: see n. to *Polyb.* 5 § 2.

10. **in uicinum deo**: the Stoics were very chary of awarding the title *sapiens*; but such a person, if he did exist, was little inferior to the gods: the main difference was his mortality: cf. *Dial.* ii 8, 2 *sapiens uicinus proximusque dis consistit, excepta mortalitate similis deo*; *Epp.* 73, 13 *Iuppiter quo antecedit uirum bonum? diutius bonus est*.

11. **nunc**, 'as it is,' i.e. not being a *sapiens*.

12. **sapientibus uiris**: the Stoics: the epithet is not used in its strict sense, as it was not agreed by the Stoics that even Zeno or Chrysippus was a *Sapiens*.

me dedi, 'I have put myself in the hands of...'

nondum: Sen. was a *proficiens* (see n. to *Paul.* 20 § 5) and hoped to grow in strength.

13. **aliena castra**, i.e. the Stoic school: Sen. does not mean that he had belonged to any other school, but that he had sought in others the strength which he did not find in himself.

Sen. uses this phrase in a different sense when he quotes precepts from Epicurus: *Epp.* 2, 5 *soleo in aliena castra transire, non tamquam transfuga sed tamquam explorator*.

§ 3. 14. **iusserunt**, in their books. The language that follows is taken from military life: Sen. holds a fort against the assaults of Fortune.

19. **eos**, 'those only.'

21. **aptati**: middle, not passive: cf. Virg. *Aen.* x 587 *proiecto dum pede laeuo | aptat se pugnae*.

tumultuosissimus, 'most violent': cf. *Dial.* ix 10, 2 *nemo*

duraret, si rerum aduersarum eandem uim adsiduitas haberet quam primus ictus; Thuc. vi 49 τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον πᾶν στράτευμα δεινότατον εἶναι.

§ 4. 25. **honores**: Sen. had been quaestor (cf. 19 § 2) and either aedile or tribune; he was praetor the year after his return from exile.

gratiam, 'influence': due partly, in his case, to eloquence: cf. 14 § 3; *Epp.* 68, 11 *gratiā forensi*.

26. **sine motu meo**, 'without moving me.'

27. **abstulit, non auolsit**, 'she took them from me and did not tear them away,' as she must have done, if these ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ had become part of him: cf. *Epp.* 74, 18 (of external goods) *omnia ista nobis accedant, non haereant, ut, si abducentur, sine ulla nostri laceratione discedant*.

29. **decepit**, 'beguiles him first': the past tense gives this meaning.

§ 5. 30. **suspici**, 'to be looked up to': cf. 9 § 8; *Dial.* vi 10, 2 *non est quod nos suspiciamus tamquam inter nostra positi: mutua accepimus* (they are only lent us). The noun, in this sense, is *suspectus*: cf. *Dial.* vi 5, 2 *facta eius dictaque quanto meruit suspectu celebramus*.

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1. **iacent et maerent**, 'are humbled and distressed': for the same words, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii 36.

2. **solidae**, 'stable': see n. to *Paul.* 5 § 3.

falsa et mobilia, 'deceitful and transient.'

4. **nec...contrahit**, sc. *se*, 'also does not collapse.'

nec, = *ne quidem*, has the sense explained on 4 § 1. *contrahere se* is)(*inflare se*: cf. *Dial.* ii 10, 2 *humilitas animi contrahentis se ob dictum factumue inhonorificum*.

6. **exploratae**, 'tested': cf. *Polyb.* 5 § 3: gen. of description, to be taken either with *animum*, or with the subject of *tenet*.

7. **quid...ualeret**, 'his own strength.'

§ 6. 8. **optant**, 'pray for': see n. to *Paul.* 4 § 1.

9. **tum**, 'besides.' answers to *semper* above: opinion was justified by experience: Cicero would have put a *cum* in the first clause.

inania is)(*solida*.

10. **circumlita**: as a technical term, *circumlitio* is the application of colour (*fucus*) to statuary, e.g. to the hair and eyes: Nicias did *circumlitio* for Praxiteles (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxv 133). For this metaphorical use, cf. Quint. xii 9, 8 *si forte susceperunt negotia paulo ad dicendum tenuiora, extrinsecus adductis ea rebus circumliniunt* (if they undertake a case which offers little scope for eloquence, they touch it up with irrelevant topics).

13. **uerbum**: 'the word "exile".'

14. **iam**, 'by this time.'

15. **ita...iussit**, 'has decreed that it shall be so.'

iubere and *uetare*, 'to vote Aye or No,' are technical terms: cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 15 *maiores nostri, quae scisceret plebes* (the tribes), *aut quae populus* (the centuries) *iuberet, ...iuberi uetarique uoluerunt*.

16. **ex magna parte** = *multă*.

17. **abrogant**, 'repeal': a metaphorical way of saying that philosophers disagree on many points with the opinions of ordinary people: cf. 13 § 4; Cic. *Pro Planc.* 9 *semper sapientes ea, quae populus fecisset, ferenda, non semper laudanda duxerunt*.

VI

Let us consider what exile is. It is a change of place, accompanied by certain deprivations which I will consider later. What is there so terrible in a change of place? Consider the immense number of those who live in Rome, though they were not born there. The same is true of other places, and not only of those which have natural beauty or convenient situation. Take Corsica itself; what possible attraction does it offer? Yet a majority of its inhabitants are foreigners. Some say that the roving spirit is natural to man; and this accords with what we believe to be the origin of the human soul.

§ 1. 18. **plurium**, 'of the majority.'

prima species, 'the outward appearance': so *frons* above.

19. **utcumque**, 'on whatever grounds': here a relative; for the indefinite use, cf. 1 § 1.

aufert, 'carries off,' i.e. 'masters': *transuersos* is often added to *aufferre* in this sense: e.g. *Dial.* vi 6, 3.

20. **ne uidear** cet.: there is an ellipse here: some words like 'I tell you' must be inserted after *subtrahere*: such an ellipse is not uncommon in Latin: cf. 19 § 6; Virg. *Ecl.* 3, 23 *si nescis, meus ille caper fuit*; and see n. to Juv. 5, 159.

21. **quidquid pessimum in se habet**: cf. Juv. 3, 152 *nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se*.

22. **sequuntur**, 'are attached to': the word does not mean that poverty comes after exile but that it is inseparable from it: for the two senses of *sequi*, comp. *Epp.* 107, 8 *noctem dies sequitur* with *Medea* 406 *dum solem dies, | noctem sequuntur astra*, where *sequi* has the same meaning as here. There is a similar shift of meaning in *ἔχασθαι* and *ἐχόμενος*.

24. **postea**: c. 10 foll.

25. **ipsa**, 'mere.'

§ 2. 27. **carere**, 'to be deprived of,' is here)(*frui*: cf. Cic. *Pro Lege Man.* 55 *non modo prouinciis...sed etiam Appia iam uia carebamus* (owing to the incursions of pirates). The word has two other senses: (1) 'to be without,')(*habere*; (2) 'to dispense with,')(*uti*: both are used by Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 144 *si hac indigna suspitione careat* (were free from), *animo aequo se carere* (can do without) *suis omnibus commodis dicit*.

28. **hanc frequentiam**: *istam* would be more correct, in the circumstances; but possibly *hanc* is 'of our time': cf. *Paul.* 10 § 1.

Bentley, in his copy, changed *hanc* to *istam*.

The population of Rome cannot be precisely estimated; Friedländer is of opinion, judging partly by the number of those who shared in the distribution of corn, that it was between one million and a half and two millions, at the end of the first century.

29. **patria caret**: there is a play on two senses of *caret*, 'is deprived of' and 'does without.'

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1. **municipiis et coloniis**=the towns of Italy: cf. *Dial.* vi 3, 1: Furneaux, giving many instances of this phrase from Tacitus (on *Ann.* i 79), does not note that it is so used by much earlier writers: instances will be found in Sallust *Cat.* 17 and 58; Cicero *In Pis.* 41,

Pro Mil. 20, *Post Red. In Sen.* 31 and 38, *Post Red. Ad Quir.* 10: in all these passages, the context proves that the reference is to Italy exclusively, though there were *municipia* and *coloniae* in many provinces of the Empire.

2. **ambitio** = *petitio honorum*: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 1.

About 106 A.D. Trajan required all candidates for office to invest one-third of their wealth in Italian land, *deforme arbitratus honorem petituros urbem Italiamque non pro patria sed pro hospitio aut stabulo quasi peregrinantes habere* (Pliny *Epp.* vi 19, 4). Those who wished to be quaestors must cease to be 'carpet-baggers.'

3. **officium publicum** is office of a less distinguished kind than *honores*, ranging from a *procuratio* such as an *equus* might hold, down to much humbler occupations.

inposita legatio, 'the duty of deputy imposed upon them': i.e. they have been sent to Rome to represent their native place in the matter of some request or grievance. These, however, would not spend their whole lives at Rome.

4. **opportunum et opulentum uitiis**, 'that offers a field for the vicious and abounds in vices': *uitiis* is dat. with *opportunum* and abl. with *opulentum*.

5. **liberalium studiorum**: we hear less of Rome as a place of higher education than of Athens, which remained the chief centre of philosophic instruction, until her schools were closed by Justinian in 529 A.D.: but the best *rhetores* were probably to be found there, even before Quintilian began to teach in 67 A.D.: the chief *grammatici* at Rome under Tiberius and Claudius were M. Pomponius Marcellus, Q. Remmius Palaemon, and M. Valerius Probus (Suet. *De Gramm.* 22—24).

6. **spectacula**: apart from special occasions, there was one kind of spectacle which could be enjoyed at Rome only, the *Circenses* or chariot-races. The provincial towns had theatres for plays, and amphitheatres for gladiatorial shows; but they had no Circus: hence in *Juv.* 3, 223 *auelli Circensibus = Romam relinquere*. We often hear of the crowds which gathered on special occasions: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 39 (of Caesar's games in 46 B.C.) *ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique confluxit* (cf. l. 2) *hominum, ut plerique aduenae aut inter uicos aut inter uias tabernaculis positae manerent, ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi*.

industria, 'activity.'

7. **laxam...materiam**=an ample stage: cf. *Polyb.* 3 § 2; *Dial.* vii 22, 1 *quid dubii est, quin haec maior materia sapienti uiro sit animum explicandi suum, in diuitiis quam in paupertate!*

uirtuti, 'their capacity.'

8. **formam**: these would be slaves, whose beauty fetched a price in the Roman market.

§ 3. 10. **magna pretia ponentem**, 'that offers high prizes': here again the pres. participle is doing the work of a relative clause: see n. to *destruentis*, *Polyb.* 1 § 1.

12. **unde domo**, 'what is your domicile?': cf. Virg. *Aen.* viii 114; Hor. *Epp.* i 7, 53: the abl., often used in inscriptions to denote domicile (see Cagnat *Épigraphie* p. 63), is probably an abl. of origin, *domo* being in apposition with *unde* which is=*a quo loco?*

maiorem partem, 'more than half' of the whole population: this is surely incredible.

§ 4. 15. **ciuitate**, 'city.'

ueluti communis, 'in a sense to belong to all,' so that residence at Rome is not expatriation for any man: so Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii 39) describes Italy as a land chosen by Heaven, *quae una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria feret.*

17. **multitudinis**: gen. of definition: lit. 'every city has a large fraction (of its population) consisting of a foreign crowd': cf. 12 § 1 *pars pauperum*, 'the fraction (of mankind) consisting of the poor'; *Polyb.* 9 § 7 *portus mortis.*

18. **ab iis**: as *transire* regularly takes the acc., this constr. is remarkable.

amoena refers, as usual, to natural beauty: but *urbs pulcherrima* is made so by man.

19. **plures**=a specially large number.

asperrimas, 'rocky': the islands, to which exiles were banished—a system revived in the case of Napoleon and Garibaldi—are often called *scopuli*: cf. Tac. *Hist.* i 2 *plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli*; Mart. ii 24, 4 *per freta, per scopulos exulis ibo comes*; Juv. 10, 170 *ut Gyari clausus scopulis paruaque Seripho.*

Sciathus, Seriphus, and Gyarus (or Gyara) are all small islands in the Aegean.

20. **Cossuran**: *Corsicam*, the reading of the mss., cannot be right, because it anticipates the next point and spoils the climax.

Cossura, now Pantellaria, is a small island in the Mediterranean, midway between Sicily and Africa.

21. **exilium**, 'place of exile.'

22. **animi causa**, 'for pleasure': see n. to *Polyb.* 6 § 4.

§ 5. 23. **hoc saxum**, 'this rock,' i.e. Corsica: cf. 7 § 9. Modern travellers, from Boswell downwards, speak much more favourably of Corsica; but Sen. was naturally prejudiced. See *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

24. **respicienti ad...**, 'when one considers...', dat. of the person judging.

26. **caeli naturam**, 'the climate,' i.e. the summer heat: cf. 7 § 8. Many of these complaints recur in the epigrams attributed to Sen.: cf. *Epigr.* 1, 5 *Corsica terribilis, cum primum incanduit aestas, | saevior, ostendit cum ferus ora Canis*; *ib.* 2, 1 *barbara praeruptis inclusa est Corsica saxis, | horrida, desertis undique uasta locis. | non poma auctumnus, segetes non educat aestas.*

27. **ciues**, 'natives.'

28. **consistunt**, 'reside': regularly used of resident aliens: cf. *Val. Max.* ix 10 2 *ciues Romanos, qui Vticae consistebant*: see Mommsen in *Hermes* vii 309.

29. **quoque**, 'even.'

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§ 6. 1. **inuenio**, i.e. in the course of reading: cf. 1 § 2: the view appears to be Stoic.

2. **inritationem**, 'an itch.'

animis, 'in the human mind': for this view of the mind or soul, cf. *Dial.* ix 2, 11 *naturā humanus animus agilis est et pronus ad motus. grata omnis illi excitandi se materia est*; *Epp.* 39, 3 *noster animus in motu est, eo mobilior et actuosior, quo uehementior fuerit.*

4. **se tenet**, 'remains at rest.'

spargitur, 'it scatters itself,' i.e. it is ubiquitous: in this sense Lucan uses *spargere bellum* (ii 682) and Martial says, *spargor*, 'my fame is spread' (viii 61, 5). For another sense, cf. Sen. *Epp.* 107, 2 *queri, quod spargaris in publico* (because you are splashed in the streets).

§ 7. 8. **originem**: cf. Quint. i 1, 1 *nobis propria est mentis agitatio atque sollertia, unde origo animi caelestis creditur.* But Seneca's inference, that an active mind demands a constant change of place, is questionable: elsewhere (*Fpp.* 2, 1) he himself declares *locorum mutationes* to be *aegri animi iactatio*.

9. **caelesti spiritu**: cf. *Epp.* 66, 12 *ratio nihil aliud est quam in corpus humanum pars diuini spiritus mersa.* Zeller *Stoics* etc., p. 204, 'The human soul is not only a part of the universal power of life, but, because it possesses reason, it has a special relationship to the Divine Being.'

10. **caelestium** = τῶν μετεώρων, the heavenly bodies, including the gods, who were often identified by the Stoics with the stars.

11. **sidera**, 'the planets,' among which the sun is reckoned: cf. 8 § 6: but they are often called *stellae* also.

mundum, 'the sky': cf. *Paul.* 10 § 6; *Polyb.* 7 § 1: often in the poets.

13. **locum ex loco mutat**, 'shifts from place to place': cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vi 18, 1 *spiritus natura citus et locum e loco mutans.*

cum uniuerso, 'with the Universe': see n. to *Polyb.* 1 § 2.

14. **in contrarium**: the apparent daily motion of the sun, due to the earth's rotation, is from east to west, like that of the stars; but his annual motion along the ecliptic, due to the earth's revolution, is in the opposite direction, from west to east: cf. Ovid *Met.* ii 70 *adde quod adsidua rapitur uertigine caelum | sideraque alta trahit celerique uolumine torquet. | nitor in aduersum, nec me, qui cetera, uincit | impetus, et rapido contrarius euehor orbi.*

15. **signorum**, 'the signs of the zodiac,' i.e. the zodiac itself, through which the ecliptic passes.

§ 8. 17. **omnia**, 'all of them,' i.e. the planets.

18. **necessitas**, ἡ εἰμαρμένη, the Fate or Destiny, which, according to the Stoics, has prescribed the course of all things human and divine by immutable law.

19. **per**, 'in the course of.'

caerta annorum spatia: cf. *Nat. Quaest.* i *prol.* § 13 *regio caelestis per triginta annos uelocissimo sideri (Saturn) uiam praestat.*

20. **orbis suos explicuerint**, 'they have completed their orbits.'

per quae uenerant, 'along the course they took before': one would expect *quos*, to agree with *orbis*.

21. **i nunc et puta**, 'how idle then to think, that...': see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 8.

22. **diuina**, 'divine beings.'

23. **dei natura** = *deus*.

25. **conseruet**: their perpetual motion may be the cause of their immortality.

VII

History relates countless instances of migrations on a large scale. Greece sent out colonies north, east, and west. For many different reasons, whole peoples have left their own country to dwell in a strange land. Rome itself was founded by an exile and has, in turn, sent out colonists over all the earth. Even Corsica, where I now am, was inhabited first by Phocaeans, next by Ligurians and Spaniards, then by Roman colonists. There is hardly any country of which the inhabitants are indigenous.

The migrations of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, and the Crusades of the 12th century, would have supplied Sen. with remarkable instances of what he says here.

