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BY

ALFRED GUEDEMAN

Sometime Associate Professor of Classical Philology
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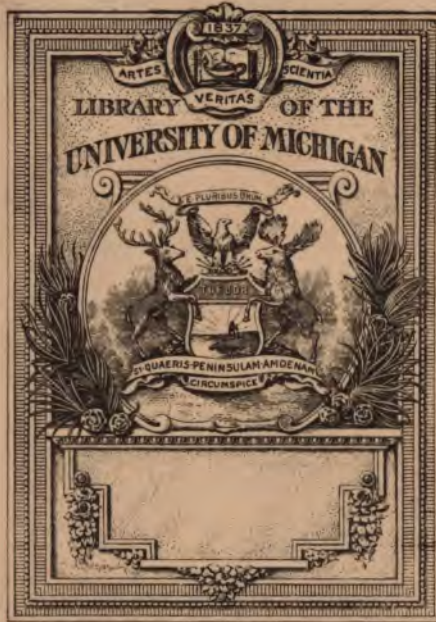
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TO
MY FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE
PROFESSOR CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY
THIS MONOGRAPH IS
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF CICERO¹

① M
I. The results of source investigations have but rarely met with an acquiescence at all commensurate with the labor, the acumen, and the learning so often expended upon them. This is due to several causes. In the first place, the entire or partial loss of the original or earlier authorities naturally gives a more or less wide latitude to the constructive imagination, and, in consequence, different conclusions are often drawn from the same concrete material. In the second place, any one who has even superficially examined the contributions in the field of source research must needs have observed that scholars have, with few laudable exceptions, failed to ascertain at the very outset, as far as this is still possible,

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHY: Heeren, *De fontibus etc. Plutarchi*, Göttingen, 1820, pp. 184-187; J. G. Lagus, *Plutarchus vitae Ciceronis scriptor*, Helsingfors, 1846; Linker, *Emendationen zu Sallust in Wiener Akad.* vol. XIII (1854) pp. 266 ff.; H. Klapp, *De vitarum Plutarchi auctoribus Romanis*, Bonn, 1862; G. S. Sibinga, *De Plutarchi in vita Ciceronis fontibus etc.* (c. 1-23), Leiden Diss. 1863; H. Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer*, Halle, 1865, pp. 129-135; Weizsäcker, *Cicero's ὑπόμνημα u. Plut. in Fleck. Jahrb.* CXI (1875) pp. 417 ff.; Dübi, *Die jüngeren Quellen der Catil. Verschwörung*, ibid. CXIII (1876) pp. 851 ff.; G. Thouret, *De Cic., Asin., . . . rerum Caesar. scriptoribus*, Leipz. Diss. 1877 (= *Leipz. Stud.* I pp. 313 ff.); Schliephacke, *Ueber die griech. Quellen der Catil. Verschwörung*, Goslar, 1877; J. Besser, *De Coniurat. Catil.*, Leipz. Diss. 1880; Ch. Graux, *Introd. to his edition of Dem. and Cic.*, Paris, 1881; E. Schmidt, *De Cic. commentario . . . a Plutarcho . . . expresso*, Jena Diss. 1884; id. *Plut.'s Bericht über die Catil. Verschwörung*, Lübeck, 1885; Thiaucourt, *Étude sur la Conjuration de Cat. de Sall.*, Paris, 1887; K. Buresch, *Die Quellen zu den vorhand. Ber. über die Catil. Verschwörung in Comment. in honorem Ribbeckii*, 1888, pp. 217 ff.; Gudeman, *A New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero in Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc.* vol. XX (1889) pp. 139-158 (cited as *Transact.*); Willrich, *De Coniurat. Catil. fontibus*, Göttingen Diss. 1893; Felke, *De Sallustii Catilina*, Münster Diss. 1894; E. Schwartz, *Bericht über die Catilin. Verschwörung in Hermes* vol. XXXII (1897) pp. 554-609; F. Leo, *Die Griech.-Röm. Biographie etc.*, 1901, pp. 162-165.

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what authorities were accessible to the later writer, as well as the extent to which he would be likely to have utilized all the available material—a problem which can only be solved, if soluble at all, by a thorough examination of the working method, as it is revealed in the writings of the particular author under investigation. But even where these conditions have been complied with, a practice has been all but universally followed which in my judgment must be held primarily responsible for the many failures met with in this field of philological study. I refer to the constant practice of at once assuming *direct indebtedness* on the score of more or less striking *coincidences*, whether in form or substance or both, the very probable contingency being too often lost sight of that such parallelisms may have been unavoidable, the similarity of the subject-matter naturally leading to similarity in its stylistic presentation, or that they had passed more or less intact through intermediary channels, or, finally, that two writers were independently indebted to a third source common to both. Unfortunately we are rarely in a position to determine with anything like satisfactory accuracy the real condition of affairs, but there is, at least, one criterion which almost invariably enables us to state dogmatically, if not what actually did happen, at all events what did not. It is a principle which, so far as my observation goes, has hitherto been ignored in source investigations. I have elsewhere had occasion to dwell upon this,² but its prime importance for the present study may justify my formulating it again:

Mere coincidence or similitude of statement with some earlier author, be it never so striking when taken by itself, not only affords no reliable clue to direct indebtedness, but actually renders such an assumption frequently impossible, in case there be found to exist side by side equally noteworthy divergences or contradictions.