§ 1. 26. **caelestibus**: neuter: cf. l. 10.

27. **gentes populosque**: where these are distinguished from each other (here they may be synonyms), the second is the more complimentary title, and denotes the ruling nations as distinct from the subject peoples: cf. Lucan i 82 *nec gentibus ullis | commodat in populum terrae pelagique potentem | inuidiam Fortuna suam*. Thus the Romans are constantly described by Cicero and later writers as *populus gentium uictor*: cf. Cic. *Pro Planc.* 11; *De Domo* 90; Sen. *De Ben.* v 15, 6; Pliny *Nat. Hist. praef.* § 16; iii 5; Pliny *Paneg.* 51. Greece and Rome are both *populi* in this sense, the *Ligures* and *Hispani* are *gentes*.

28. **quid sibi uolunt**, 'what is the meaning of,' i.e. 'how can we account for?'

29. **inter**, 'among,' not 'between.'

Macedonicus sermo, spoken by the soldiers whom Alexander left behind in the East.

30. **ferarum** is ambiguous, but is probably adj., not noun.

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1. **ciuitates Achaiae**, 'Greek towns': Pontus was one of the chief centres of Greek colonisation: cf. Ovid *Trist.* iii 9 *hic quoque sunt igitur Graiae (quis crederet?) urbes | inter inhumanae nomina*

barbariac. | huc quoque Mileto missi uenere coloni, | inque Getis Graias constituere domos.

3. **ingenia** cet. : cf. *Dial.* iv 15, 5 *in frigora septentrionemque uergentibus immansueta ingenia sunt, ut ait poeta, 'suoque simillima caelo'* (the poet's name is unknown : Bentley pointed out that his verse probably began with *ingenia immansueta*).

4. **caeli sui**, 'of their climate' : climate was supposed to affect character : cf. *Lucan* viii 366 (of orientals) *emollit gentes clementia caeli.*

transferentibus = *quominus transferrent.*

§ 2. 5. **Atheniensis turba**, 'the main body of Athenians' : *Sen.* refers to the colonisation of Ionia by Athens.

Miletus : cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* v 112 *Miletus, Ioniae caput, super LXXX ubi um per cuncta maria genetrix* : her colonies were chiefly on the Black Sea.

6. **populum** = enough people to populate...

7. **infero mari** : the Tyrrhene sea : *superum mare* is the Adriatic.

8. **maior Graecia** : a more exact but rarer term than *magna Graecia* : cf. *Livy* xxxi 7, 11 *ora illa Italiae, quam maiorem Graeciam uocant* ; *Val. Max.* viii 7 E 3 *Italiae partem, quae tunc maior Graecia appellabatur.*

fuit, 'was once' : it had ceased to be so : cf. *Paul.* 13 § 2.

Tuscos Asia sibi uindicat, 'Asia claims the Etruscans as her own' : the tradition, which may be true, that the people of Etruria were immigrants from Lydia in Asia, is first found in *Herodotus* (i 94), and was generally believed by the Romans.

9. **Africam, Hispaniam** : Carthage was a chief seat of the Phoenicians in Africa, and Gades one of their oldest settlements in Spain. *Sen.* seems to imply that the Carthaginians founded Gades ; but Gades was much older than Carthage.

Graeci, i.e. the Phocaeans : see n. to § 8.

10. **Galli** : the Galatians, who came from Gaul and occupied a district in Asia by force of arms in the 3rd century B.C.

11. **Pyrenaeus**, sc. *mons.* No general migration of Germans to Spain is recorded until a much later date : possibly *Sen.* may refer to the *Celtiberi* who came from Gaul.

12. **humana leuitas** = *homines, quia sunt leues* (restless) : 'man, the wanderer.'

§ 3. 14. **iudicio**, 'by deliberate choice': the word is hardly wanted with *elegerunt*, but is placed there to balance *lassitudine*.

15. **armis sibi ius fecerunt**, 'established their right by the sword': cf. *Dial.* vi 1, 7 *luctus iam sibi ius morā fecit*.

16. **quasdam gentes** cet.: if Sen. is referring to a historical incident, it is unknown to us.

18. **deposuit**, 'stranded them.'

§ 4. 19. **patriam**: we should supply 'a new one' as the object of *quaerendi*.

21. **suis**: neuter.

22. **superfluentis populi frequentia**, 'excess of population,' outrunning the means of subsistence.

23. **ad exonerandas uires**, 'in order to discharge the burden of their numbers': cf. Tac. *Hist.* v 2 *quidam memorant exundantem per Aegyptum multitudinem...proximas in terras exoneratam*; for *uires* (= population), cf. Vell. Pat. i 4, 2 *uires ueteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat moenium*.

24. **terrarum hiatus**: the constant earthquakes at Tyre were sometimes assigned as a cause of her activity in colonising: cf. Lucan iii 217 *Tyros instabilis*; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* vi 1, 13 *Tyros aliquando infamis ruinis fuit*.

25. **eiecerunt**: see n. to *eiciunt*, *Paul.* 12 § 1.

26. **corruptit**, 'bribed,' 'tempted.'

§ 5. 27. **utique**, 'at least': cf. 1 § 4: Cicero would use *certe*. **nihil eodem loco** cet.: cf. *Medea* 372 *terminus omnis motus, et urbes | muros terra posuere noua. | peruius orbis | nil qua fuerat sede reliquit*.

29. **discursus**, 'running to and fro,' i.e. restlessness.

30. **in tam magno orbe**=since the world is so large: if the world were smaller, changes would be less frequent.

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2. **aut in accessionem ualidioris conuersis**, 'or having sunk to be a mere appanage of a stronger people': cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vi 111 *Persis (Persia) in Parthorum iam pridem translata nomen*; Sallust *Iug.* 18 § 12 *uicti omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere*. For *accessio*, 'a make-weight,' 'something thrown in,' see n. to *Paul.* 11 § 1.

validioris shows that *gentibus*, not *nominibus*, is to be supplied with *prioribus*.

4. **publica**, 'of a nation.'

7—9. Evander, an Arcadian prince, settled on the site of Rome before the Trojan war; Antenor, a Trojan, and Diomedes, a Greek, reached Italy after the war and founded cities there. Such were the legends.

§ 7. 10. **Romanum imperium**, 'the Roman empire itself': the Latin order makes it unnecessary to add *ipsum*.

auctorem, 'as its founder.' Some of the phrases here are taken from the first lines of the Aeneid.

12. **uictoris metus**: in the Aeneid, the paramount motive of Aeneas is the divine command.

13. **deinde**, 'in turn': *porro* and *rursus* are more often used in this sense.

15. **ubicumque uicit Romanus, habitat**: a pointed way of saying that colonisation always came after conquest, followed the flag, as we might say. The solidity of the Roman empire was largely due to a well-planned colonial system.

Gibbon (chap. 11) confirms this 'very just observation of Seneca' by the fact that 'about forty years after the reduction of Asia, eighty thousand Romans were massacred in one day, by the cruel orders of Mithridates.'

ad, 'with a view to.'

16. **nomina dabant**: Roman colonists were not adventurers: commissioners were appointed *deducendae coloniae*, and citizens 'gave in their names' at Rome as volunteers. They were conducted to their destination like an army, *sub uexillo*, and formed a garrison of the place where they settled. The *colonia* was a town, not a colony in our sense of the word.

17. **colonos senex**, mss.: Madvig proposed *colonus uexillum*: who ever heard, he asks, of one old man, who left his altars to follow colonists who were all young and did not leave their altars? But it seems possible that *senex* might be = *senes* (cf. § 3), and that *relictis aris suis* might apply also to *colonos*. 'They left their own altars behind, and even the grey-beard went with the colonists across the seas.'

§ 8. 18. **plurium**, 'of more instances.'

19. **in oculos se ingerit**, 'forces itself upon the sight,' 'cannot escape notice': cf. *Dial.* iii 18, 2 *etiamsi ingeritur oculis ueritas, amat et tuetur errorem*; *Nat. Quaest.* vii 25, 5 *harum quinque stellarum* (the planets) *quae se ingerunt nobis, quae alio atque alio occurrentes loco curiosos nos esse cogunt.*

21. **uetustas**, 'antiquity': see n. to *Paul.* 15 § 4.

22. **Phocide**: the people of Massilia did not come from Phocis in Greece, but from Phocaea in Asia Minor. Lucan repeats his uncle's error: iii 340 *post translatas exustae Phocidos arces | moenibus exiguis alieno in litore tuti*; v 53 *Massiliaeque suae donatur libera Phocis* (where Phocis in Greece is wrongly connected with Massilia).

For the fact, cf. Herod. i 165 foll. He tells that the Phocaeans sank iron in the sea and swore never to return to their country till the iron came to the surface. They then set out for Cyrnus (Corsica), but half of them repented and went back; those who went on, lived in Corsica for five years, and then left it in consequence of the attacks of the Carthaginians and Etruscans. Sen. appears not to know or to disbelieve the reasons assigned by Herodotus for their departure from Corsica.

25. **inportuosi**: cf. Pliny *Epp.* vi 31, 17 *per longissimum spatium litus inportuosum*: Corsica is not really ill-provided with harbours.

26. **in causa**: cf. *Paul.* 3 § 3; *Epp.* 116, 8 *nolle in causa est, non posse praetenditur* (the reason is want of will, the excuse is want of power).

28. **Galliae populis**: cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 63 (in a fine panegyric on Massilia) *cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus barbariae fluctibus adluatur.*

§ 9. **transierunt**, διέβησαν, 'crossed the sea:' the Ligurians were the inhabitants of what is now called the Riviera and the Maritime Alps.

30. **ritus**, 'of their customs': i.e. the present inhabitants resemble Spaniards in some part of their dress and language: for this meaning of *ritus* (which Gertz denies), cf. Val. Max. ii 2, 3, where *patrius ritus* = *lingua Latina*.

tegmenta, sc. *sunt Corsis*. The *Cantabri* were a people of Hispania Tarraconensis.

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2. **uerba quaedam**, 'a few words' are the same as in Spanish.

nam: there is a slight ellipse: 'only a few words; for in their language as a whole, owing to association with Greeks and Ligurians, they have abandoned their native idiom,' i.e. Spanish.

conuersatio is not 'conversation': see n. to *Paul.* 3 § 3.

5. **coloniae**: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* iii 80 (of Corsica) *colonias habet, Marianam a C. Mario deductam, Aleriam a dictatore Sulla*: both towns were on the E. coast.

6. **spinosi** implies that the vegetation consists of *spineta* (thorn-brakes).

saxi: cf. 6 § 5: an invidious term for a small rocky island: cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv 21, 5 (of an exile) *saxo Seripho consenuit*. To us 'The Rock' suggests different ideas.

§ 10. **uix...ullam**: the qualification is perhaps due to the famous instance of Athens, *quae uetustate eā est, ut ipsa ex sese suos ciues genuisse dicatur* (Cic. *Pro Flacco* 62).

7. **etiamnunc**, 'to this day': see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

8. **permixta omnia et insiticia sunt**, 'everywhere the population is of mongrel and imported stock.'

10. **expulerat**, 'had driven out others': *ille* of this clause is not identical with *illi* of the last.

11. **fortunam**, 'the condition' or 'state.'

VIII

According to Varro, the exile has Nature, and, according to Brutus, his own virtue, to accompany him wherever he goes. These two are enough to secure happiness. The Maker of the universe has ordained that what is most precious to man shall not be at the mercy of circumstances. With the starry heaven over his head, and the consciousness of his own virtue in his heart, the place where a man is, matters little.

§ 1. 13. **incommodis**: i.e. *paupertas*, etc.: cf. 6 § 1.

14. **Varro**: cf. Quint. x 1, 95 *Terentius Varro, uir Romanorum eruditissimus*: the qualification is due perhaps to the greater name of Aristotle: Varro (116-28 B.C.) was a profound student and

voluminous writer. Where he said this, is unknown ; he was never strictly an exile himself.

15. **uenimus**, 'we come': but the Latin tense is perf., as the idiom requires.

rerum natura: the sequel shows that this is not 'nature,' in the sense of picturesque scenery ; for Sen. denies to Corsica all advantages of that kind. *natura* here is restricted to the meaning of *mundus*, the firmament and what it contains ; and this would bear much the same aspect to an exile in any part of the Mediterranean.

16. **M. Brutus** (85-42 B.C.), one of Caesar's assassins : he wrote on philosophy : see n. to 9 § 4. The quotation is probably taken from his *De Virtute*, where he praised the conduct of Marcellus during his exile at Mytilene.

§ 2. 18. **singula**, 'separately.'

20. **quantulum**, 'how little': cf. *Polyb.* 2 § 6.

22. **sequentur**, 'will go with us': this word sometimes loses its original sense of 'coming after': see n. to 6 § 1.

natura, uirtus: not unlike is the famous sentence of the illustrious Kant: 'two things fill me with ever-growing awe—the starry heaven above me, and the moral law within me.'

§ 3. 23. **id actum est**, 'it was the intention.'

24. **formator uniuersi**: the Ruler of the Universe was described among the Stoics under many names, of which four are given here: (1) a personal God ; (2) impersonal Reason ; (3) an Air Current (*πνεῦμα*) ; (4) Eternal Law. They gave yet other names to the divine power: in *Nat. Quaest.* ii 45, Sen. gives no less than eight: (1) *rector custosque uniuersi*; (2) *animus ac spiritus mundi*; (3) *operis huius dominus et artifex*; (4) *fatum*; (5) *causa causarum* (First Cause); (6) *prouidentia*; (7) *natura*; (8) *mundus*.

ille is subject, **deus** predicate.

26. **diuinus spiritus**: cf. Zeller *Stoics* etc. p. 144: 'God is an internal atmospheric current, penetrating all things, and assuming various names according to the objects in which he resides.'

27. **aequali intentione**, 'with uniform pressure.'

29. **ut...nisi uilissima quaeque non caderent**, 'that only the most worthless of a man's possessions should fall...,' i.e. τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά, wealth, power, etc.

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§ 4. 1. **humanam** = of other men.

2. **nec dari nec eripi**: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 1 § 3 *probitatem industriam aliasque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere Fortuna cuiquam potest. mundus hic*, 'yonder sky.'

2—4. The *optimum* for man is now said to consist of two things: (1) *mundus*, 'the heavens,' 'the sky,' with which *natura* is identified; (2) the human mind.

5. **eius**, i.e. *mundi*: the soul or mind is a part of the divine mind and came from heaven; hence nothing is so glorious: cf. 11 § 7.

propria, 'possessions': though both the subjects (*mundus* and *animus*) are masc., the predicate is neuter.

7. **manebimus** includes the life after death (of limited duration, according to the Stoics) as well as bodily life.

8. **res tulerit**, 'circumstances carry us': *nos* is probably to be supplied as object of *tulerit*.

§ 5. 9. **quascumque terras**, 'any countries whatever': the pron., originally relative, is used as an indefinite: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 66 *vetustissima naue impositos quocumque uento in quascumque terras iubebo auehi*.

10. **mundum**, 'the world,' here, probably.

The supplement of Vahlen is indispensable: the words have fallen out owing to the repetition of *mundum*.

Sen. refers to the Stoic dogma, that all men are fellow-citizens in the great City of the World: cf. *Dial.* iv 31, 7 *nefas est nocere patriae: ergo cui quoque, nam hic pars patriae est: ergo et homini, nam hic in maiore tibi urbe cuius (fellow-citizen) est; viii 4, 1 duas res publicas animo complectamur, alteram magnam et uere publicam, qua di atque homines continentur, in qua non ad hunc angulum respicimus aut ad illum, sed terminos ciuitatis nostrae cum sole metimur*.

11. **undecumque—acies**: for an illiterate proverb to the same effect, cf. Petron. c. 45 *ubique medius caelus est*.

For *undecumque* in this sense, Cic. uses *undique*: cf. *Tusc. Disp.* i 104 *undique ad inferos tantundem uitae est*.

12. **erigitur acies**, 'you lift your eyes': in military writers the same words would mean 'the army marches up-hill.'

§ 6. 13. **dum**, 'provided that.'

16. **inhaerere**, 'to fix my gaze upon.'

sideribus, 'planets,' are)(*stellas* l. 19: cf. *Dial.* vi 18, 2 *uidebis innumerabiles stellas micare...*: § 3 *uidebis quinque sidera diuersas agentia uias*.

17. **interualla**, 'the distances between them.'

19. **et** would be better away.

alias non—uestigium: 'while others do not travel to a great distance, but wheel round within the same spot,' i.e. constellations near the Pole, such as the Great Bear: *intra suum uestigium=in eodem uestigio*: see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 6.

21. **quasdam, quasdam**: 'comets,' and 'shooting stars,' often called *faces*.

subito = *incerto tempore*.

igne fuso praestringentes aciem, 'dazzling the sight with spreading fire': cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vii 11, 2 *cometarum, quibus fusus est ignis*; Lucan i 532 *nunc sparso lumine lampas | emicuit caelo*.

22. **quasi decidant**: Sen. believed that they did not really fall: cf. *Nat. Quaest.* i 1, 9 *stultissimum est existimare decidere stellas*.

longo tractu, 'leaving a long wake behind them': cf. *Lucr.* ii 206 *nocturnasque faces caeli sublime uolantis | nonne uides longos flammaram ducere tractus?*

24. **qua**, 'in as far as.'

25. **cognatarum**, 'akin to it': see n. to 6 § 7.

27. **quid calcem**, 'what I tread on': i.e. whether I am at Rome or in Corsica: the verb expresses contempt for the earth we tread on, when compared with the *mundus*.