² Cp. *Transact. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* vol. XXXI (1900) p. 95 f.; *Introd. to Tac. Germ.* p. I.

It will thus be apparent that the only method that can yield acceptable results will consist in a process of *elimination*, i.e. we must endeavor to determine what predecessors, from out the list possibly accessible, an author could not, for one reason or another, have consulted. It will then be, in many cases, comparatively easy to decide to what extent he probably utilized the authorities still remaining, provided, of course, that their character, purpose, and scope are satisfactorily ascertainable.

II. If we apply these general methodological principles to an investigation into the Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero, our first task would naturally be to acquire an adequate conception of his biographical method¹ in regard to the faithfulness or freedom with which he followed still extant authorities² and to his habits of citing or suppressing his sources of information. Finally, as we are here dealing with the biography of a Roman, the question **also** arises whether Plutarch was sufficiently conversant with **Latin** to enable him to make an intelligent use of the Latin works, so indispensable to a satisfactory treatment of the career of the great orator. That the answer can only be a strong affirmative has been shown elsewhere.³ As regards the other problems a careful and unbiased examination yields the following conclusions:

The extent of Plutarch's indebtedness to his Roman predecessors is largely conditioned by their number, their character, their exhaustiveness, and their accessibility. It must,

¹ Cp. H. Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs* etc. pp. 1-4; Wachsmuth, *Einleit. in das Stud. d. alt. Gesch. s.n.*: B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides*, New York, 1901, pp. 1-20; Leo l.c. pp. 155 ff.

² Especially instructive in this connection is his life of Coriolanus, for which the narrative of Dionysius of Halicarnassus constituted almost the only source. Cf. Peter, *Die Quellen* etc. pp. 7-17.

³ Cp. *Transact.* p. 140 ff. and the useful but far from exhaustive discussion of Sickinger, *De linguae Latinae apud Plutarchum reliquiis et vestigiis*, Freiburg Diss. 1883. W. Vornefeld, *De scriptorum Latinorum locis a Plutarcho citatis*, Münster Diss. 1901, is superficial and worthless. The famous statement in Plut. *Dem.* c. 3 (see Appendix III) merely signifies that he did not feel competent to institute a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero as *orators*. Cp. Klapp l.c. p. 3 and Peter, *Die Quellen* etc. p. 61.

therefore, be determined for each biography independently. On the other hand, Plutarch, following the all but universal practice of ancient historians, did not feel called upon to ransack the primary and often widely scattered sources, in case this laborious task had already been satisfactorily performed by others.⁴ That this had been done for the life and career of Cicero before Plutarch became his biographer can admit of no doubt. He was, therefore, relieved of the necessity of consulting a great variety of authors who wrote in what was to him after all a foreign, albeit not an unfamiliar language. But quite apart from this consideration, an extensive Latin library was certainly not accessible to him in his small native town which, as he tells us with touching local pride, he did not care to desert, lest it grow less by even one inhabitant. This assumption is, indeed, confirmed by his own words in *Dem. 2*,⁵ which must have been written with *special reference to the biography of Cicero*, for the following reasons: In the first place, this complaint would have been unjustified, if he had taken advantage of his residence in Rome to acquaint himself fully with the extensive literature on Cicero at his disposal or had taken pains to collect such traditions concerning him as still survived in the imperial city. In the second place, in composing the life of Demosthenes he was not in the predicament of which he speaks, for all the sources were written in Greek, and the orations, in particular, must have long been familiar to him. The proximity of Athens, moreover, rendered these sources easy of access, and his opportunities for acquiring hearsay information were, to judge from his associations, unquestionably abundant.⁶

Again, Plutarch conforms to the usage of ancient historiography in habitually *suppressing* the authorities whom he most

⁴ Cp. H. Peter, *Die geschichtl. Literat.* etc. II, pp. 191 f.; Leo l.c. p. 162.

⁵ See Appendix III.

⁶ It will not therefore appear accidental that the biography of Cicero contains no such phrases as *Dem. c. 31*, τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, Σόστριε, βλον ἔξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ διηκούσαμεν.

extensively followed.⁷ Where he does cite them, it is generally with reference to minor details, or because of discrepancies in the traditional records which he did not care or was unable to reconcile. In such cases, he often quotes the account of some noted author which differed from the one accepted by him, and allows the reader to make his own inferences as to their respective validity. The paucity of sources, finally, which we must postulate at all events for Plutarch's Roman Lives, involves the necessary corollary that he did not constantly pass from one to the other, but that he would follow one guide for continuous stretches at a time, digressions or ἐμβλήματα being usually labeled as such by a λέγεται or some similar phrase.