IX

If the soil of Corsica produces nothing valuable, the sky can be seen from there as well as from other places. All the buildings of the wealthy and luxurious only serve to hide the sky from them. The best house in Corsica is no more than a cottage; but a cottage in which Virtue dwells is better than any palace. When Marcellus was in exile at Mytilene, Brutus found it hard to leave him; and Caesar, who had driven him into exile, was ashamed to visit him. You may be sure that Marcellus compared his life to Caesar's, and preferred the admiration of Brutus to the power of Caesar, driven by civil war to every quarter of the world.

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§ 1. 1. **at**: an imaginary opponent of the argument points out the defects of Corsica.

laetarum: the epithet, common of *segetes* and *pabula*, is less common of trees: but cf. *Dial.* vi 16, 7 *adulescunt amissis laetiora* (more flourishing shoots); Aulus Gellius xii 1, 16 *arborem laetam et nitentem*; Lucr. v 921 *herbarum genera ac fruges arbustaque laeta*; Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xvii 10) says that the N. wind makes trees *densiores laetioresque*; Martial (ix 61, 16) speaks of *laetior umbra* of a plane-tree. As *laetae arbores* are here)(*frugiferae*, they seem to be trees 'with rich foliage,' grown for shade. In point of fact, it appears that trees grew well in Corsica: see *Intro.* p. xxxv.

4. **tutelam**, 'support,' 'sustenance': cf. Suet. *Iul.* 68 *cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent*.

5. **lapis**, 'marble': for **caeditur**, cf. Mart. vi 42, 12 *certant vario decore saxa, | quae Phryx et Libys altius cecidit*.

§ 2. 6. **angustus**, 'petty,' 'limited.'

7. **illa**, i.e. *caelestia*. Gold and silver, in their natural state, are hidden and have no lustre.

8. **et hoc cogitandum est**, 'there is another thing to bear in mind': i.e. the *terrena* are not only inferior in themselves, but also hinder their possessor in the enjoyment of *caelestia*.

9. **per**, 'by means of': *falsa* and *prave credita* are epithets of *bona* understood.

But the expression is very awkward: is it possible that Sen. wrote *ipsa*, not *per*, or that he here used *perfalsa*, 'very false'?

10. **porticus**, 'covered walks,' in which the rich took their drives, sheltered from sun or rain: it was an object with the luxurious to have these of great length: cf. Juv. 4, 5 *quid refert igitur quantis iumenta fatiget | porticibus?*; Suet. Nero 31 (of the Golden House) *tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias* (a mile long) *haberet*.

expedierint: *explicuerint* would be more usual: but the two verbs are akin in meaning: cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* xiii 26, 2 *ut negotia explices et expedias*.

11. **quo latius uicos porrexerint**, 'the wider they make their streets': elsewhere *uici* are the public streets; but, to agree with the context, these *uici* must belong to the rich man and form some part of his great mansion. Sen. (*Epp.* 90, 43) speaks of *domos instar urbium* (town-houses as big as cities); the parts of such a *domus* might satirically be called *uici*.

quo depressius, 'the deeper': cf. *Dial.* v 33, 4 *pecuniam ex omnibus metallis, quae deprimimus* (we are sinking).

12. **aestiuos specus**, 'caves for summer,' i.e. chambers underground to secure coolness in hot weather. Pliny, in describing his villas, mentions *cryptoporticus* (*Epp.* ii 17 and v 6); but these were not underground, which the *specus* clearly are.

fastigia cenationum subduxerint, 'they rear the gables of their banqueting-rooms': for *subducere*, 'to raise,' cf. *Epp.* 48, 7 *super-cilia subduximus*; Aulus Gellius iv 5, 4 *constitit eam statuam in locum editum subducendam*. A commoner word here would be *eduxerint*: cf. *Polyb.* 18 § 2.

13. **hoc plus erit quod**, 'so much the more there will be, to...': *hoc* is abl. of amount of difference.

caelum abscondat: of the other buildings and excavations this is true; but what of the *uici*? The result of making wider streets is to give a larger view of the sky.

§ 3. 14. **te** has nothing to do with Helvia: Sen. is now addressing the public, and in the ardour of his discourse has forgotten a little about his mother.

15. **ne**, 'truly.'

17. **Romuli casam**: a wooden hut with a thatched roof on the Palatine Hill, revered for its supposed connexion with the beginnings of Roman history: it was thought typical of the simplicity of earlier times: cf. Val. Max. iv 4, 11 *per Romuli casam perque ueteris Capitolii humilia tecta iuro, nullas diuicias talium uirorum paupertati posse praeferri*. An exile, compelled to live in a hut, might console himself (perhaps there had been an actual instance of this happening) by recalling that the sacred dwelling of Romulus was just as humble; but, says Sen., there are much higher sources of consolation than that.

18. **istud** is used with the sense of *hoc*, as not uncommonly in Seneca, Lucan, and later writers.

nempe uirtutes recipit, 'offers, I suppose, a roof to the Virtues.'

19. **iam**, 'soon,' when the Virtues have taken up house there.

20, 21. **iustitia**: three of the cardinal virtues, *δικαιοσύνη*, *σωφροσύνη*, *σοφία*, are mentioned; the fourth, *fortitudo*, *ἀνδρεία*, is rather strangely omitted: the exile would need it.

20. **cum**, 'when.'

21. **prudentia**, 'wisdom': used strictly, it = *φρόνησις*, while *sapientia* = *σοφία*.

omnium—ratio, 'a system for apportioning all duties aright': i.e. a system of ethics.

22. **humanorum diuinorumque scientia**, 'the knowledge of God and man' (the adjectives are, of course, neuter): this is a Stoic definition of philosophy, *ἐμπειρία τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων*. Cf. *Epp.* 89, 5 *sapientia est, nosse diuina et humana et horum causas*; Cic. *De Off.* ii 5 *sapientia est, ut a ueteribus philosophis definitum est, rerum diuinarum et humanarum scientia*; *Tusc. Disp.* iv 57; Quint. xii 2, 8 *ut oratoris uita (practical life) cum scientia diuinarum rerum sit humanarumque coniuncta*.

23. **tam magnarum for tantarum**: see n. to *Polyb.* 14 § 1.

24. **turbam**, 'company': the word has here no sense of crowding or disorder: elsewhere he speaks of *comitatus virtutum* (*Epp.* 67, 10; 90, 3). Cicero (*De Off.* iii 116) speaks of the parts of *σωφροσύνη* as *uirtutum chorus*, and has the same phrase in *Tusc. Disp.* v 13 of *constantia, grauitas, fortitudo, sapientia*.

capit, 'can hold': see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 9.

§ 4. 26. **de uirtute**: cf. Cic. *De Fin.* i 8 (to Brutus) *id facio*

prouocatus gratissimo mihi libro, quem ad me 'de uirtute' misisti (you dedicated to me): another philosophical work by Brutus 'Concerning Duty,' *περὶ καθήκοντος*, is mentioned by Sen. *Epp.* 95, 45; and a third, *De Patientia*, is elsewhere recorded.

Marcellum: M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51 B.C., was a strong partisan of the senate in their breach with Caesar. In Lucan (i 313) he is called by Caesar *loquax*, 'the man of words'; and he certainly took little part in the war. After Pharsalia he retired to Mytilene and devoted himself to study; when allowed by Caesar to return to Italy, he was murdered in Athens on his way home (46 B.C.).

28. **hominis** = *humana*.

patēretur, 'permits': Latin idiom retains the time of *uidisse*, but it is unnatural in English: cf. § 7 *scires*.

29. **bonarum artium**, i.e. rhetoric and philosophy: cf. 17 § 3. Marcellus studied oratory at Mytilene and attended the lectures of Cratippus, a Peripatetic philosopher, who afterwards was the teacher of Cicero's son at Athens (Cic. *Brutus* 250).

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2. **rediturus**, 'about to return to Rome': Brutus fought against Caesar at Pharsalia, but got his pardon before Marcellus did.

§ 5. 5. **rei publicae consulatum**, sc. *adprobauit*: this is a flourish of rhetoric: Cicero himself, a strong partisan of the senate, expresses disgust with Marcellus, when, as consul, he flogged an ex-magistrate of Novum Comum, a colony founded by Caesar (Cic. *Ad Att.* v 11, 2 *Marcellus foede in Comensi*).

8. **Catoni suo**: cf. *Polyb.* 15 § 5 *Drusi sui*: Brutus was the son-in-law of Cato, and, if we may trust Lucan, considered him an infallible guide in politics as in other matters. To Sen. himself, Cato was what a canonised saint is to a devout Catholic.

§ 6. 10. **praeteruectum**, 'had sailed past' without landing there: probably in August 47 B.C., after the campaign against Pharnaces.

deformatum uirum, 'a great man marred,' i.e. Marcellus, after he had lost the trappings of greatness: cf. Cic. *Mur.* 88 *imaginem deformatam ignominia*; Sallust *Iug.* 14 § 7 *deformatus aerumnis*.

11. **quidem** does not qualify *illi*, but the whole clause.

inpetrauit senatus : it was on this occasion that Cicero delivered his speech, still extant, *Pro Marcello*.

14. **si sine illo fuissent** : there is an ellipse here: '*as exiles they would be*, if they had to do without Marcellus.'

15. **plus**, i.e. more glory.

16. **non potuit**, 'could not bear,' i.e. 'found it hard,' for Brutus *did* leave him: it was Caesar who 'could not bear' to look upon him: facts have to bend for the sake of antithesis.

19. **erubuit** : Sen. supposes that shame prevented Caesar from seeing Marcellus: from what we know of his character, it is much more likely that he was either in a hurry, or avoided the interview because he wished to spare Marcellus mortification.

§ 7. **num dubitas** : again the question is addressed to the reader, not to Helvia: it is for his benefit that a soliloquy is now put into the mouth of Marcellus.

22. **disciplinis**, 'methodical studies': cf. 17 § 4: we are told (Cic. *Brutus* 249) that Marcellus studied oratory exclusively.

omnem locum cet.: cf. Eur. *fragm.* ἀπασα γὰρ χθῶν ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πατρὶς: Ovid *Fasti* i 493 *omne solum forti patria est*: King *Richard II* i 3, 275 'All places that the eye of heaven visits, Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.'

23. **quid porro**: cf. *Polyb.* 12 § 4.

qui te expulit : *quem tu fugisti* would represent the fact more accurately: Marcellus fled from Italy with Pompey in 49 B.C.

24. **per annos decem** : cf. Lucan i 283 *bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris*. Caesar left Italy for his province of Gaul in March 58 B.C.; he next touched Italian soil on the south bank of the Rubicon in Jan. 49 B.C.

25. **sine dubio**, 'it is true,' answered by the *sed* which follows: for this and other meanings of the phrase, see n. to *Polyb.* 3 § 5.

26. **nempe**, 'undoubtedly.'

§ 8. **Africa, Hispania, Aegyptus** : the historical order is not followed: see n. to *Paul.* 4 § 5: Caesar fought first in Egypt (autumn of 48 till June 47 B.C.), then in Africa (Thapsus, April, 46), and last in Spain (Munda, March, 45).

The inclusion of Egypt seems to be a slip: as it is not possible that Marcellus, who did not go to Mytilene till after Pharsalia, was

there before Caesar went to Egypt. Nor could Marcellus know in 47 B.C. that there would be a final struggle in Spain: he only knew that Caesar had already conquered Spain in 49 B.C.

28. **partes**, the side of the senate.

refouet: used of the same struggle *Paul.* 5 § 2.

Aegyptus infida: so called from the treacherous murder of Pompey in Egypt: cf. *Paul.* 13 § 7.

30. **intentus**, 'strained,' i.e. excited, in a state of unrest: *erectus* (*μετέωπος*) is commonly used in this sense: cf. Tac. *Agr.* 18 *erecta prouincia*; *Ann.* xiv 57 *erectas Gallias ad nomen dictatorium*.

31. **parti**, 'part of the world,' not 'faction': for only one was opposed to him: cf. *De Clem.* i 1, 2 *nulla pars*.

aget...uictoria sua is meant to be a paradox: to be hunted over the world is generally the lot of the vanquished.

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1. **suspiciant et colant**, 'reverence and worship him.'

Note the triple antithesis in the following clause; the last sentence of the soliloquy is bound to be highly rhetorical.

X

Poverty is the companion of exile. Is poverty an evil? I do not find it so; the loss of wealth is even a relief. The natural wants of food and shelter are easily gratified. The rich may ransack sea and land for dainties; they may despise all food, that is not enormously costly; but they do not satisfy hunger more than the poor man does. The great Romans of old were content with simple food; contrast with them Apicius, who put an end to his life of gluttony, because out of his fortune he had only £100,000 left! Nature is easily satisfied, greed never.

§ 1. 5. **paupertas sequeretur**, 'poverty went with it': cf. 6 § 1. Sen. describes himself (*Epigr.* 1, 7) as *relegatus*, and is so described by the Scholiast on *Juv.* 5, 109: the punishment of *relegatio* did not involve the confiscation of the exile's property; but an impoverished exile is obviously a better object for rhetorical description.

6. **nondum** is an ironical suggestion that everyone is moving in that direction.

8. **tutelam**: see n. to 9 § 1.

§ 2. 11. **occupationes**, 'engrossments,' in the sense often found in *Dial.* x (*Paul.*): his wealth only gave rise to business that was engrossing and morally unprofitable.

12, 13. **summoueri, extinguere**: for this coupling of active and pass. inf., cf. *ire* and *relinqui* 9 § 4; *Virg. Aen.* iii 60 *omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra, | linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus austros.*

12. **frigus summoueri**: cf. Lucan's description of Cato (ii 384): *huic epulae uicisse famem; magnique penates, | summovisse hiemem tecto.*

13. **quidquid—laboratur**, 'if we covet anything beyond, we toil to serve, not our needs, but our vices.' For *extra*, Cicero would use *praeterea*.

14. **uitiis**: dat., common in Sen. for *ad* and *acc.*: cf. *Dial.* viii 5, 1 *natura nos ad utrumque genuit, et contemplationi rerum et actioni*; *Epp.* 119, 15 *ad salutem omnia parata sunt et in promptu, deliciis omnia misere ac sollicitate comparantur.*

15. **omne**, 'every.'

perscrutari, 'to ransack': cf. *Epp.* 89, 22 *uos...quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras*; *Juv.* 5, 95 *retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello | proxima.*

16. **conchyliā**, 'shell-fish,' especially oysters: Sen. probably means oysters from Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent: these were much prized at Rome: it must have been difficult to get them fresh.

Oysters are one of the few eatables about which ancient and modern opinion are at one: Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxii 59) says sarcastically that he cannot write too much about *ostrea, cum palma mensarum* (the first place in good eating) *diu iam tribuatur illis.*

17. **ignoto** is more than *peregrino*: thus it is used of China *De Ben.* vii 9, 5.

18. **inuidiosi**=too great for safety: lit. 'exposed to *inuidia*,' because of its extent: cf. *Epp.* 87, 7 *tantum suburbani agri possidet, quantum inuidiose in desertis Apuliae possideret.*

imperii fines: if Sen. is, as I think, referring to British oysters, then this was written before the summer of 43 A.D., when southern England became a part of the Roman empire. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

§ 3. 19. **ultra Phasin**: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xix 52 *mergi enim,*

credo, in profunda satius est, et ostrearum genera naufragio exquiri, aues ultra Phasim amnem peti, ne fabuloso quidem terrore tutas. The river Phasis, on the east of the Euxine, just south of the Caucasus, gave its name to the *phasiana auis* or 'pheasant,' which was found there, it was said, by the Argonauts.

ambitosam, 'pretentious': cf. *Paul.* 12 § 5.

20. **nec** = *nam non*.

21. **poenas**: vengeance for the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C.: a vengeance to which the poets often looked forward, but which was never satisfactorily realised.

aves, i.e. pheasants.

22. **gulae**: the vice of gluttony is a common mark for Seneca's diatribes: cf. esp. *Epp.* 95, 15—28. He had a right to rebuke others, for his own diet was simple: cf. *Tac. Ann.* xv 45, 6 *per-simplici uictu et agrestibus pomis uitam tolerat*; *ibid.* 63, 5 *corpus parco uictu tenuatum*.

23. **dissolutus deliciis**, 'utterly enfeebled by delicacies': cf. *Dial.* iv 25, 1: see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 6: 'dissolved in luxury,' common in Gibbon, is one of the many Latinisms, which made Porson say: 'it would be a good exercise for a school-boy to translate occasionally a page of Gibbon into English.'

24. **oceano**: this must refer to British oysters.

uomunt ut edant: there is little evidence to show that this revolting practice was common: it is true that the Romans used emetics on medical advice more than is common now: see Munro's *Catullus* pp. 92 foll.

25. **nec concoquere dignantur**, 'they do not deign even to digest,' but reject the dainties *cruda*.

nec = *ne quidem*.

26. **ista** is governed by both verbs, *despicit* and *concupiscit*.

28. **sanatur**, 'he is in process of being cured': i.e. he is forced to live the simple life and so gets a chance to be cured permanently of luxurious habits.

remedia...recipit, 'swallow the medicine': if he did this, he would be permanently cured; as it is, temporary absence from luxuries is enforced upon him: for *recipit*, cf. *Paul.* 7 § 3; *Nat. Quaest.* vi 24, 5 *totas urbes recipit hiatus ille*.

29). **dum non potest, illa nolenti similis est**, 'his want of

power is like a want of desire for those things': cf. *Epp.* 67, 2 (of the enforced temperance of old age) *quicquid debebam nolle, non possum*, 'where it is my duty to have no desire, I have no power.'

illa is awkward and superfluous; Madv. substituted *uelle*; but the quotation shows that no inf., neither *uelle* nor *nolle*, should be supplied with *potest*. Possibly *illa* is due to some early reader, who did not understand how the verbs could have no object.

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1. **illa**, i.e. luxuries.

§ 4. **C. Caesar**: here Caligula, but Julius Caesar 9 § 6.

2. **edidisse**, 'to have produced.'

ut ostenderet, 'that she might show': *rerum natura*, not *Caesar*, is shown to be the subject by similar passages: cf. *Epp.* 66, 1 *inique se gessit natura, aut fortasse uoluit hoc ipsum nobis ostendere, posse ingenium fortissimum sub qualibet cute latere*; *De Ben.* vii 8, 2 *Demetrius, quem mihi uidetur rerum natura nostris tulisse temporibus, ut ostenderet, nec illum a nobis corrumpi posse* cet.

3. **fortuna**, 'position,' 'rank.'

centiens: this and similar adverbs are all multiples of *deciens*, which stands for *deciens centena milia sestertium*: therefore *centiens* = 10,000,000 sesterces or £100,000.

sestertio, abl. of price, the contracted gen. plur. (*sestertium*) being declined as a neuter noun.

4. **in hoc**, 'for this object.'

adiutus: concessive.

5. **tributum** is subject, **cena** predicate. The phrase is rhetorical; for the sum mentioned is too small for the yearly revenue from any three Roman provinces: when Caesar organised Gaul as a province, we are told that he fixed the poll tax (*stipendium*) to be paid very low; yet it was 40,000,000 sesterces a year.

§ 5. 6. **palatum**=appetite, for which Latin has no precise equivalent: Celsus uses *cibi cupiditas*. Juvenal (6, 427) uses *orevis*, and Aulus Gellius (xvi 3, 2) *adpetitio: esuritio* (used by Catullus and Martial) is a painful sensation: for 'want of appetite,' *fastidium* is common and is used even of animals.

ad, 'at the sight of.'

9. **alioqui**, 'otherwise.'

11. **uentri seruientibus**, 'at the call of the belly,' i.e. entirely occupied in ministering to it.

mercaturis, 'importation,' of such dainties as pheasants: at the end of the first century A.D., Martial speaks of these and guinea-fowls as bred in Roman poultry-yards, so that importation would no longer be necessary (Mart. iii 58. 12 *uagatur omnis turba sordidae chortis*, | ...*Numidicaeque guttatae* (speckled guinea-fowls) | *et impiorum phasiana Colchorum*).

12. **siluarum**, the haunt of *apri*.

15. **peruagantur, traiciunt**: not in person, but by their agents.

16. **exiguo, magno**: abl. of price.

inritant: the food they eat is intended to whet their appetite, not to put a stop to it: a reference to the oysters, of which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxii 64) says, *stomachum unice reficiunt*.

§ 6. **libet dicere**, 'I like to say': cf. *Paul.* 3 § 2. Sen. now starts an apostrophe addressed to gluttons principally, but also to those who amass wealth.

17. **deducitis naues** cet.: the gluttonous are represented as launching fleets and manning armies, in order to procure their favourite dishes.

manus, 'bands.'

19. **opes**: really irrelevant here; but Sen., while attacking gluttony, aims a side-stroke at avarice.

non uoltis is a plur. form of *uis tu*: see n. to *Paul.* 19 § 2.

21. **ultimus**, 'the worst': cf. *Paul.* 13 § 7 *ultimo mancipio*.

cum tam exiguum capias, 'when a man can hold so little': the sing. (*capias*), in the middle of plurals, has a generalising sense. There is a play on the sound of *capere* and *cupere*.

22. **licet**, 'though.'

23. **numquam—laxabitis**, 'you will never increase the accommodation in your insides': cf. *Dial.* vii 9, 4 *quid mihi uoluptatem nominas? hominis bonum quaero, non uentris, qui pecudibus ac beluis laxior (roomier) est*: so the Turkish Cadi reproved his English friend, who wished for statistics of trade and population: 'will much knowledge make thee a double belly?'

§ 7. 27. **scilicet**, 'of course': ironical.

28. **quorum uirtus—sustentat**, 'whose virtues to this day prop up our vices': i.e. if we, vicious as we are, have not come to utter ruin, we owe it to their virtues: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 53 § 5 (of public men in his youth) *res publica magnitudine suā imperatorum atque magistratuum uitia sustentabat.*

etiamnunc, 'to this day,' 'up till now': see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 3.

29. **parabant**, 'procured': cf. Juv. 14, 181 *panem quaeramus aratro.* *parabant* could mean 'cooked'; but this anticipates the story of Curius below.

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2. **factiles**, 'of baked clay': before the images of the gods were made of gold or marble, oaths sworn by the gods were kept: cf. *Epp.* 31, 11 *non potest ex hac materia* (gold and silver) *imago dei exprimi similis: cogita illos, cum propitii essent, fictiles fuisse;* Juv. 11, 115, *hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat* | *fictilis et nullo uiolatus Iuppiter auro.*

3. **ad hostem...redibant**: the reference is to Regulus: the use of the plur. implies that Regulus was typical of contemporary Romans.

morituri, 'though doomed to die.'

§ 8. 4. **dictator noster**: Manius Curius: one of the great Roman heroes, *exactissima norma Romanae frugalitatis* (Val. Max. iv 3, 5): Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi 111) speaks of Nero's Golden House, and adds: *nimirum sic habitauerant illi, qui hoc imperium fecere tantum, ad deuincendas gentes triumphosque referendos ab aratro aut foco exeuntes!*

5. **audiit**, 'gave audience to': but, as Curius refused a present of gold offered him by the Samnites, we should rather expect *repudiavit*: see Pliny and Cicero below and Val. Max. iv 3, 6 *repudiatis donis*: the tense, too, *audiit* instead of *audiebat*, is suspicious: is it possible that the first four letters of *repudiavit* have been lost and the last six shuffled?

uilissimum cibum: turnips, as we learn from Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xix 87 *M. Curium imperatorem, quem ab hostium legatis, aurum repudiaturo adferentibus, rapum torrentem in foco inuentum, annales nostri prodidere;* cf. Cic. *Cato* 56 *Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt.*

7. **lauream...reposerat**: the privilege of the *triumphator*: Curius triumphed over the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus.

8. **Apicius**: M. Gavius Apicius, the prince of Roman epicures, *nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis* (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* x 133), lived under Augustus and Tiberius: his name became proverbial, and he points many a moral in Pliny, Martial, and Juvenal.

nostra memoria = in our time: *patrum memoriū* is common for an earlier date.

9. **aliquando**: i.e. 161 B.C.: cf. Aul. Gell. xv 11 *C. Fannio Strabone, M. Valerio Messala coss., senatus consultum de philosophis et de rhetoribus factum est*: 'M. Pomponius praetor senatum consuluit. quod uerba facta sunt de philosophis..., de ea re ita censuerunt ut M. Pomponius praetor animadverteret curaretque, uti (as) ei e re publica fideque sua uideretur, uti Romae ne essent.'

The decree of expulsion was repeated under Domitian: cf. Aul. Gell. *ibid.* 5 *qua tempestate Epictetus quoque philosophus propter id senatus consultum Nicopolim Roma decessit*; Suet. *Dom.* 10; Pliny *Epp.* iii 11, 2.

10. **scientiam popinae professus**, 'opened a school of gas-tro-nomy': *profiteri* and *professor* are generally used of professors of rhetoric, this being the staple of higher education: cf. Pliny quoted on *Polyb.* 16 § 2. A *grammaticus* is said *docere, a rhetor, profiteri*.

11. **saeculum**, 'his contemporaries.'

§ 9. 13. **miliens** = £1,000,000.

tot must qualify *congiaria*: he lived under two emperors: why they gave money to such a man, or how he derived revenue from the Capitol, is not known. Tacitus (*Ann.* iv 1, 3) speaks of his wealth and prodigality.

14. **congiaria**: for imperial gifts to an individual, Tacitus regularly uses *liberalitas*: *Ann.* ii 37, 2; iv 20, 1; *Hist.* i 20, 2: cf. Sen. *De Ben.* iii 27, 4.

16. **rationes suas**, 'his accounts': the true Roman kept careful accounts: see Heitland § 405 'The careful management of property and judicious investment of money was not only a part of the Roman character: it was honoured and consciously practised as a virtue.'

18. **uelut...uicturus**, 'considering that he would live': cf.

Mart. iii 22 *dederas, Apici, bis trecentiens uentri, et adhuc supererat centiens tibi laxum. | hoc tu grauatius ut iamem et sitim ferre summa uenenum potione perduxisti. | nil est, Apici, tibi gulosius factum.*

§ 10. 20. **i nunc et puta** = after that you cannot suppose.

21. **modum**, 'the amount.'

ad rem pertinere, 'matters,' 'is of importance': cf. *Paul.*

13 § 5.

non animi, sc. *modum*: 'the less or more of greed' is what makes the difference.

24. **saluberrima**: death was the only cure for the depravity of Apicius.

26. **ostentaret**, 'he paraded.'

27. **ciuitatem...conuerteret**, 'he drew the attention of the town': for *conuerteret*, cf. *Dial.* iv 11, 3 *uersus, qui in theatro dictus totum in se populum conuertit*; vi 21, 7 *infantiam in se pueritia conuertit* (the child is taken up by the thought of boyhood); *Pliny Nat. Hist.* x 27 (of the young cuckoo) *ille audius ex natura praeripit cibos reliquis pullis, itaque pinguescit, et nitidus in se nutricem conuertit: illa gaudet eius specie miraturque sese ipsam, quod talem pepererit: suos comparatione eius damnat.*

ciuitas is Rome, not Italy or the empire: cf. 6 § 4.

§ 11. 29. **haec**: such an end as that of Apicius.

30. **diuitias—reuocantibus**, 'to those who measure wealth not by the standard of reason...': the pres. participle is used for a relative and pres. ind.: see n. to *Polyb.* I, 1.

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1. **arbitrium** is used in the sense of *libido*.

1, 2. **cupiditati—parum**: cf. *Epp.* 16, 8 *exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum: ...naturalia desideria finita sunt; ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent*: a constant text with Sen.; but the sermon would be more impressive if the preacher had not been colossally rich: *praedivus* is his epithet not only in the satirist (*Juv.* 10, 16) but in the historian (*Tac. Ann.* xv 64, 6).

parum = *non multum*: for this meaning, *Madvig* (on *Cic. De Fin.* v 91) quotes *Sen. Epp.* 2, 6; 110, 20; 116, 7: he denies it to Cicero.

4. **exilium**, 'place of exile': cf. 9 § 3.
 5. **abunde fertile**: yet we heard (9 § 1) that Corsica was *uix ad tutelam incolentium fertilis*, let alone exiles: it is hard for a rhetorical writer to be consistent.

XI

The exile must leave behind him his fine house and fine clothes; but he will find what Nature needs, a roof for his head and a cover for his nakedness. If he sighs for all the refinements of luxury, you would find it impossible to gratify his insatiate desires, even if you gave him back all that he once had. For it is the nature of vicious desire, that it never can have enough. The mind is the source of true wealth; and the mind despises material luxuries; its wish is to escape from the prison of the body, to soar to its kindred sky. The mind is free from the troubles and dangers which molest the body.

§ 1. 6. **desideraturus est**, 'is likely to miss': the sense of *desiderabit* below is different.

7. **haec quoque**: i.e. as well as food.

9. **tegitur**, 'is sheltered and covered.'

§ 2. 11. **sed desiderat**: again § 3: in both places the protasis of a conditional sentence is disguised by the absence of *si*.

conchylio: the *murex*, a shell-fish, from which the purple dye was got.

12. **intextam auro** cet.: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* viii 196, *aurum intexere inuenit Attalus rex, unde nomen Attalicis. colores diuersos picturae intexere Babylon maxime celebrauit et nomen imposuit*; Lucr. v 1427 *at nos nil laedit ueste carere | purpurea, atque auro signisque ingentibus apta*.

13. **distinctam**, 'spangled,' 'dotted,' 'studded': cf. *Epp.* 76, 14 *uagina gemmis distinguitur*: the word is appropriate, because more than one colour is used: thus the sea is *insulis distinctum* (*Dial.* vi 18, 5), and the sky is *stellis distinctum* (*Nat. Quaest.* vii 24, 3) but not *sole distinctum*.

artibus apparently corresponds to *signis* of Lucr., *textilibus sigillis* of Val. Max. ix 1, 4, and = artistic figures.

fortunae uitio : fortune, which sent him into exile, is not to blame for his sense of poverty.

14. **pauper est** : cf. *De Ben.* vii 11, 6 *quidquid habet ei quod cupit comparet: pauper est.*

15. **nihil ages**, 'your labour will be lost' : cf. *Epp.* 24, 7 and *De Ben.* i 9, 1 *nihil egisti, Fortuna!*

restituto seems a necessary emendation, because some dative is indispensable to balance *exuli* (= *exulanti*) : yet there remains some harshness, because the sense of *restituere* is not the same in both places. Transl. 'for, in exile he felt the loss of what he once had ; after he has been restored, he will feel still more the difference between his possessions and his desires.'

Gertz keeps **restituendo** and explains it as = *ei qui restituitur* : such a use of the gerundive is surprising in Sen. ; but he is certainly right in holding that *restituendo* is not abl. of the gerund.

§ 3. 17. **supellectilem**, i.e. *mensas*, on which his gold plate is displayed.

18. **antiquis—nobile**, 'old silver plate, famous for the reputation of the artists who made it' : cf. *Paul.* 12 § 5 ; *Dial.* ix 1, 7 *placet argentum graue rustici patris sine ullo nomine artificis*, from which it appears that the maker's name was stamped on the metal.

aes, i.e. Corinthian bronze : see n. to *Paul.* 12 § 2.

20. **quamuis magnam**, 'however large' : cf. *Paul.* 1 § 4.

iumentorum : cf. *Paul.* 12 § 2 : Roman grandees took pride in having their *iumenta* (mules to carry baggage) very fat : cf. *Epp.* 87, 8 *quid ad rem pertinent mulae saginatae, unius omnes coloris?*

22. **lapides**, 'marbles' : there was white marble at Luna (Carrara) in Etruria ; but the Romans preferred the coloured marble of other countries, especially green serpentine from Laconia, white marble with purple veins from Phrygia, now known as *pavonazzetto*, and red-yellow marble from Numidia, now called *giallo antico*.

24. **desiderium**, 'desire' : see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 8.

25. **inopia**, 'lack of water' : the ancient writers attribute inordinate thirst to those suffering from dropsy : cf. *Hor. Carm.* ii 2, 13 *crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, | nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi | fugerit uenis* ; *Ovid Fasti* i 215 *sic quibus intumuit suffusa uenter ab unda, | quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae*. The

comparison between this thirst and avarice became a commonplace.

26. **sitis** : cf. *Nat. Quaest.* iv 13, 9 *at, di boni, quam facile est extinguere sitim sanam!*

illa, though it follows *sitis*, takes its gender by attraction: the pronoun generally precedes the noun which attracts it: cf. 19 § 3.

§ 4. 27. **in**, 'in the case of.'

28. **quod modo** : see n. to *Polyb.* 2 § 1.

30. **gradus**, 'merely a stage': for the contrast, cf. *Epp.* 118, 6 *istuc, quod tu summum (the top) putas, gradus est; Thyest.* 746 *sceleris hunc finem putas? gradus est; Herc. Fur.* 212 *finis alterius mali | gradus est futuri.*

itaque : see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 5.

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1. **non sentiet** = will not suffer from : see n. to 18 § 7.

3. **sequetur**, 'will stick close to him' : see n. to 6 § 1.

necessariis rebus = *ad necessarias res*, 'to provide necessaries': a strained use of the dat. even for Sen.: see n. to *uitiis* 10 § 2, and cf. *Epp.* 49, 5 *sufficere ne ad necessaria quidem potest; 85, 17 omnes concedunt ad beate uiuendum sufficere uirtutem*: the dat. is not governed by *sufficiunt*.

4. **nec regna** = *ne regna quidem* : cf. 10 § 3.

§ 5. 5. **hic in exilia sequitur** *cet.*: so Ovid in his exile wrote: *en ego, cum patria caream uobisque domoque, | raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere, mihi, | ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque (Trist.* iii 7, 45).

7. **bonis suis** : i.e. $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$, the virtues : see n. to 5 § 1.

§ 6. 9. **imperita** has the special meaning of 'untrained in philosophy': cf. *imprudens uulgus, Paul.* 1 § 1.

10. **addicta**, 'enslaved': cf. Ovid *Met.* i 617 *crudele, suos addicere amores* (to make over his loved one to slavery): a metaphorical use of a legal term: *emancipatus* is used in the same sense.

suspiciunt, 'revere': cf. 5 § 5.

lapides, argentum : see nn. to § 3.

11. **mensarum orbis** : the most expensive and desirable tables were *orbis*, round sections, of the *citrus* tree, the *arbor vitae*, which grew in Mauretania. We are told that Sen. himself owned

500 of these talles (Dio Cass. lxi 10, 3): if so, the 'earthly burden' on his own soul must have been exceptionally heavy.

12. **terrena** is)(*caelestia* or *diuina*.

sincerus, 'unpolluted.'