III. Now of the writings which dealt, directly or indirectly, incidentally or exclusively, with the career of Cicero and which were still extant in the days of Plutarch, the following list will probably be found to be fairly exhaustive; for it is unlikely that important sources of information existed of which no trace has survived.*

I. *Cicero.*

a. *⁴Υπόμνημα τῆς ἑπατείας.¹

**Epistula ad Pompeium.*²

**Poem de consulatu*, in 3 books (Urania, Minerva, Calliope).³

**Poem de temporibus suis*,⁴ in 3 books.

**De consiliis suis.*⁵

* Those marked with an asterisk have not come down to us.

⁷ Thus, to mention at least one indubitable instance, the name of Dionysius occurs but *once* in the *Compar. Alc. et Cor.* 2, never in the *Camillus*, and yet both the *Coriolanus* (see above p. 3²) and the biography of the latter are based upon the account in the *Archaeology*.

¹ Cp. *ad Att.* I. 19, 10; 20, 6; II. 1, 1; *Plut. Caes.* 8; *Crass.* 13; *Dio Cass.* XLVI. 21.

² Schol. Bob. p. 270 non mediocris ad instar voluminis scripta; *pro Sull.* 24, 67. Perhaps identical in contents with the Greek memoir.

³ *Cic. de div.* I. 17-22.

⁴ *ad Quint. frat.* III. 1, 24; *ad fam.* I. 9, 23.

⁵ Cp. *Ascon. Ped.* p. 831 Or.; *Charisius G. L.* I. 146; *Boethius de inst. mus.* I. 1. It is admittedly identical with the *ἀνέκδοτα*, and is frequently

- b. *Brutus* (esp. c. 89, 305-92, 316).
- c. *Epistles*.
- d. *Orations*.
- II. a. *Tiro, *de vita Ciceronis* — **de iocis Ciceronis*.
- b. *C. Trebonius, *de facete dictis Ciceronis*.
- c. *Corn. Nepos, *de vita Ciceronis*.
- d. *T. Pomponius Atticus, Περὶ Κικέρωνος ὑπατείας.⁶
*Herodes, Περὶ Κικέρωνος ὑπατείας.^{6a}
- III. a. *Political Pamphlets*⁷: e.g. *Antonius, Πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππικους ἀναγραφαί (Cic. c. 41);
- b. *Rhetorical Exercises*: Ps. Sallustii *Invectiva in Ciceronem* — [Latro?] *Declamatio in Catilinam* — *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae*⁸ and perhaps the *De petitione consulatus*, attributed to Q. Cicero.
- IV. a. Sallust's *Catiline*.
- b. *Livy (esp. books 91-120).
- c. *Asinius Pollio, *Bella Civilia*.
- d. *Tanusius Geminus, *Historia*; *M. Bibulus, *Edicta*; *C. Curio, *Orationes*; *M. Actorius Naso.⁹

mentioned by Cicero himself, e.g. *ad Att.* II. 6, 2; XIV. 17, 6. It is alluded to in Plut. *Crass.* 13, ἐν τινι λόγῳ . . . οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν (sc. Crassus and Caesar) τελευτήν, and perhaps *Cic.* 20, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν (de Terentia). According to Dio Cass. XXXIX. 10, 1 it was sealed and entrusted to his son with the injunction that it should neither be read nor published before his death.

⁶ Nepos *Att.* 25, 18, 6; Cic. *ad Att.* II. 1, 1.

^{6a} Harshly criticised by Cic. *ad Att.* II. 2 and not mentioned elsewhere.

⁷ The virulent speech against Cicero put into the mouth of Fufius Calenus by Dio Cass. XLVI. 1-28 may give us an idea of their character. When the conditions which gave rise to these publications had passed away, they were naturally allowed to perish, and probably but few survived until Plutarch's time. Cp. also Ascon. Ped. p. 95 feruntur orationes illorum (sc. Antonius and Catiline) non ab ipsis scriptae sed ab Ciceronis obtreptatoribus, and, on some others, O. E. Schmidt, *Flugschriften aus der Zeit des 1. Triumvirats* in *Neue Jahrb. f. class. Alt.* IV. 9 (1901) pp. 620-655, and H. Peter, *Geschichtl. Literat.* etc. I, pp. 163 ff.

⁸ Sen. *Suas.* VI: Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur; VII: Deliberat Cicero an scripta sua comburat, promittente Antonio incolunitatem si fecisset; *Contror.* VII. 17: Popillium parricidii reum Cicero defendit, absolutus est. Proscriptum Ciceronem ab Antonio missus occidit Popillius et caput eius ad Antonium rettulit.