14. **quandoque**, 'whenever,' has the sense of *quandocumque*: cf. *Paul.* II § 2.

emicaturus: see n. to *Polyb.* 9 § 8.

15. **moras membrorum**, 'the hampering limbs,' i.e. the body which hampers it: *mora* is often 'a thing which hinders,' 'an obstacle': cf. *Nat. Quæst.* vi 18. 1 *spiritus eo arrior, quo non mora ualentiore iustatus est*; *Troades* 128 *mora fatorem* (i.e. Hector, who prevented the doom of Troy from being fulfilled).

16 **sarcinam**: the 'burden' or 'pack' which we bear is our body.

§ 7. 17. **nec exulare potest**, 'also it cannot be exiled': see n. 10 4 § 1.

18. **omni mundo**, 'all space,' not 'every world,' for the Stoics taught that only one world exists.

19. **par** is explained in what follows.

21. **inmittitur**, to judge from *Paul.* 14 § 1 (*in omnia admittitur*), has the sense of *admittitur*.

corpusculum: the diminutive is contemptuous.

custodia, 'the prison': cf. *Æpp.* 79, 12: the plur. occurs several times in Sen. for 'prisoners': e.g. *Dial.* ix 11, 12 *Mithridaten inter Gaianas custodias uoluit* (among the prisoners of Caligula). See n. to *Polyb.* 9 § 3.

22. **hoc**: abl.

23. **exercentur**, 'do their worst,' lit. 'exercise themselves.'

animus quidem = 'but the mind': for this use of *quidem*, see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 2.

24. **possit**: for the mood, see n. to 5 § 1.

manus, 'violent hands': cf. *Dial.* ii 5, 7 *uena bona, in quæ non est manus inuicta*: the 'goods' of the mind, like the mind itself, cannot suffer violence.

XII

That poverty is no evil, is not a mere dogma of philosophers. Most people are poor, yet manage to be at least as cheerful as the rich. The rich themselves have on occasion to dispense with their luxuries; at times they make a pleasure of doing without them. Some of the greatest men of old, poets and philosophers, were poor. Menenius Agrippa and Scipio left no fortunes when they died. Is their example not good enough for us?

§ 1. 25. **ad eleuanda**, 'in order to make light of': cf. *Polyb.* 17 § 4.

26. **nisi qui putat**: i.e. *opinio*, not *natura*, makes poverty hard to bear: see n. to *cupiditati* 10 § 11.

27. **tantum praeceptis**: I will give you *exempla* as well, to prove my point: these follow.

28. **pars pauperum**: see n. to *multitudinis*, 6 § 4.

nihilo...tristiores: cf. *Epp.* 80, 6 *si uis scire quam nihil in paupertate mali sit, compara inter se pauperum et diuitum uultus: saepius pauper et fidelius ridet.*

notabis: cf. 16 § 7: this verb has the sense of *animaduertere* in many silver-age writers, esp. Petronius: see Friedl. *Cena Trim.* p. 200.

29. **nescio an sint**, 'I am inclined to think they are...'

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2. **distringitur**, 'is dragged different ways': the poor have fewer *occupationes* (10 § 2): for the constr., cf. *Paul.* 10 § 6.

§ 2. **transeamus opes paene inopes**, 'let us pass over wealth that is almost poverty,' i.e. those who, without being *pauperes*, cannot be called *locupletes*.

This seems the most probable correction of an uncertain text.

4. **circumcisae sunt peregrinantium sarcinae**, 'the baggage of travellers abroad is restricted': comp. the simile of 'cabin furniture' in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, where the 'Jerome, piano, and bath' are *circumcisa* by the ruthless agent.

7. **militantes** = *πολεμοῦντες*, not *οἱ πολεμοῦντες*: the subject is *diuites*. To this general rule some exceptions are recorded, and one concerns Paulinus, to whom *Dial. X* is perhaps addressed: cf. *Pliny Nat. Hist.* xxxiii 143 *Pompeium Paulinum, Arelatensis equitis*

R. filium, ... XVII pondo (12,000 lbs) argenti habuisse apud exercitum ferocissimis gentibus oppositum scimus. The statement of Suetonius (*Iul.* 46), that Caesar on his campaigns used to carry about with him marble floors in sections, is hard or indeed impossible to reconcile with the rapidity of his movements.

8. **summoueat**: I have removed the question-mark after this word: there is clearly no question.

§ 3. 9. **condicio temporum** = special occasions: cf. *De Clem.* i 2, 1 *condicione temporum*. That *locorum* also is governed by *condicio*, is shown by *Epp.* 123, 3 *multae difficultates locorum, multae temporum, etiam locupletibus et instructis ad uoluptatem prohibentes occurrent.*

10. **inopia** is therefore abl.: 'in respect of neediness.'

sumunt, 'they choose': there is no compulsion about it: cf. *Epp.* 18, 12 *aliquos dies destina, quibus secedas a tuis rebus minimeque te facias familiarem.* This practice is called by Sen. (*Epp.* 20, 13) *imaginaría paupertas*.

12. **quibus humi cenent**, 'on which to dine on the ground, discarding their fine couches and cushions. Sen. and Martial speak also of *pauperum cellae*, rooms built in fine houses with an artificial imitation of poverty, to give the rich the pleasure of a new sensation: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 18, 7 *non est nunc quod existimes me dicere Timoneas cenas et pauperum cellas, et quicquid aliud est, per quod luxuria diuitiarum taedio ludit*; 100, 6 *pauperis cella et quicquid aliud luxuria non contenta decore simplici miscet (? comminiscitur)*; Mart. iii 48 *pauperis extruxit cellam sed uendidit Olus | praedia; nunc cellam pauperis Olus habet.*

Prof. Summers (p. 183) suggests that *cenae Timoneae* were picnics, meals taken in the open air. The present passage implies that those eating them sat on the ground. In modern times the most famous *pauperis cellae* were those of Marie Antoinette at Versailles.

13. **hoc**, 'this state,' i.e. poverty.

aliquando—timent: note the double antithesis. It is a false antithesis, because these jaded revellers never wish to *be* poor, but only to feel what it is like.

15. **excaecat—paupertatis**, necessary to the sense, has fallen out of the text owing to the repetition of *-tatis*.

§ 4. 17. **antiqua** has an ethical sense: see n. to *Polyb.* 3 § 5.

18. **respexi**, 'I look back': idiom requires the perf. in Latin, the present in English.

paupertatis: objective gen.

solaciis=any consolations.

quoniam quidem: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 5; 15 § 4.

20. **uiaticum exulum**: we may infer that Sen. himself was not badly off for attendance and comforts, even in exile.

principum, 'of the chief men in the state': what follows about Homer and the philosophers, is a digression, which ends with § 4.

21. **Homero**: apparently it was supposed that, being blind, he must have had at least one slave to lead him about.

Platoni: in Plato's will, recorded by Diogenes Laertius (iii 43), four slaves and a maid-servant are mentioned.

22. **Zeno**, a native of Cyprus, founded the Stoic school at Athens about 300 B.C.: he was a pattern of frugality, so that *Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερος* became proverbial.

coepit: see n. to *Polyb.* 1 § 1.

rigida, 'unbending': cf. Lucan ii 389 (of Cato) *rigidi seruator honesti*; Hor. *Epp.* i 1, 17 (of the Stoic) *uirtutis uerae custos rigidusque satelles*. 'To the Stoic, the Epicurean system was *mollis et effeminata*.

24. **ut non...uideatur**, 'without seeming': for the constr., cf. *Polyb.* 6 § 3.

§ 5. 25. **Menenius Agrippa**: cf. Livy ii 32 and (for his funeral) 33, 10 *huic, interpreti arbitroque concordiae ciuium, ...sumptus funeri defuit. extulit eum plebs, sextantibus conlatis in capita* (contributing two *unciae* apiece).

26. **publicae gratiae** expresses what Livy expresses better by *concordiae ciuium*: Val. Max. (iv 4, 2) calls him *arbiter publicae salutis*.

sequester is thus defined by Servius: *aut medius inter duos altercantes, aut apud quem aliquid ad tempus deponitur*. The former sense, 'a mediator,' 'a go-between,' is required here.

27. **Regulus**: the same story is told by Livy *periocha* 18, and Val. Max. iv 4, 6: the *uilicus* had died, and the *mercennarius* had run off, taking the farm-stock with him. Regard for his oath was not the only virtue of Regulus: like a good Roman, he was also careful of his property.

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2. **publice curari**, 'should be managed by the state.'

3. **fuitne**: *-ne* has here the sense of *nonne*.

tanti=a price worth paying: i.e. poverty, if it secured such a great distinction, was worth it: for the different meanings of *tanti* (a price worth paying, a prize worth getting), see n. to Juv. 3, 54.

non habere, 'to be without': cf. Mart. ii 68, 8 *seruum si potes, Ole, non habere*, | *et regem potes, Ole, non habere* (if you can do without a slave, you can do without a patron also).

colonus eius, 'his tenant,' the tiller of his seven acres, which the *mercennarius* tilled before his fraudulent disappearance.

Pliny also alludes to this anecdote of Regulus: *Nat. Hist.* xviii 39 *qui mortuo uilico relinquere uictorias et reuerti in rura sua postulabant; quorum heredia colenda suscipiebat res p., exercitusque ducebant, senatu illis uilicante* (i.e. the senate acted as his *uilicus* and the people as his *colonus*).

§ 6. 4. **Scipionis filiae**: we know from Livy (xxxviii 57) that the two daughters of Publius Scipio, who defeated Hannibal at Zama 202 B.C., were married to P. Cornelius Nasica and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, and that the first marriage at least took place in Scipio's lifetime. *Gnaeus* Scipio, who fell in Spain 213 B.C., had one daughter, for whom, during his lifetime, the senate provided a dowry (Val. Max. iv 4, 10). Sen. either made a mistake, or misstated the facts, for the sake of his epigram about Carthage.

7. **Karthagine**, *quam Scipio uetigalem fecerat*. There is triple antithesis here: *Scipioni* is) (*a Karthagine*, *semel* to *semper*, *conferre* to *exigeret*.

8. **quibus**: masc.

quibus—*fuit*, being a causal sentence, would be *quibus*—*fuert* in classical Latin: cf. *Polyh.* 13 § 3.

10. **pantomimae**, 'actresses,' the private company of some rich man: they would be slaves or freedwomen: cf. Pliny *Epp.* vii 24, 4 *habebat illa pantomimos...hos Quadratus* (her grandson) *non in theatro, non domi spectabat* (where *theatro* shows that by kind permission of their owner they appeared on special occasions in the theatre).

deciens sestertio, 'with a dowry of £10,000': this sum, the senatorial *census*, is often mentioned as a rich woman's dowry: cf. Juv. 6, 137 and 10, 335; Mart. xi 23, 3 *deciens mihi dotis in auro | sponsa dabis*.

For *sestertio*, see n. to 10 § 4.

12. **aes graue** denotes the early copper or bronze coins, as being heavy money of intrinsic value, and not tokens, like later issues of copper: cf. *Nat. Quaest.* i 17, 8 *an tu existimas auro inditum habuisse Scipionis filias speculum, cum illis dos fuisset aes graue? o felix paupertas, quae tanto titulo locum fecit!*

§ 7. 13. **cuius tam clarae imagines sunt**, 'with a pedigree so illustrious': heroes like Regulus and Scipio are regarded as belonging to the family of *Paupertas*, so that a man who takes Poverty for his bride, becomes allied to them. For *imagines*, 'portrait-masks of ancestors,' used here as = *stemma*, see n. to Juv. 8, 1.

16. **honestius**: adv. : 'since, in the case of all these men, the very fact that they were in need made it all the more glorious to them to have their needs made good': i.e. their poverty itself was an honour to them.

17. **his...aduocatis**, 'with these men to plead her cause': abl. absol.

tuta = sure to be acquitted.

18. **gratiosa**: either 'influential' as possessing *gratia*, or 'high in favour' as the object of it: cf. Aul. Gell. ix 12, 1 *dici potest 'gratiosus' et qui adhibet gratias et qui admittit*; Val. Max. v 3, 3 *quos iniuriae inuisos faciunt, gratiosos miseriae reddunt*; the second meaning is more appropriate here, I think. For the connexion of *gratia* with the law-courts, see n. to 5 § 4.

XIII

It may be said that exile by itself is bearable, but that exile, combined with poverty and disgrace, is not. To this I reply that the mind, which is superior to one blow of Fortune, will not be conquered by several together. To overcome one weakness or vice, is to overcome all. The disgrace you speak of will not distress the philosopher. Socrates and Cato suffered what the world calls disgrace, but they were not disgraced by it. Consider the last scene in the life of Aristides. A man may be exiled and yet suffer no disgrace.

§ 1. 19. **artificiose** = 'unnaturally.'

21. **si tantum locum mutes**, 'if a man change merely his dwelling-place.'

22. **ignominia** was the second of the *incommoda* inseparable from exile (6 § 1).

§ 2. 24. **malorum turba**, 'by an aggregation of evils': cf. Quint. iv 2, 82 *quaedam argumenta turbā ualent, diiuncta leuiora sunt*. Here *turba* stands for the number three: see n. to *Polyb.* 3 § 4.

his, 'the following.'

25. **partem fortunae**, 'phase of misfortune.' This seems inconsistent with what is said elsewhere. No doubt the *sapiens* is proof against all the assaults of Fortune and all the temptations of vice; but Sen. speaks elsewhere of *proficientes*, who are as far superior to the world at large as they are inferior to the *sapiens*: see n. to *Paul.* 20 § 5. What is said here, would not hold good in their case.

28. **praestat**, 'it guarantees it...'

dimisit, 'has relaxed its grasp.'

29. **pestis**: cf. 19 § 7.

moram tibi non faciet: the metaphor in *dimisit* is continued: for the constr., cf. *Paul.* 6 § 4.

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1. **naturae legem**: a common reflexion in Sen.: cf. *Epist.* 7. 7 *lex est, non poena, perire*; *Nat. Quaest.* vi 32, 12 *mors naturae lex est, mors tributum officiumque mortalium*.

quo agrees with *pectore*.

§ 3. 3. **libidinem**, 'sexual desire': cf. Lucan ii 387 (of Cato) *Venerisque hic maximus usus, | progenies: urbi* (for his country's sake) *pater est, urbique maritus*.

4. **hoc infixum uisceribus ipsis exitium**, 'this ruinous passion deep-seated in our very inmost parts.'

8. **uincitur** is impersonal: 'the conquest (by reason) is complete and final.' But it must be admitted that *uincit* is much more natural here.

The rest of the chapter deals with *ignominia* only.

§ 4. 9. **omnia in se reposuit**, 'relies entirely on himself': cf. 5 § 1.

11. **Socrates** is often praised for his unvarying expression in good or bad fortune: cf. *Dial.* iv 7, 1 *desinet ille Socrates posse eundem uultum domum referre, quem domo extulerat*; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii 31 *hic est ille uultus semper idem, quem dicitur Xanthippe praedicare solita in uiro suo fuisse Socrate, eodem semper se uidisse exeuntem illum domo et reuertentem*. His dealings with the Thirty Tyrants are described in Plato *Apol.* 32 C.

13. **in ordinem redegerat**, 'had treated with disrespect,' lit. 'had forced to walk in the ranks.' This phrase (and *in ordinem cogere* with the same meaning) perhaps originated in the army: it is often used in Livy when a magistrate complains that he is not treated with proper respect: so, of the *decemviri* iii 51, 13; of a dictator vi 38, 12; of the tribunes xxv 3, 19, xliii 16, 9, Pliny *Epp.* i 23, 1; of an emperor Suet. *Claud.* 38; *Vesp.* 15. It is also used metaphorically, as by Pliny *Epp.* ii 6, 5 *illa* (i.e. greed) *ergo reprimenda, illa quasi in ordinem redigenda est* (must be snubbed); Quint. i 4, 3 *auctores alios in ordinem redegerint* (have dealt severely with); in Hor. *Epp.* i 20, 8, *in breue te cogi* has the same sense. For Seneca, cf. *De Clem.* i 26, 4 *crudelitatem suam in ordinem coactam putat*; *De Ben.* i 4, 1 *siquis mihi obiciet quod Chrysippum in ordinem redegerim*; iii 37, 4 *nulli alii licuit impune tribunum in ordinem redigere*: of the three instances, the first two are metaphorical. To 'snub,' 'bring to book,' 'shut up small,' 'rap over the knuckles,' are some English equivalents.

intrauit detracturus is no more than *εισελθὼν ἀπήλλαξε*: there is no sense of purpose in the participle.

§ 5. 18. **repulsam**: cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist. praef.* § 9 *Catonem, illum ambitus hostem et repulsis tamquam honoribus inceptis gaudentem*. Cato failed in his candidature for the praetorship in 55 B.C. (when Vatinius was elected), and for the consulship in 51 B.C.: he was elected praetor in 54, but never held the consulship.

19. **quibus ex Catone honor habebatur**, 'which were offered a chance of distinction by means of Cato,' when he deigned to compete for them; cf. Val. Max. vii 5, 6 *Cato, plus moribus suis praeturae decoris adiecturus quam...ipse laturus*.

§ 6. 24. **infularum loco** = 'like a halo': cf. *Epp.* 14, 11 *ad philosophiam ergo confugiendum est: hae litterae, non dico apud bonos, sed apud medioeriter malos, infularum loco sunt*. The wearer of *infulae*, whether priest or suppliant, commands respect.

habet, 'wears.'

25. **ita adfecti sumus**, 'our disposition is such.'

26. **admirationem**: the gods themselves share this feeling with men: cf. *Dial.* i 2, 9 *ecce par deo dignum, uir bonus cum fortuna mala compositus* (pitted against).

§ 7. 27. **Aristides** appears to be an error for Phocion: cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 36 οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ κακῶς ἔλεγον παρατρέχοντες· εἰς δὲ καὶ προσέπτυσεν ἐξεναντίας προσελθών. ὅτε καὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα λέγεται βλέψαντα πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰπεῖν· 'οὐ παύσει τις ἀσχημονοῦντα τοῦτον.' No such scene is recorded in our accounts of Aristides.

30. **in ipsam iustitiam**: because Aristides was the pattern of *δικαιοσύνη*: so Tacitus says that Nero *uirtutem ipsam exsunderi cupiuit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano* (*Ann.* xvi 21, 1).

animaduertetur: *impers.*: cf. *animaduersione*, *Polyb.* 17 § 5.

inuentus est = 'was base enough': cf. *De Ren.* ii 8, 1: the phrase is used of Alexander's ambition, *Epp.* 119, 8 *inuentus est qui concupisceret aliquid post omnia*; but also of Mucius Scaevola's courage, *Epp.* 76, 20 *inuentus est qui flammis imponeret manum*.

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2. **neminem...puri oris**, 'that none but a foul-mouthed fellow...'

4. **ne tam inprobe oscitet**, 'not to open his mouth so offensively': the Greek expression, too simple for Sen., is more appropriate to the occasion and the speaker.

5. **contumeliam facere**: often in Sen., though Cic. declared that this phrase, used by Antony, was not Latin: cf. *Phil.* iii 22 *quid est porro 'facere contumeliam'? quis sic loquitur?* See n. to *piissimis*, *Polyb.* 7 § 4.

§ 8. 7. **ipsis**, where classical usage requires *sibi*: see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 5.

8. **et exilium**, i.e. exile as well as death.

9. **magnus iacuit**, 'and keeps his greatness as he lies': cf. *Lucr.* i 741 *grauiter magni magno cecidere ibi casu*: both seem to be imitations of *Il.* xvi 776 *κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἰπποσυνάων*.

10. **contemni**: governed by *respondebo* above: but the preceding indicatives make Gertz's emendation probable.

sacrarum is added because of the ambiguous meaning of the plur. of *aedes*.

When Pliny proposed to build public baths at Prusa in Bithynia on a site once destined for a temple to Claudius, Trajan enquired whether the temple had actually been built: *nam, si facta est, licet collapsa sit, religio eius occupauit solum*: so that the site could not be used for secular purposes (*Pliny ad Trai.* 70, 71).

11. **stantis**: acc.

XIV

Thus you have no cause to grieve on my account. For yourself you may grieve, either because you have lost a support in me, or because you cannot bear my absence. On the first point, I need say little. Your love for your sons was always unselfish and took no account of advantages to be derived from them.

§ 1. 12. **meo nomine**, 'on my account': cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 1; *Paul.* 20 § 4.

See c. 4: Sen. has now proved his first point and moves on to the second.

14. **causae tuae**, 'motives affecting yourself.'

nam: omit in English.

§ 2. 18. **prior pars**, 'the first point.'

leuiter perstringenda: cf. Quint. xi 1, 4 *sum iocum Cicero breuiter perstringit*.

19. **nihil**, i.e. neither power, nor wealth, nor eloquence: cf. *Dial.* vi 19, 3 *non est dignus solacio, cui quicquam in filio respicere praeter ipsum uacat*.

20. **uiderint**, 'must look to it,' i.e. must consider whether they can justify their conduct: it is their business, not mine: cf. *Polyb.* 13 § 3; *Dial.* i 3, 7 *uiderint isti, quos Romae deprehendit felicitas tua*; Petron. c. 62 *uiderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent: ego si mentior, genios uestros iratos habeam*. All persons of *uidero* are thus used 'to put off the consideration of a question' (Roby 1593).

illae matres are)(*tu (but you)* l. 24.

21. **muliebri inpotentia**, 'with a woman's want of self-control': cf. Tac. *Ann.* i 4, 4 (of Livia) *accedere matrem, muliebri inpotentia*: see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 4. The play on *potentiam* and *inpotentia* is intended.

22. **per illos ambitiosae sunt**, 'seek power through their sons': *ambitio* has its political sense here.

23. **captant**, 'try to get': they are *captatrices* of their own sons: parents could only do this when their sons became legally independent of parental control: an instance is supplied by Pliny *Epp.* iv 2, 2 *filium Regulus emancipauit* (released him from *patria potestas*):...*emancipatum foeda et insolita parentibus indulgentiae simulatione captabat. incredibile, sed Regulum cogita!*

§ 3. 24. **eloquentiam**, sc. *filiorum*: **fatigant**, sc. *filios*.

25. **bonis**, 'advantages.'

26. **liberalitati nostrae**, 'our generosity' towards others.

He here takes the previous points in a different order: (1) money; (2) influence, due to eloquence; (3) *honores*.

27. **filia familiae** = 'though your father was still living,' so that she was less rich than she would be after his death.

28. **locupletibus filiis**: so the enormous wealth of Sen. was not entirely due to Nero's bounty. The family of the Annaei was evidently very rich.

ultro, 'actually': the reverse might have been expected, in the circumstances: see n. to *Polyb.* 12 § 2.

contulisti: *conferre*, in this sense, almost always takes an acc. of the gift as well as a dat. of the recipient.

30. **tamquam alienis abstineres**: cf. *Paul.* 18 § 3: *abstinere* and *abstinentia* are constantly used of scrupulous dealing with other people's money.

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2. **honoribus**: this applies only to the two elder sons, Gallio and Sen. himself: Mela was never a candidate for *honores*: see *Introd.* p. liii.

uoluptas, at their success.

impensa probably refers chiefly to the games and entertainments, of which magistrates had to defray the cost, and for which they often accepted large gifts of money from friends and acquaintances (*De Ben.* ii 21, 5): see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 8: but there were also *sumptus candidatorum* in the shape of presents to the electing body: cf. *Pliny Epp.* vi 19: though they probably spent less than in the good old times of the *‘Campus*. In the *municipia*, those elected to office paid a sum called *honorarium* for their distinction, till the time came when there were no candidates.

3. **indulgentia**, ‘your love.’

utilitatem, ‘selfish advantage’: cf. *Polyb.* 9 § 1.

4. **in erepto filio**, ‘now that your son has been torn from you’: cf. *raptum* 2 § 5.

XV

I must address myself entirely to the second point, your sorrow for the loss of me personally, a sorrow made keener by your constant sight of the places where we have been happy together. We were together till three days before the blow fell on me. Had we been parted for years beforehand, or had you been present up to the last, it would have been easier to bear. You have, however, the experience of past sufferings to support you.

§ 1. 6. **illo**, ‘to that point’: cf. 17 § 3: see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 10: *illuc* is rare in Sen.: it occurs *Epp.* 41, 5; 93, 9; 104, 19.

7. **ergo**: ‘est admirationis cum maerore coniunctae exclamatio’ Orelli on *Hor. Carm.* i 24, 5 *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sapor | urget*: he quotes *Hor. Satt.* ii 5, 101; *Prop.* iii 7, 1; iii 23, 1; *Ovid*

Trist. iii 2, 1. Add Sen. *Phoenissae* 102 *ergo iam numquam duos nisi sic uidebo!*

Bentley, in his copy, changed *ego* here to *ergo*: he did not know that *ergo* was the reading of A.

9. **ubi est ille** = 'he is gone': she knew where he was.

11. **inexplebilis**: for the constr., cf. Livy xxviii 17, 2 *inexplebilis uirtutis ueraeque laudis*.

studia, the rhetorical and philosophical studies of Seneca.

12. **libentius quam femina**, sc. *interesset*: 'with a pleasure beyond my sex and an intimacy beyond our relationship': i.e. though a woman and your mother, I took such a part in them as a man, of your own age, might have taken.

13. **ille occursus**: the sing. is perhaps supported by *Epp.* 94, 40 *occursus ipse sapientium iuuat* (it does a man good even to meet with philosophers): Gertz reads *illi*, comparing *Dial.* vi 5, 4 *non conuertis te ad conuictus filii tui occursusque iucundos*.

14. **semper**, though an adv., qualifies *hilaritas*: cf. *Epp.* 95, 16 *semper...titubatio*; Ter. *Andr.* 175 *semper eri lenitas*: so Martial speaks of *domus longe*, 'a townhouse out of town.'

puerilis, 'worthy of a boy': Sen. was over 40 and a husband and father before the time of his exile.

adicis istis, 'you add to all this' as causes of grief: cf. *Polyb.* 3 § 1.

§ 2. **loca ipsa** cet.: cf. *Epp.* 49, 1 *desiderium loca interdum familiaria euocant, sicut dolorem lugentium aut seruulus aut uestis aut domus renouat*; Quint. xi 2, 17 *cum in loca aliqua post tempus reuersi sumus, quae in his fecerimus, reminiscimur, personaeque subeunt*.

15. **et** before *ut* would, as Gertz points out, be better away: the *loca* are *notae*.

16. **recentis conuersationis notas**, 'the signs of the life we lately led together': such as books they had read together, clothes he had worn, and so on: see n. to *nota* 17 § 1.

recentis is probably gen., not acc. plur.: cf. *Epp.* 100, 12 *ex recenti conuersatione*.

18. **ante tertium demum diem quam**, 'only two days, before...'

20. **digredi**, 'to leave Rome.' It appears that Helvia had come, probably from Spain, to Rome because of the illness of

Seneca's son (2 § 5) : when the child died, she started to return to Spain, but hearing on her journey of the sentence of exile returned to Rome.

uoluit, 'she decreed.'

§ 3. **bene nos longinquitas locorum diuiserat**, 'it was a good thing that we had been parted by a great distance': i.e. you had been in Spain for years and I at Rome, so that, but for your visit to Rome, you would have felt the separation of my exile less keenly. But, if Sen. and his mother had remained apart for years, the account of their intimacy, which precedes, seems over-strained.

bene is here used like *εὖ ποιῶν*.

22. **redisti, non ut** cct., 'by returning to Rome, you did not get pleasure in your son, but you lost the advantage of being accustomed to his absence': i.e. in Spain Helvia had become accustomed to do without her son; she returned to Rome, hoping to enjoy his society; of this she was disappointed by his banishment; but she saw him long enough to feel the separation more keenly than if she had not left Spain.

24. **perderes** = *frustra haberes*: see n. to 3 § 2.

si multo ante afuisses, 'if you had been absent long before,' i.e. if you had left Rome long before my banishment. *multo*, lit. 'by much.'

25. **interuallo**, 'the distance' between Rome and Spain.

recessisses, to go to Spain, in 41 A.D. when Sen. was banished. Her husband died about 39 A.D.; she appears then to have settled in Spain, where her father was still living, leaving at Rome her sons who were middle-aged men.

Martial uses *secedere* of his own retirement to Spain (xii *epist.*); and so does Pliny (*Epp.* iii 21, 2).

26. **certe**, 'at least.'

biduo diutius, 'longer by two days': cf. l. 18: *biduo* is abl. of amount of difference.

27. **tulisses**, 'you would have gained': the repetition of the word, in a different sense, after such a short interval, is awkward.

nunc, 'as it was.'

composuit, 'contrived, at once': the word implies the *double* result engineered by Fortune: for the constr., cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv 68, 3 *compositum inter ipsos, ut Latiaris strueret dolum*.

28. **fortunae meae**, 'at my disaster.'

§ 4. 29. **maior—aduocanda est**, 'the greater the courage you must summon up.'

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3. **hic** = 'in the present instance': 'this' does not convey the full meaning.

cicatrices, 'the scars' of old wounds: see n. to *cicatricosa* 2 § 2.

XVI

It is supposed to be the privilege of your sex to mourn; but you have no reason to claim it. You should be free from this, as you are free from other weaknesses and vices of your sex. You were strictly brought up in youth; you were never led astray by wealth or jewels; you ever considered purity a woman's best ornament; you did not refuse the burden of maternity. Much is expected of you. Consider the examples of such heroic Roman women as Cornelia and Rutilia, and follow in their footsteps.

§ 1. 4. 'You must not plead your sex as an excuse' for sorrowing. **excusatione muliebris nominis**, lit. 'the excuse that consists in the name of woman': gen. of definition.

nomen is here = sex: for the concrete sense, see n. to *Polyb.* 16 § 6.

5. **in lacrimis ius**, 'privilege in the matter of tears': so I read for *in lacrimas ius* of mss., which must surely mean 'control over tears': cf. *Paul.* 10 § 2: but this is very different from 'the right to shed tears' (*ius flendi*, *Epp.* 63, 2) which the context requires.

7. **mensum**: the alternative form, *mensium*, would have been better, so soon after *immensum*.

8. **publica constitutione**, 'by enactment of the state': cf. Pliny quoted on *Paul.* 13 § 4.

9. **deciderent**, 'might compromise': see n. to *Polyb.* 12 § 1.

finierunt, 'set a limit to it': cf. *Epp.* 63, 13 *annum feminis ad lugendum constituere maiores, non ut tam diu lugerent sed ne diutius*: the two periods named are obviously inconsistent.

11. **stulta indulgentia**, 'foolish fondness.'

13. **temperamentum**, 'compromise,' 'middle course.'

§ 2. 15. **mors**, 'only death.'

16. **quasdam** : one famous instance was that of Octavia, sister of Augustus, when she lost her son Marcellus : cf. *Dial.* vi 2, 4 *nullum finem per omne uitae suae tempus flendi gemendique fecit* ; § 5 *lugubrem vestem non deposuit* : her conduct is there contrasted at length with the fortitude shown by Livia, when she lost her son, Drusus.

inposita is unusual for *sumpta* ; but *sumptam* had been used just before.

17. **lugubria** : see n. to 2 § 2.

uita—**fortior**, 'a life that was hardier from the first' than theirs : Helvia was strictly brought up : cf. Quint. i 2, 6 *infantiam statim deliciis soluimus : mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam* (fondness) *uocamus, neruos omnes mentis et corporis frangit.*

§ 3. 20. **saeculi**, 'of our time' : cf. 10 § 8.

21. **margaritae** : Roman women prized pearls above other jewels : cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* ix 106 *principium columenque omnium rerum pretii margaritae tenent* ; xiii 91 *mensarum insania, quas feminae uiris contra margaritas reuerunt* (i.e. women, when attacked for extravagance in pearls, retort by taunting men with extravagance in buying costly tables).

22. **tibi** : for the dat. with *refulserunt*, cf. *Polyb.* 13 § 1.

23. **bene...institutam** : the *nouerca* (2 § 4) appears to have done her duty not so badly after all.

antiqua : see n. to *Polyb.* 3 § 5.

24. **probis, peiorum** : both fem.

26. **quasi exprobraret aetatem**, 'as if it taunted you with your time of life' : *aetas* more often means 'youth and beauty.'

27. **quibus** : dat. of agent : 'who seek to charm by beauty alone,' not by *mores* as well.

28. **indecens**, 'unsightly' : this word, necessarily excluded from all dactylic verse, is common enough in the iambic metres of Martial, as well as in prose.

§ 4. 29. **lenociniis**, 'artificial charms,' such as *creta*, *cerussa*, and other cosmetics.

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1. **nihil** : adv.

2. **cum poneretur**, 'when it was taken off': Sen. alludes to the transparent Chinese silks, which all Roman satirists and moralists disapprove of: cf. *De Ben.* vii 9, 5 (in a list of luxuries) *uidco sericas uestes, si uestes uocandae sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit.*

That a man should write in this strain to his mother, seems strange to us; but perhaps Roman taste was not shocked by it.

unicum—pudicitia : the sentence has only one subject, *pudicitia*, and three predicates, *ornamentum*, *forma*, and *decus*.

Cf. *Tempest* iii 1, 53 'My modesty, the jewel in my dower': Plaut. *Amphitr.* 840 *non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quae des dicitur, | sed pudicitiam et pudorem.*

§ 5. 5. **ad optinendum dolorem**, 'in order to make good your grief,' i.e. to justify it.

8. **ne feminae quidem**, and men much less: women might be expected to make more allowance for your sorrow.

intabescere uolneri : for the dat., cf. *Polyb.* 5 § 2.

9. **maerore cito defunctam**, 'to make haste and get done with your mourning': this sense of *defungi*, common in all prose-writers, is best shown by examples: cf. *Dial.* iv 14, 3 *qui primus defungi malis potuimus* (when we might have suffered once and never again), *in maiora deuoluimur*; *Dial.* vi 22, 3 *si felicissimum est non nasci, proximum puto breui aetate defunctos cito in integrum restitui*; *Epp.* 99, 10 '*sed puer decessit.*' *nondum dico melius agi cum eo, qui uita defungitur* (who gets off with a short life); *ib.* 120, 14 *scit in hoc natum hominem ut uita defungeretur* (to live and get it over); *De Ben.* vi 16, 1 *quare et medico et praecceptori plus quiddam debeo nec aduersus illos mercede defungor* (why can I not pay their fee and have done with them?); *Nat. Quaest.* vi 1, 2 *Campaniam nunquam securam huius mali, indemnem tamen et totiens defunctam metu* (that has so often got off with a fright). In each of these instances, the verb is followed by an ablative expressing the circumstance or action, which, when it is over, relieves the agent from further trouble.