⁹ With the exception of Bibulus, we owe the mention of these otherwise unknown writers to Suet. *Caes.* 9, where they are cited for the so-called first

- e. *Cremutius Cordus ; *Aufidius Bassus ; *Brutidius Niger.¹⁰
- V. a. *Fenestella, *Annales*.
- b. Asconius Pedianus, *Commentary to Cicero's Speeches* (extant: *in Pis.*; *pro Scauro*; *pro Mil.*; *pro Cornelio*; *in tog. cand.*).
- VI. a. *Diodorus, *Strabo, and *Nicolaus Damascenus.
- b. *The ante-Plutarchean sources of Appian and Dio Cassius.
- VII. *Suetonius, *de vita Ciceronis*, a part of the *De viris illustribus*.

It is irrelevant to my present purpose to enumerate even the most important Roman authors referred to directly in Plutarch's voluminous writings,¹¹ we being here more immediately concerned with his allusions to such as are given in the above list, although the explicit quotation of authorities by no means, as we shall have frequent occasion to see, involves direct knowledge of them — no more, in fact, than the failure to cite them necessarily implies Plutarch's ignorance of their existence.

Plutarch quotes Cicero's *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας* and *ἀνέκδοτα* (*Crass.* 13), his *Laudatio Catonis* (*Cic.* c. 39), and the philosophical works in a vague and general way (c. 24. 40; *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 2). Out of a total of about a dozen references to the Letters and some twenty to the Speeches, four¹² of the

conspiracy of Catiline. Cp. *Cic. ad Att.* II. 20, 4, *Bibulus hominum admiratione et benevolentia in caelo est. Edicta eius et contiones describunt et legunt.* They seem to have been directed against Caesar.

¹⁰ Cited by Sen. *Suas.* VI. 18 ff., together with Livy and Pollio, as historians who gave an account of Cicero's assassination.

¹¹ This is done, with the indication of the passages, if still extant, in *Transact.* p. 124 f. note 4.

¹² It is perhaps not accidental that three of them were written in Greek. Besides these we have allusions to letters of Trebatius (c. 37) and Brutus (*Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 4) to Cicero and one written by Brutus to Atticus (c. 45). A number of items, found in the extant Correspondence, are given without any hint as to their ultimate source, e.g. c. 36, 6, Cicero's answer to a request of Caelius (= *ad fam.* II. 11); some again are introduced by a vague *γράφει ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς* (c. 37) or credited to him by a phrase like *τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν*. That they were all taken at second or third hand will be shown below.

former and fifteen¹³ of the latter occur in the biography of Cicero. *Nepos*, though not the *vita Ciceronis*, is cited five times¹⁴; *Sallust*, but not the *Catilina*, three times¹⁵; *Asinius Pollio*¹⁶ and *Tiro's*¹⁷ exhaustive¹⁸ biography twice each. *Livy's*¹⁹ name occurs a dozen times in Plutarch, but nowhere in his Cicero. The latest literary allusion is the incidental reference to the *Memoirs of Augustus*.²⁰

To these must be added the far more numerous references to earlier authorities, indicated by vague and general phrases. They often introduce a digression, or incidental observations; nor must the plural number be taken as a proof of a plurality of sources, as it often merely corresponds to an 'on dit,' or was, in some instances, perhaps occasioned by the citation of several authorities in the source directly consulted:

- a. λέγεται, λέγουσιν: c. 1, 1. 28 Si.; 2, 4; 4, 28; 5, 22; 9, 7; 17, 29. 6; 25, 15; 32, 15; 33, 27; 36, 8; 39, 22; 40, 18; 41, 1; 46, 2; 49, 1; *Comp.* 1, 18 — λεγόμενοι: c. 41, 16; 45, 14.
- b. φησί, φασί, τινὲς δέ φασι, ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι: c. 6, 16; 20, 6 (ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων); 41, 29 — c. 40, 12; 44, 31; 44, 9 — c. 20, 24 — c. 4, 7.
- c. δοκεῖ, ἐδόκει: c. 2, 7; 12, 11; 14, 3; 23, 27; 29, 12.

¹³ c. 3 (pro Roscio), 7 (in Verrem), 9 (pro Manilio), 10 ff. (in Cat.), 12 (de leg. agrar.), 24. 48 (Philippica), 35 (pro Murena, pro Milone), 37 (pro Ligario), *Comp.* 1 (pro Caelio), and a number no longer extant, c. 6. 13 (pro Othone) and esp. c. 26. On the reference to the pro Plancio, see below.

¹⁴ *Marc.* 12. 30; *Tib. Gracch.* 21; *Lucull.* 43; *Comp. Pelop. et Marc.* 1.

¹⁵ *Lucull.* 11. 33; *Comp. Lys. et Sull.* 3.

¹⁶ *Caes.* 46; *Pomp.* 72.

¹⁷ *Cic.* 41. 49; *Tac. Dial.* 17; *Gell. N. A.* IV. 10, 5.

¹⁸ The 4th book had not advanced beyond the Clodian episode. *Cp. Ascon. Ped. in Milon.* p. 49.

¹⁹ The citations extend from Bks. V–CXVI. But as Plutarch's perusal of the *Livius ingens Quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit* is quite out of the question, either all these quotations were taken at second hand, or else he read an Epitome of Livy, such as is known to have existed in the time of Domitian (*Mart. XIV.* 190; *Stat. Silv.* IV. 7, 53), if not actually as early as the reign of Tiberius.

²⁰ *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 3 and *Cic.* 45.

- d. ὡς ἔοικε: c. 1, 23; 35, 6; 44, 17.
- e. ἱστοροῦσιν, ἱστορήται: c. 1, 3; 5, 26; 44, 19—ἐνιοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν: c. 49, 32.
- f. ἀπομνημονεύουσιν: c. 24, 11—πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμνημονεύεται: c. 7, 24.
- g. ἦν πυνθέσθαι, πυνθάνομαι: c. 1, 3—c. 49, 3.
- h. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀξία μνήμης τῶν περὶ . . . Κικέρωνος ἱστορουμένων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀφίκται γνῶσιν, ταῦτ' ἔστιν: *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* c. 1, 22 f.
- i. τὰ βίβλια τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων: c. 24, 3—ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι: c. 24, 10—ἐπαίνων, οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρῆται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός: c. 24, 21—ἔστι δέ τις καὶ τοῦ ἡθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκατέρου δίοψις: *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 1, 5.
- j. τινὲς . . . ἐπιφύονται . . . ἀμνημονοῦσι: c. 24, 18, 24.
- k. τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων . . . οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς, ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἐκάστου: c. 24, 24 ff.—πολλὰ μὲν Καίσαρι γράφων: c. 37, 32.

IV. This preliminary discussion will, I hope, have paved the way for a detailed examination into the sources of the information contained in Plutarch's Life of Cicero, but, before I proceed to this analysis, I deem it expedient to survey, as briefly as possible, the results at which previous investigators have arrived, particularly as my own conclusions will be found to differ so materially from those which have hitherto been more or less generally accepted.

While opinions have naturally varied as to the precise extent of Plutarch's indebtedness to the several authorities who, in the conviction of scholars, had been consulted by the biographer, substantial unanimity seems to exist as regards the following points: Plutarch, we are assured, unquestionably read and utilized Cicero's *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας*, the Letters and Speeches (of the latter particularly the *Catilinian*, the *Philippics*, and the *pro Plancio*), and the autobiographical chapters of the *Brutus*.

Finally, it is generally held that he was under deep obligations to Sallust's *Catiline* and to Tiro's *de vita Ciceronis* and *de iocis Ciceronis*.

These confident allegations, however, rest upon no foundation. Plutarch, as I hope to demonstrate in the following pages, did not consult for the purpose of this biography a single work of Cicero's nor Sallust's monograph nor Tiro nor Livy. While this part of my analysis is strictly negative in character, I shall also show that Plutarch's biography contains a very considerable amount of information of post-Livian or post-Augustan origin and that one of the principal sources for these portions was none other than Suetonius's *Life of Cicero*.

V^a. To begin with the works *expressly cited* by Plutarch, for these quotations must naturally create the impression of having been secured at first hand,¹ we may first take up the *Letters of Cicero*. Now the mere presumption that Plutarch had been acquainted with this unique and inexhaustible thesaurus of historical and autobiographical information at once puts us on the horns of a dilemma: if he was, he must either have read the *entire* correspondence (which, as may be observed in passing, was probably double the size of our extant collection²) and then have culled from it, like a modern Drumm, what appeared relevant to his purpose, or else he did not consult any part of it at first hand.

That the latter is the only acceptable alternative can be easily shown. In the first place, Plutarch on his own statement had not the leisure, and, as I have also pointed out above, he could not have had the disposition, to ransack so vast a storehouse for his materials, not to mention that the ancients, with the possible exception of Suetonius,³ utterly failed to realize

¹ Particularly such expressions as we find in c. 24, *σχεδὸν . . . μία καὶ δευτέρα . . . ἐν ὀργῇ τιμὴ γέγραπται* 37 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν.

² We possess in all 864 letters, of which 774 are written by Cicero himself.