10. **si modo** : see n. to *Polyb.* 2 § 1.

11. **conspecta**, 'conspicuous.'

12. **uiros**: cf. Pliny *Epist.* vii 19, 7 (of Fannia, daughter of Thrasea) *a qua uiri quoque fortitudinis exempla sumamus*.

§ 6. **Corneliam**: the younger daughter of the elder Scipio: a statue of this woman, 'famed as the model of a great and large-minded Roman lady' (Heitland), was erected by the Roman people with this inscription: CORNELIA MATER GRACCHORUM. She was represented as sitting, and wearing sandals without straps (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv 31).

ex = after having had: an imitation of a Greek construction.

13. **redegerat**: cf. Ovid *Met.* vi 197 (Niobe speaking) *ingite demi | huic aliquid populo natorum posse meorum, | non tamen ad numerum redigar spoliata duorum*: Niobe also, according to some accounts, had six sons and six daughters.

numerare, aestimare: both quantity and quality were present, to make her loss the heavier.

14. **Gracchos**: apparently, from what follows, the tribunes, Tiberius and Gaius. But there is some fault here. Plutarch says clearly (*T. Gracch.* 1) that of her twelve children, six boys and six girls, born alternately (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii 57), Cornelia lost nine in their childhood, the *three* survivors being the tribunes and a daughter, who married the younger Africanus. Seneca's words cannot be explained, unless two of her children survived the death of Gaius.

15. **se** and **eius** both refer to Cornelia: the variation is surprising, but Sen. perhaps thought that *fatum suum* would be ambiguous.

17. **dedisset**: Bentley and, later, Madvig wished to substitute *ademisset*: "I think Madvig's *ademisset* spoils the sense. *dedisset* means: 'when you bid me mourn the loss of the Gracchi, you bid me blame Fortune for having given me such sons.' 'Tis better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all.'"—J. E. B. M. in Bohn Transl. p. 345. The other version of the same saying in *Dial.* vi 16, 3 (*numquam non felicem me dicam, quae Gracchos peperit*) is certainly in favour of *dedisset*.

ex hac femina debuit nasci: 'she was the right mother for the man who....' Sen. refers to a phrase of Gaius, which was more modest than he represents it: cf. Plut. *G. Gracch.* 4 'σὺ γὰρ' ἔφη 'Κορνηλίαν λοιδορεῖς τὴν Τιβέριον τεκοῦσαν.'

20. **natales**. 'pedigree': the pedigree of Gaius was indeed splendid; but his saying does not prove that he was proud of it.

21. **et funera**. 'their deaths as well': i.e. even when she had lost them, she thought it a great thing to have given them birth. It was probably on these words that the emendation *admisset* was based.

§ 7. **Cottam**: C. Aurelius Cotta went into exile in 91 B.C., returned in 82, was consul in 75, and died of the bursting open of an old wound the day before he was to celebrate a triumph. He is one of the speakers in Cicero's *De Oratore* and *De Natura Deorum*.

25. **amisit**, 'she bore his loss.'

27. **notauit** has the sense of *animaduertit*: see n. to 12 § 1.

in expulso—prudenciam. 'she showed courage when he was banished, and wisdom when he was taken from her.'

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1. **superuacua**, i.e. useless to him: cf. *Polyb.* 5 § 1.

2. **detinuit**, 'made her persist.'

4. **sequeris**: future: cf. *optime dabit*, *Polyb.* 8 § 2.

XVII

It is hard indeed to crush down sorrow. Amusements or business may enable us to forget it for a time; but it comes back all the sharper. Some, in such a case, travel abroad, others immerse themselves in business: but these are only palliatives, not radical cures for sorrow. For you, and for all sufferers, the real remedy is to be found in study and in books. My father did not approve of your carrying your studies too far, but still a foundation was laid on which you can build now. Study will bring you comfort and peace and will exclude all grief from your mind.

§ 1. 5. **in nostra potestate**: cf. Quint. vi 2, 29 the orator should show emotion: *at quomodo fiet ut adhibeamur* (that we should show emotion)? *neque enim sunt motus in nostra potestate*.

nec ullum adfectum seruire. 'and that no weakness of the mind

is under our control': for *adfectus* = *perturbatio* = $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 1.

7. **nascitur**: the *adfectus* which arises from grief is *aegritudo*.

8. **interim**, 'at times.'

9. **deuorare gemitus**, 'to swallow down our cries,' so that they shall not be heard: cf. *Dial.* v 14, 5 *potest dici merito deuorasse uerba*; vi 1, 2 *gemitus deuorasti*; *Epp.* 66, 29 *animi firmitatem sub tortore gemitus deuorantem*.

per ipsum cet., 'even though the features wear a mask of composure, yet the tears stream forth through it': *factum* implies that the expression is artificially assumed.

tamen: for the position, see n. to *Polyb.* 7 § 1: cf. Ovid *Met.* i 556 *refugit tamen oscula lignum* (though wood, yet it withdraws from his kisses).

10. **ludis**: abl. of instrument, not, as usual, locative ('at games').

11. **interim**, 'at another time,' answering to the previous *interim*.

12. **quibus auocatur**, 'which seek to distract it.'

leuis desiderii nota, 'trifling reminder of the blank': cf. Sen. *Epp.* 49, 1 quoted on 15 § 1; *Oedipus* 841 *saepe iam spatio obrutam | leuis exoletam memoriam reuocat nota*.

§ 2. 14. **illum** is *dolorem*, not, as grammar suggests, *animum*.

fallere = *circumscribere* of 4 § 1: both are)(*uincere*.

qui, sc. *dolor*.

delusus, 'beguiled': supply *est*.

17. **componitur**, 'is calmed.'

non sum tibi illa monstraturus, 'I do not mean to prescribe for you those remedies': *monstrare* has its technical sense: cf. *Polyb.* 8 § 1; *Epp.* 78, 5 *medicus tibi, quantum ambules, quantum exercearis, monstrabit*.

20. **rationum accipiendarum**: see n. to *Paul.* 20 § 2.

23. **nec** = *et non*: the *et* couples *prosumt* and *sunt*; the *non* qualifies *remedia*.

§ 3. 25. **illo**, 'to that refuge': see n. to *huc et illuc*, *Paul.* 7 § 10.

26. **fortunam fugiunt**: Fortune is represented as a cruel mistress, whose slaves take refuge at an altar for protection: cf. *De Clem.* i 18, 2 *seruis ad statuam licet confugere*.

confugiendum est: cf. Pliny *Epp.* viii 19, 1 *ad unicum doloris leuamentum studia confugi*; Quint. vi *prooem.* § 14 *credendum doctissimis hominibus, qui unicum aduersorum solacium litteras putauerunt.*

27. **liberalia studia**: see n. to *Paul.* 7 § 3: the context shows that Sen. means philosophical study in particular.

28. **euellent**: properly said of extracting something sharp, a sting or an arrow, from the flesh.

30. **antiquus rigor**, 'the old-fashioned strictness,' which included a dislike of higher education for women.

31. **bonas artes**: cf. 9 § 4: they are the same as *liberalia studia*. **non comprehendisti**, 'you did not master.'

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§ 4. 3. **erudiri** is)(**imbui**, the first implying thorough knowledge; the second, a smattering: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i 14 *an tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es?* (have you not even a smattering of logic?)

imbuere aliquem is to do something for the first time to a person, who, if the thing is learning, will not get far, unless the process is continued. In English, 'imbued with a belief' does not convey the same meaning at all.

4. **non—proferendum**, 'in that case you would not now have to forge your armour against Fortune, but merely to bring it forth.'

5. **litteris** is to be taken with both the following verbs; but it is not clear how Roman ladies 'furnished themselves with literature, with a view to *luxuria*.' As Sen. elsewhere (*Dial.* ix 9, 5) attacks the *studiosa luxuria* of those, who collect books *non in studium sed in spectaculum* and (§ 7) *in speciem et cultum parietum*, so *luxuria* may mean the same here: the books are not bought to teach wisdom, but to display the wealth of their owner.

7. **beneficio**, 'thanks to...': originally used with the gen. of a person (esp. *deorum*), or such an adj. as *tuo*, and then often with the gen. of a thing, e.g. *patientiae* (*Epp.* 119, 5), *mortis* (*Dial.* vi 20, 3): when the result is bad, *uitio* is used in the same way with the gen.

8. **rapacis ingenii**, 'a mind able to snatch learning': cf. *Epp.*

95, 36 *felix illis ingenium fuit et salutaria in transitu rapuit ;... unde ista tam rapacia uirtutis ingenia?*

capacis is a bad conjecture: the point is not that Helvia's mind could carry much learning, but that it could snatch learning quickly: cf. Fisher's *Napoleon* p. 82 'He went his own way...snatching, as he went, with savage rapidity, the scraps of intellectual food which were auxiliary to action'; p. 96 'He picked up law, as the hawk its food, in the intervals of flight.'

plus quam pro tempore, 'a great deal for the time so spent': *quam pro* is used like ἢ κατὰ; Livy is the first to use this convenient idiom, and often has it.

9. **disciplinarum**: cf. 9 § 7.

10. **reuertere** = *si reuertēris*: see n. to *uidebis*, *Paul.* 3 § 2.

§ 5. 11. **bona fide**, 'in earnest': see n. to *Paul.* 13, 9.

14. **horum**: but for *dolor*, *harum* would have been written.

15. **nam** = 'I need not say that...', 'of course': see n. to *Paul.* 13 § 1.

ceteris is used like ἄλλος: for grief is an *adfectus*, not a *uitium* such as *auaritia*: see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 1.

16. **haec**, like *illae* above, refers to *disciplinae*, but is attracted to the gender of the predicate, *praesidia*.

quidem is answered by *sed* l. 18.

quae sola, 'the only aids which...'

17. **possint**: for the mood, see n. to *momentum* 5 § 1.

XVIII

In the meantime you have props to sustain you in your two other sons. Both are good sons; both, in their different ways, will do all that can be done for your comfort and security. Then, there are your grand-children, Marcus and Novatilla. No grief could resist the charm of such a child as Marcus; I pray that misfortune may accept me as a scape-goat and visit on my head all the calamities that might befall our family. Novatilla has lately lost her mother: it is your task to form her character. As your father is not now with you, I cannot reckon him among your sources of comfort. But if you despair, you will poison the end of his long life.

§ 1. 18. **dum...peruenis**, 'until you arrive': 'the idiomatic mood and tense,' Munro on *Lucr.* i 949: Sen. has it elsewhere, e.g. *Epp.* 19, 12; *Dial.* v 1, 1, but also pres. subj.: cf. *Paul.* 16 § 3.

19. **adminiculis**, after *portum*, looks like a mixture of metaphors, as *adminicula* are properly vine-props: cf. *De Clem.* ii 7, 4 *illis quoque (arboribus), quas aliqua deprauavit causa, adminicula quibus dirigantur applicant.*

20. **innitaris**: cf. Tac. *Dial.* 2 *si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti uideretur.*

21. **fratres**: Junius Gallio and Annaeus Mela: see *Introd.* p. xli.

quibus saluis, 'while they live': cf. *Polyb.* 2 § 2: Sen. considers himself as good as dead. Cf. *Polyb.* 7 § 4.

§ 2. 23. **diuersa uirtute**, 'with excellence of different kinds.'

alter, Gallio; **alter**, Mela. So their father, addressing Mela, wrote: *uideo animum tuum, a ciuilibus officiis abhorrentem et ab omni ambitu (ambition) auersum, hoc unum concupiscentem, nihil concupiscere. ...sed quoniam fratribus tuis ambitiosa curae sunt, foroque se et honoribus parant, ...duobus filiis nauigantibus, te in portu retineo (Controu. ii praef. § 3).* Tacitus (*Ann.* xvi 17, 3) assigns a less worthy motive for Mela's choice of a career: see *Introd.* p. 1.

25, 28. **quiete, tranquillam quietamque uitam, otio**: as Mela was an imperial *procurator* (revenue-agent), his leisure was really no greater than that of his brothers, though his rank of *eques* kept him

out of the publicity which a senator could not avoid. But by a regular convention Romans of all dates speak of the *quies* and *otium* of the equestrian career: cf. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 17 (said by the *equites*) *hanc uitam quietam atque otiosam secuti sumus, quae quoniam honore caret, careat etiam molestia*; Pliny *Epp.* i 14, 5 *equestris ordinis princeps...honestam quietem huic nostrae ambitioni dicam an dignitati praetulit.*

26. **adfectus**, 'feelings.'

in hoc: cf. *Polyb.* 14 § 5.

28. **ut tibi uacet**, lit. 'that he may have leisure for you,' i.e. that he may not be too busy to attend to you: see n. to *Paul.* 2 § 5.

§ 3. 29. **bene** = εὖ ποιοῦσα, 'fortunately': cf. 15 § 3.

in auxilium, 'for the purpose of help,' from Gallio: his position (*dignitas*) would make him a powerful champion.

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1. **in te**: either 'in your case': or, if *te* is acc., *in te* is used for *collatis in te*: cf. Lucan i 1 *bella per Emathios... campos* (i.e. *gesta per E. c.*). The second explanation is more probable.

2. **unius**, i.e. *mei*.

desiderium, 'the blank' due to the loss of one.

3. **praeter numerum**: i.e. you have now only two sons, not three, to love you; but the two will do all that three could do: cf. *Dial.* vi 4, 2 (of Livia after the death of Drusus) *Tiberium, cuius pietas efficiebat, ut nihil sibi nisi numerum deesse sentiret.*

§ 4. 4. **nepotes**, the children of her sons: two are mentioned; three (or four) had died shortly before (2 § 5).

Marcum: generally supposed to be a son of the writer: but I believe this to be Lucan, the son of Mela: see *Introd.* p. li.

Marcum cet. should be followed by *Nouatillam*, also in apposition with *nepotes*; but Sen. says so much of Marcus that he has to alter the normal arrangement.

5. **blandissimum**, 'most charming': often used of children, in the sense of 'caressing,' 'coaxing': cf. Mart. vi 29, 5 *quis blandior illo?*

7. **furit**: so Gertz: *fuerit* of mss. is too feeble to be right.

8. **circumfusus**, 'by his caresses': cf. Ovid *Met.* xiv 585

colloque parentis | *circumfusa sui*: *circum* refers to the outspread arms.

§ 5. **lacrimas...supprimat**: cf. 1 § 1.

9. **hilaritas**, 'merriment.'

cuius non contractum...soluant: cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 5, 20 *contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?*

non is far removed from its verb; but the arrangement is influenced by the previous sentences, and *cuius non* = *unius cuiusque*.

10. **argutiae**, 'lively prattle': the word (like *argutus*) implies both noise and cleverness: cf. Aulus Gellius xvii 8, 4 *puer Atticus, festiuissimis aetatis et gentis argutiis scatens*.

11. **quem non in se conuertet**, 'whose attention will not be attracted by...': see n. to 10 § 10.

12. **infixum**: cf. *Paul.* 2 § 3: concessive.

neminem satiatura, 'that could be too much for no one': the fut. participle is used, as often in silver-age writers, as an equivalent for *āv* with pres. or aor. participle.

§ 6. 14. **nobis**, to be taken with *contingat*, refers to the father and two uncles. Lucan did survive Seneca, but only just survived him; Gallio died later in the same year (65 A.D.), Mela in 66: all four died by enforced suicide: see *Introd.* p. 1.

in me...consistat, 'stop at me': cf. *Paul.* 16 § 4.

15. **matri** does not refer to the mother of Marcus, but to Helvia: 'may I sum up all the sorrow that the mother and the grandmother had to suffer'; i.e. may Helvia in future lose no other child than me, and no grandchild.

16. **in me transierit**: *me* is acc.: cf. *Epp.* 13, 11 *periculum in alienum caput transeat*; *Dial.* vi 9, 4 *in capite inimicorum abire*; Val. Max. i 5, 2 *patriae mala in se transferri uoluisse*; ii 4, 5 *ut puerorum periculum in ipsius caput transferrent, orauit*; Juv. 6, 520 *ut, quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat, | in tunicas eat, et totum simul expiet annum*.

17. **reliqua turba**, 'the rest of the family': i.e. *fili* and *nepotes*.

in suo statu = 'unharméd': cf. Val. Max. vii 2, 1 *war ciuitatis nostrae mores in suo statu continuit*; viii 7, 1 *omnia ista in suo statu industriã continebat*. *suo* is not reflexive here but has the sense of *secundo*: cf. *Epp.* 71, 3 *ignoranti, quem portum petat, nullus suus uentus est*.

orbitate: cf. 2 § 5 and see Introd. p. li.

18. **condicione** = *exilio*.

fuerim tantum, 'if only it prove that I was...': for the tense, cf. Virg. *Aen.* vi 62 *hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta*.

tantum has the sense of *dummodo*: cf. *De Ben.* iv 37, 1 *gratiam tibi referam, uidere tantum mihi imperatorem meum contingat*; *Epp.* 38, 2 (of moral advice) *multum efficiunt, tantum idonea mens capiat illa*; 78, 25 *omnia ista facile perferemus, tantum mortem desinamus horrere*; *Mart.* x 34, 6 *liceat tantum*.

19. **piamentum**, 'the scape-goat': so Polycrates of Samos, when he threw his signet into the sea, thought there was *felicitatis suae satis piamenti in unius gemmae uoluntario damno* (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii 3).

§ 7. 20. **Nouatillam**: clearly, from her name, a daughter of Novatus, this being the original name of Helvia's eldest son: having lost her mother, she was being brought up by her grandmother: the text shows that she was older than her cousin Marcus.

21. **mihī adscīpseram**, 'I had adopted as my own': he means only that he had been very fond of her: *adsciueram* would be more usual, because the *adscriptus* is generally added to a body of men, not to an individual: for the proper sense of *adscriptio*, cf. Pliny *ad Trai.* 114 *lege Pompeia permissum Bithynici: ciuitatibus adscribere sibi quos uellent ciues*: for the metaphorical sense, cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 19, 4 *adscripsit Liber satyris faunisque poetas*.

22. **quamuis saluo patre**, 'even though her father is living': i.e. I was a second father to her, so that she is in a sense an orphan.

23. **et pro me**, 'for me also,' i.e. as well as for yourself.

fortuna probably means that she was dead. The complete silence as to Seneca's own wife is remarkable: see Introd. p. xxxiii.

25. **sentiat** is not 'feel' merely, as the girl is allowed to grieve, and grief is a feeling: Sen. hopes that she may not 'show the effect' of her loss. In this sense, *sentire* is often said of inanimate things which cannot 'feel': cf. *Dial.* v 21, 1 (of a river) *cum sensit aestatem et ad minimum deductus est*; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv 143 *ferrum robiginem sentit*; Lucan iii 700 *adductum non senserat ancora funem* (had not answered the tug of the cable); Petron. c. 45 *ut* (though) *quadringenta inpendat, non sentiet patrimonium illius*. It is used also of persons: cf. *Dial.* v 13, 3 Socrates had reason to be

pleased, *quod iram suam multi intellexerent, nemo sentiret* (was hurt by it) : so here : 'that she may only grieve for her mother's loss and may not also show the effects of it,' i.e. suffer in character from it.

§ 8. 26. **forma** : Gertz reads *firmā*, on the ground that *componere* and *forma* are identical in meaning.

altius descendunt, 'go deeper down,' i.e. make a deeper impression : see n. to 3 § 1.

27. **teneris aetatibus** : cf. *Dial.* iv 18, 2 *facile est teneros adhuc animos componere*.

30. **sollemne**, 'solemn,' 'sacred' : cf. *De Ben.* v 20, 4 *officio sollemni et necessario* (the duty of burying a father) ; *Cic. Pro Quinct.* 26 *officium tam sanctum atque sollemne*.

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1. **non** : *non...quicquam* or *nihil* would be more usual.

2. **ratio** = *prudentia*, 'philosophy,' which was spoken of (17 § 3) as the only specific for grief.

§ 9. 4. **abesset** : presumably in Spain : Helvius must have been very old, to have grandsons of 45 and upwards.

nunc, 'as it is' : the addition of *tamen* is rare : see n. to *Polyb.* 6 § 3.

adfectu tuo, 'your love for him' : it cannot, I think, be = *adfectu in me tuo*.

5. **qui** has the sense of *qualis*.

6. **te illi seruari quam mihi impendi**, 'that you should preserve your life for his sake rather than lay it down for mine,' by grieving to death : for the constr., cf. *Medea* 489 *nil exul tuli | nisi fratris artus : hos quoque impendi tibi*.

8. **patrem cogita** : cf. *Polyb.* 7 § 1 ; Pliny quoted to p. 82 l. 23.

nepotes cet. : Sen. was a *nepos*, Marcus a *pronepos*, of Helvius.

9. **unica** : but a *soror* of Helvia's fills the next chapter : even if she was a daughter of Helvius by his second wife, the phrase is strangely used : possibly *soror* is used for 'cousin,' though, in that case, it is odd that her husband should be *avunculus* of Sen.

consummatio, 'the completion' : cf. *Paul.* 1 § 3.

10. **feliciter**, in spite of its position, qualifies *actae* : see n. to *Paul.* 10 § 6.

XIX

So far, I have said nothing of your main source of consolation—your sister, who was always a second mother to me. She brought me in infancy to Rome, nursed me into health, and overcame her natural modesty for my advancement. Her example will show you how to bear trouble. Her husband died on a voyage: shipwreck followed; yet she brought his body ashore for burial. She deserves fame as much as Alcestis. No wonder that such a woman was so beloved in Egypt, where her husband was governor for sixteen years. Her high example it is your duty to follow.

§ 1. 12. **adhuc**, 'up to now,' goes with *tacueram*.

13. **pectus**: often used of friendship: cf. Mart. ix 14, 2 *fidæ pectus amicitiaæ*.

14. **pro indiuiso**, lit. 'in an undivided manner,' i.e. entirely, with no reservation: a rare phrase, chiefly found in Pliny's *Natural History*, e.g. ix 138; xvi 137; xvii 1.

15. **nobis**: i.e. Sen. and his brothers.

16. **respirasti**, 'you breathed again,' i.e. recovered from the first shock of your loss.

§ 2. 17. **adfectus tuos sequitur**, 'shares (lit. 'keeps close to') all your feelings.'

18. **in mea persona** = *in me*, 'in my case': this use is common in Sen.: cf. *Dial.* vi 1, 2 *non est ignotum, qualem te in persona patris tui gesseris* (in your father's case); *Nat. Quaest.* iv *praef.* § 15 *in aliorum persona*; Val. Max. iv 1, 10 *ne ego in tua persona* (when you are on trial) *et accusatoris et testis et iudicis partes egisse uidear*.

non tantum pro te, i.e. *sed etiam pro se* (not *pro me*).

19. **manibus...perlatus**: the words show that Sen. was a child in arms or little more, when he was brought from Corduba to Rome: Lucan, also born at Corduba, had the same experience: *octauum mensem agens Romam translatus est* (*Life* attributed to Vacca).

20. **nutricio** 'nursing': a rare equivalent for *nutricatui* or *nutrimento*: it is used for the effect of the west wind upon trees by Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xviii 337 (*nutricium exercebit*).

aeger : Sen. often mentions his weak health in his Letters, which were written late in life : he says that he had experienced every kind of bad health (*Epist.* 54, 1) ; in particular he mentions asthma (*ibid.*) ; fainting-fits (77, 9) ; chronic catarrh, which made him anxious to put an end to his life (78, 1) ; and fever (104, 1). Metaphors and similes from medicine abound in his writings.

conualui, 'I recovered' : for a different sense, see n. to 2 § 2.

21. **quaestura** : the date is unknown : he was made *praetor* by Agrippina's influence, after his restoration in 49 A.D. (*Tac. Ann.* xii 8, 3) ; it is now known that eventually he held the consulship, but he was *suffectus*, not *ordinarius*, so that his name does not appear in the *fasti* (see n. to *Paul.* 20 § 1).

gratiam : for the trouble taken in support of candidates for office, see n. to *Paul.* 17 § 5.

22. **clarae salutationis**, 'of a loud greeting : her retiring character had made her speak low on such occasions : the adj. belongs to *sermonis* as well.

23. **pro me uicit indulgentia uerecundiam**, 'to help me, her love got the better of her shyness' : considering *Polyb.* 2 § 7 where *indulgentia* is personified, and the form of the sentence in which *clementia* is personified *Polyb.* 13 § 2, I take *indulgentia* here as nom. and *uerecundiam* as antecedent to the relative clause : if abl., it would suit the grammar as well.

24, 25. **modestia—rustica** : this = *modestia, quae, cum tanta sit feminarum petulantia* (boldness), *est rustica* (old-fashioned). For this idiomatic use of *in*, cf. *Paul.* 9 § 3.

27. **pro me ambitiosa** is praised : *per filios ambitiosae* were blamed 14 § 2.

§ 3. **hoc est**, 'she is' : the subject is attracted to the gender of the predicate.

29. **quantum potes** : cf. *Polyb.* 8 § 2.

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1. **tu**, 'but do you...'

2. **quidquid cogitaueris**, 'whatever purpose you have' : this is explained in what follows.

3. **habitum**, 'state of feeling' : but the word is ambiguous and may just as well mean, 'aspect.'

4. **comitem**: as there is no question of their going anywhere together, *sociam* or *participem* would be more normal.

§ 4. **si noui**=*quia noui*: i.e. knowing her wisdom, I am sure she will not etc.: the phrase is common: cf. *Epp.* 18, 3 *si te bene noui, arbitri partibus functus esses*; Mart. v 6, 18 *si noui dominum nouem sororum*, | *ultro purpureum petet libellum*: for a similar phrase, cf. *Epp.* 79, 7 *aut ego te non noui aut Actna tibi saliuam mouet* (makes your mouth water, i.e. tempts you as a subject to write a poem on).

perfectissimae feminae: so *perfecti uiri*, *Polyb.* 6 § 3.

5. **nihil profuturo**=*superuacuo* of 16 § 7.

7. **spectator fui**: it does not necessarily follow that Sen. was on board the ship with her: he may only imply that he had met her on her landing. The circumstances are not otherwise known; but it is possible that her husband died on his way home from Egypt. It has been supposed from this passage that Sen. had been in Egypt with his uncle; but it does not prove this; and his language elsewhere, as in his discussion of the Nile's rising (*Nat. Quaest.* iv), is not that of one who had seen the country.

8. **auunculum**: Gertz points out that *auunculus*, a mother's brother, cannot denote the husband of a mother's sister. He supposes that this man was uncle of Helvia and great-uncle of Seneca, and that Helvius was married three times: (1) to the mother of the anonymous heroine; (2) to Helvia's mother; (3) to the *nouerca* (2 § 4). If so, the *auunculus* here is identical with the *auunculus* of 2 § 4.

11. **euexit**, 'brought all the way.' How serious was the disaster implied by *naufraga*, one cannot tell: see n. to *exarmata* § 7. I do not remember any recorded instance of Romans burying their dead at sea; yet surely they must have done so. For a death at sea, cf. Pliny *Epp.* v 21, 3.

§ 5. **multarum—iacent**: the words, perhaps by accident, are very near making a verse: they might come, slightly altered, from a play: cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 165 *ut saepe summa ingenia in occulto latent* ('the world knows little of its greatest men').

12. **si huic—antiquitas**, 'had she had the good fortune to live in a past age when men were frank in admiration of great deeds': whereas the present age is cynical and has little enthusiasm.

14. **ingeniorum**=*scriptorum*: cf. *Paul.* 3 § 1.

15. **inbecillitatis**, of her sex.

16. **caput—obiecit**: a piece of rhetoric: if a storm came on when her husband was lying dead on board, she did not deserve praise for that; she might well deserve pity.

Gertz inserts *uir* after **sepultura**; it seems wanted to balance *suum*, and could easily have fallen out after *-ura*.

18. **quae se—dedit**: Alcestis: of the Latin poets, at least Ovid, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, and Seneca himself (*Medea* 666) praise Alcestis.

19. **hoc** is, I think, nominative. Here again there is some sophistry, because Alcestis faced certain death and Seneca's aunt did not: the *periculum* was not *par*.

§ 6. 21. **post hoc nemo miretur**: the mss. give *miratur*; but the subjunctive is the natural mood here, as the virtues of so reserved a lady cannot have been a matter of general knowledge. Sen. means: 'let none be surprised, when I tell them that...': for similar phrases, cf. *Polyb.* 16 § 4 *nemo itaque (= post hoc) miretur*; *ibid.* 11 § 2 *prorsus non mireris*; *Epp.* 108, 29 *non est quod mireris*; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxx 1 *nemo miretur*. For *post hoc*, cf. *Epp.* 78, 19 *uis tu post hoc dolorem deridere!*

22. **Aegyptum...optinuit**: cf. Tac. *Hist.* i 11 *Aegyptum iam inde a diuo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum*: this governorship was one of the chief posts open to *equites*. It is remarkable that the name of this man, though he held the office for so long, is unknown: Lipsius argues for Vitrasius Pollio, who died in 32 A.D.: Sen. mentions one Balbillus, a governor of Egypt, and calls him *uirorum optimus*, and possibly this may be his uncle. The absence of dates makes identification impossible.

24. **domum suam**: the omission of the preposition is normal: so *domi suae*, 'at her house.'

petiit, either for herself or for some petitioner: many cases are recorded in which a governor's wife took bribes and sold her husband's decisions: cf. Juv. 8, 127 *si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal | uendit acersecomes* (minion), *si nullum in coniuge crimen, | nec per conuentus et cuncta per oppida curuis | unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno*.

25. **loquax** has the sense of *dicax*, 'saucy.'

27. **culpam**, 'moral guilt.'

28. **sanctitatis**, 'of blamelessness': cf. Pliny *Paneg.* 83 (to Trajan) *tibi uxor in decus et gloriam cedit. quid enim illa sanctius? quid antiquius?* Part of *sanctitas* is *abstinentia*, the opposite of *auaritia*.

suspexit, sc. *illam*, 'respected her.'

29. **sales**, 'witticisms': so *dicta* and *dicteria*: the men of Alexandria will have their joke, even if it cost them dear: cf. *Dial.* ix 6, 2 *quidam urbanitatem nesciunt continere nec periculosis abstinent salibus*.

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2. **quamuis—optat**: i.e. this is their *uotum*, an ideal too high to be realised.

4. **ignorauit**: the point of view is the same as in Thuc. ii 45 *μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον, ἀρετῆς περὶ ἢ ψόγου, ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ*. But the enthusiastic admiration of the Egyptians for such a nonentity does not say much for their previous experience of governors' wives.

§ 7. 5. **circumscribere**, 'to defraud,' 'to be unfair to': cf. 4 § 1.

7. **non ambitio, non auaritia**, 'neither love of power nor love of money': for the latter, cf. Juv. quoted above.

comites—et pestes, 'which always wait on power and prey on it.'

9. **exarmata**, 'disabled': as the *armamenta* of a ship include masts, sails, and ropes, the amount of damage in this case is uncertain, but is, probably, not understated.

spectantem should mean that she was 'watching the ship go down'; but probably *expectantem* would describe the situation more accurately.

11. **inde** = *e nauis*.

12. **efferet** has a double sense: (1) 'to convey her husband's body off the ship'; (2) 'to give it burial.'

13. **id agas**, 'make it your object.'

14. **partus tui** = 'that you bore children,' *partus* being = 'motherhood.'

XX

In spite of every effort, your thoughts will often recur to me. Think, then, of me as happy and busy with pursuits of different kinds. I study the nature of the Universe which surrounds us—the earth, the sea, and the stormy sky; at times my mind rises higher to the calm region of upper air and occupies itself with the divine objects that have their abode there.

§ 1. 18. **non quia...sunt**: Cicero expresses a rejected reason by *non quo...sint*.

19. **manum—doleat**, 'to keep touching the place that hurts': Lipsius quotes a Greek version of the saying: ὄπου τις ἀλγεί, κείσε καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχει.

20. **cogites**, 'you must think of.'

laetum et alacrem: *cogita* is understood. He gives a very different account of himself to Polybius, *Polyb.* 2 § 1 and 18 § 9: which treatise was written first, there is no evidence to show.

22. **occupationis**, 'engrossment': here in its bad sense.

operibus: dat.: cf. *Paul.* 14 § 1.

23. **leuioribus studiis**: cf. *Polyb.* 8 § 3: it has been guessed that Sen. wrote some of his plays in Corsica.

24. **universi**, 'of the Universe': cf. *Polyb.* 1 § 2.

§ 2. 25. **primum** cet.: the Universe offers three distinct objects of study, called elsewhere (*Nat. Quaest.* ii 1, 1) *terrena*, *sublimia*, *caelestia*: (1) earth and sea; (2) *aer* and its phenomena; (3) *aether* and the gods. I have changed the punctuation so as to show this.

condicionem = 'the laws which govern': cf. *Polyb.* 1 § 1 *condicionem naturae*.

27. **tunc** should probably be *tum*: copyists prefer the former, but the evidence makes it probable that *tunc* was never used in enumeration, with the sense of 'next': this sense belongs to *tum*. See Housman on Manil. ii 213: '*tunc, cuius formae in enumerando positae nullum exemplum metro tutum apud poetas Latinos repperi*': so that its use in prose also must be doubtful.

quidquid inter caelum terrasque interiacet = *aer*, the sky

between the earth and the moon, where storms rage; above it is *aether*, the undisturbed element of the stars and the gods: with this description of *aer*, comp. that of Ovid *Met.* i 54 (of the Creator) *illic* (i.e. *in aere*) *et nebulas, illic consistere nubes | iussit, et humanas motura tonitrua mentes, | et cum fulminibus facientes frigora uentos.* l. 67 *haec super inposuit liquidum et grauitate carentem | aethera, nec quicquam terrenae faecis habentem.*

28. **hoc**, 'this,' i.e. near us.

29. **nimborum** = *pluuiae*.

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1. **tumultuosum spatium**: cf. *Dial.* i 1, 3 where *aer* is called *tumultuosa pars rerum*.

tum = 'finally.'

2. **ad summa perrumpit**: cf. *Dial.* v 6, 1 *pars superior mundi et ordinatior ac propinqua sideribus nec in nubem cogitur, nec in tempestatem impellitur, nec uersatur in turbinem: omni tumultu caret; inferiora fulminantur.*

3. **diuinorum**, 'of divine things': by many of the Stoics the gods were identified with the stars.

4. **uadit** = 'moves freely,' the regular meaning of the verb: so the soul, released by death, is said *libere uagari* (*Polyb.* 9 § 8) and *currere* (*Dial.* vi 25, 1).

5. **omnibus saeculis** is strangely placed: it belongs, not to *uadit* but to *futurum est*: the soul, being immortal, has access to all events both of past and future time: cf. *Paul.* 15 § 5.

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