³ The extensive use which he makes of these Letters is all the more noteworthy, because the subjects of his extant writings would not naturally nor

the incomparable value of these contemporary documents.⁴ Finally, even if we were to grant, on the strength of the direct and indirect allusions to these Letters, that Plutarch perused only a part of them, the capriciousness of the selection no less than the comparatively trivial information which such reading yielded would still remain quite inexplicable. But if these general considerations should not prove convincing, *positive* evidence that the biographer never read the Correspondence of Cicero will be furnished by c. 37. We are there told that Trebatius wrote to the orator that Caesar would be pleased with the support of Cicero, but if his advanced age should forbid an active participation, he might at least retire to Greece, remaining neutral throughout the impending struggle. Cicero, however, vexed that Caesar did not write to him a personal letter, replied in anger,⁵ saying that he would do nothing unworthy of his past career. Plutarch concludes with the clause τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι. Now we still possess a letter of Cicero which seems to refer to this very incident; but unless we gratuitously assume that the allusion is based upon some letter now lost, it differs, in spite of a general agreement, in a number of details sufficiently significant to preclude Plutarch's perusal of the original.⁶ Thus, we find nothing in the Latin about

often suggest the expediency of their consultation. We may, therefore, be reasonably certain that he exploited the Correspondence to the fullest extent in his Life of Cicero. Cp. also Macé, *Essai sur Suétone* pp. 284-298 (*Cicéron chez Suétone*).

⁴ Cp. H. Peter, *Der Brief in der röm. Literatur*, 1901, p. 51.

⁵ The Greek does not make it clear, whether the letter was sent to Caesar or to Trebatius. If the former is meant, the discrepancy pointed out above would be still greater.

⁶ *ad. Att.* VII. 17, 3: Trebatius quidem scribit se ab illo . . . rogatum esse ut scriberet ad me ut essem ad urbem, nihil ei me gratius facere posse. Haec verbis plurimis. Intellexi ex dierum ratione, ut primum de discessu nostro Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse, ne omnes abessemus. . . Illud admiror non ipsum ad me scripsisse (= θανμάσας ὅτι Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγραψεν) . . . rescripsi ad Trebatium — nam ad ipsum Caesarem qui mihi nihil scripsisset nolui (ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὀργήν!) — quam illud hoc tempore difficile esse . . . sin

Caesar's proposal of eventual neutrality, nothing which would justify the assertion that Cicero replied *πρὸς ὀργήν*. Finally, the extant collection contains a number of letters which passed between these parties at this time, and they are all couched in friendly terms.⁷ They throw considerable light upon the attitude of the two men toward each other, and yet we are asked to believe that Plutarch overlooked these altogether while he inaccurately reproduced the tenor of another!

V^b. So much for the *Letters*.¹ I pass on to the *Speeches*. In the detailed account of the Catilinian Conspiracy, the famous orations are expressly alluded to in *four*² places, coincidences with Plutarch's narrative are also numerous, and hence scholars have had no hesitation in ascribing a direct knowledge of them to the biographer. But if ever mere coincidences have proved to be worthless as evidence of direct indebtedness, it would be in this case, for the reason that this episode was certainly dealt with at greater or less length in all histories or biographies of Cicero, and hence the salient, well-established facts are related with substantial unanimity in Cicero, Sallust, Appian, Florus, and Dio, to mention only the extant accounts. It is in the arrangement of the subject-matter and in details that divergences are revealed, and they are all incompatible with the assumption that Plutarch had carefully perused the original records. A few particularly significant illustrations will suffice:

In *Cic. in Cat.* I. 4, 9, we read: *reperiti sunt duo equites Romani qui . . . me meo in lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur . . . exclusi eos quos Catilina mane ad me salutatum miserat*. Here no names are given, but in the *pro Sulla* 6, 18 one *Cornelius* is introduced as *qui me in sedibus meis in conspectu uxoris meae ac liberorum meorum trucidaret*, and *bellum geretur, non deero officio nec dignitati meae, pueros υπεκθέμενος in Graeciam* (*ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων*).

⁷ *ad Att.* IX. 6 a. 16; X. 8 b (*ad Ciceronem*); IX. 11 a (*ad Caesarem*).

¹ For other evidence, see notes to the text (Appendix I).

² c. 14. 16. 19. 21.

he also figures in Sall. *Cat.* 28, together with L. Vargunteius, a senator, as a would-be assassin of Cicero. Now in Plut. c. 16 two others, Cethegus and one Marcius, are mentioned as those who had been delegated for this murderous task; he also knows the informant who warned Cicero and adds the absurd detail *κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ κατεβόων ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι*.³

Doubtless the names of these men were originally unknown, but subsequently suspicion fastened upon several conspirators, which gave rise to the variants in our extant accounts of the episode. Whether the correct one is found among them is indeterminable and immaterial, but there can be no question that neither the *first* speech against Catiline nor the *pro Sulla* could have been Plutarch's source, and, to anticipate the discussion below, *Sallust* is, at least for this particular item, also excluded.

Again, in *Cat.* II. 2, 4, Cicero says *moleste tuli quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum copias eduxisset*, and this is confirmed by Sall. *Cat.* 32, *cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est*, whereas Plutarch c. 16 reports *μετὰ τριακοσίων ὄπλοφόρων . . . πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει*.

Cic. in *Cat.* III. 3, 6, 5, 10 speaks of a large number of daggers and swords having been found in the house of Cethegus, but Plut. c. 18 adds hemp and sulphur and that the weapons were all *νεοθήκτους*.

According to in *Cat.* III. 4, 8, *urbem ex omnibus partibus quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent*. Sallust *Cat.* 43 and Appian II. 3 mention *twelve* districts. Plut. c. 18, on the other hand, says 100 men were assigned to as many districts, and adds further details not found elsewhere, but ignores L. Cassius (in *Cat.* III. 6, 14; IV. 6, 13).

³ Appian's account (II. 3) is still more circumstantial and in flat contradiction with both Cicero and Plutarch. He says *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* intended to entice Cicero into taking an early morning walk and then by engaging him in conversation and thus drawing him away from his people to murder him. Dio Cass. 37, 32 mentions only *δύω τινάς*.

The story of Cicero's energetic measures to crush the conspiracy in the bud, of his shrewd dealings with the Allobrogians, and of the exposure in the senate, so graphically told *in Cat.* III. 2, 4 ff., again differs in important details from the narrative in *Plut. c. 18*. We may conclude with one other example, though the list of discrepancies is by no means exhausted. When *Plut. c. 21* says that Cicero after hearing Caesar's plea for clemency immediately *ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἑκάτερον τὰ μὲν τῆ προτέρα, τὰ δὲ τῆ γνώμη Καίσαρος συνειπών, οἳ τε φίλοι πάντες οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέρειν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην* etc., it must be evident that he never read the fourth speech against Catiline.⁴

A similar analysis of Plutarch's statements in *c. 12 (de lege agraria)*, *c. 23* (where, e.g., Cato is said to have been the first to hail Cicero as *pater patriae*, whereas he himself⁵ mentions Q. Catulus), his account of the trial of Roscius (*c. 3*),⁶ of Verres (*c. 7 f.*), of Milo and Murena (*c. 35*), can leave no doubt in any unprejudiced mind that the biographer had not consulted these speeches. Finally, even the *pro Plancio* must be eliminated from the list of Plutarch's possible sources, although Cicero is expressly cited as his authority. The juxtaposition and analysis of the two passages will make this clear :

pro Plancio 26, 64 f. : Vere me hercule hoc dicam : Sic tum existimabam, nihil homines aliud Romae nisi de quaestura mea loqui . . . excogitati quidam erant a Siculis honores in me inauditi : itaque hac spe decedebam, ut mihi populum Romanum ultro omnia delaturum putarem. At ego cum casu diebus iis itinēris faciendi causa decedens e provincia Puteolos forte venissem . . . concidi

Plut. Cic. c. 6 : ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῖς οἷν μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ῥώμην βαδίζων γελοῖόν τι παθεῖν φησιν. Συντυχὼν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν φίλῳ δοκῶντι περὶ Καμπανίαν, ἐρίσθαι, τίνα δὴ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τί

⁴ This view is also advocated by Sibinga l.c. p. 77, though he regards this oration as non-Ciceronian.

⁵ *in Pis.* 3, 6; *pro Sextio* 57, 121. Both of these speeches are full of biographical detail which Plutarch would not likely have ignored had he known them. And the same is true of many others in the Ciceronian collection.

⁶ Cf. Sibinga l.c. pp. 16-19, and notes to text.

paene, iudices, cum ex me quidam quaesisset, quo die Roma exissem et num quidnam novi. Cui cum respondissem me e provincia decedere, "Etiam me hercule," inquit, "ut opinor, ex Africa." Huic ego iam stomachans fastidiose "Immo ex Sicilia" inquam. Tum quidam quasi qui omnia sciret, "Quid tu nescis," inquit, "hunc quaestorem Syracusis fuisse?" . . . ea res, iudices, haud scio an plus mihi profuerit, quam si mihi tum essent omnes gratulati. Nam posteaquam sensi populi Romani aures hebetiores, oculos autem esse acres atque acutos, destiti quid de me audituri essent homines, cogitare; feci ut postea cotidie praesentem me viderent, habitavi in oculis, pressi forum.

φρονούσιν, ὡς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐμπεπληκώς· τὸν δ' εἰπέιν· "Ποῦ γὰρ ἦς, ὦ Κικέρων, τὸν χρόνον τούτον;" τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθυμῆσαι παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσῶν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποιήκεν· ὕστερον δὲ λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοῦς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑφέλειν, ὡς πρὸς ἀόριστον πρᾶγμα τὴν δόξαν ἀμυλλόμενος καὶ πέρασ οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἔχουσαν.

That the *ultimate* source of this exquisite story was the Ciceronian speech is, of course, self-evident, only Plutarch could not possibly have had it before his eyes when he penned this paragraph,⁷ so thoroughly spoiled has it been in the retelling. Thus, the best part of the joke turns upon the interlocutor's failure to distinguish *Lilybaeum*, Cicero's district, from *Syracuse*, the two together forming the province of Sicily. Plutarch knew nothing of this and calmly speaks of Cicero as quaestor of Sicily. Again, according to the original Cicero made an excursion, in Plutarch he has left his province at the expiration of his term of office. In the Latin an unknown individual puts the annoying question, in the Greek Cicero questions an eminent friend. Cicero is very explicit as to the locality, Plutarch speaks vaguely of Campania. In the Latin, once more, we have the delightful colloquy which culminates in Cicero's complete discomfiture, in the Greek only a simple question is asked. Finally, Cicero's application of the story, and the lesson he drew from the

⁷ This is also recognized by H. Peter, *Die Quellen* etc. p. 130, and by Sibinga l.c. p. 26-28.

incident, are partly omitted, partly misunderstood, and partly contradicted in the clumsy reproduction. Certainly no Roman biographer or historian, such as Tiro, Nepos, Livy, or Suetonius, could have transmitted this anecdote in the emasculated shape in which we find it in Plutarch. It represents doubtless what in modern parlance would be called a newspaper clipping, a stray item which Plutarch may have come upon in some of the many post-Augustan collectanea of *rerum memorabilium* and which he had hastily transferred to his Commonplace Book, or else he was here quoting a story he had once heard, but had imperfectly retained in his memory.

A close analysis, then, of Plutarch's references to Cicero's orations, whether direct or indirect, can, I feel convinced, justify but one conclusion: to wit, that, while he may have glanced at some speeches, he did not use them as biographical sources of information.⁸

Vc. That Cicero's *Brutus*, especially the famous autobiographical chapters at the close, was consulted by Plutarch seems to be universally admitted, this conviction being based upon c. 3 and 4, which are chiefly devoted to the philosophical and rhetorical training of the young Cicero. No doubt the numerous coincidences existing between the two accounts, more particularly the enumeration of the Asianic rhetoricians, might lend color to this supposition, for even Strabo, the only later writer who besides Plutarch speaks of them, cites the *Brutus* as his authority.¹ And yet Plutarch cannot have read a line of this work, so glaring are the contradictions. In the first place, Plutarch's knowledge of the history of Greek philosophy and rhetoric was unquestionably profound and extensive, and he was not, therefore, called upon to consult a

⁸ We possess 54 speeches entire, 17 in fragments, and we know the titles, in some cases also the contents, of 30 more. Plutarch, therefore, had he desired to read some of Cicero's speeches, would have been confronted with a collection of over *one hundred* from which to choose! See Appendix I.

¹ Strabo XIII. 66o.

Latin writer for his information on these subjects.² But we are happily not compelled to rely upon such considerations. If Plutarch read the *Brutus*, how was it possible that he should represent Cicero as leaving Rome immediately after the Roscian trial, whereas Cicero says expressly that he remained two years longer actively engaged in forensic occupation until his health gave out, a statement which Plutarch, after asserting that it was put forth as a pretext by the orator to conceal his cowardly departure out of fear of Sulla, confirms in the very next paragraph? Again, Plutarch makes him return on the news of the dictator's death, whereas Cicero did not do so until two years later, when, as he tells us himself, the objects which had caused him to leave Rome had been attained. Finally, in the enumeration of Cicero's teachers Plutarch omits Demetrius the Syrian and Aeschylus the Cnidian, but adds Posidonius and refers to Molo as Apollonius the son of Molo. Posidonius, although his name occurs no fewer than eighteen times in the extant writings of Cicero, is referred to but twice, and that in a parenthetical way, as the orator's *teacher*; but these passages were certainly unknown to Plutarch, not to mention that neither the time when nor the place where Cicero enjoyed his instruction is there given.³ The confusion between *Apollonius ὁ μαλακός*, much the older man, and *Molo*, Cicero's teacher both in Rome and in Rhodes,⁴ furnishes still another proof that Plutarch was not indebted to the *Brutus*. Their identification, it is true, is extremely common both in Greek and Latin writers after the time of Cicero, Strabo, and Valerius Maximus,⁵ the

² If his biographical source had said no more than that Cicero had been a pupil of Rhodian rhetoricians, their names would readily suggest themselves to him. But if he found them already mentioned, there is only one biographer of Cicero known to us who would be likely to have done so, namely *Suetonius*, the author of the *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*.

³ *de fato* 3, 5, *Posidonius* quaedam (pace magistrī dixerim) comminisci videtur; *de nat. deor.* I. 3, 5, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, *Posidonius* a quibus instituti sumus.

⁴ *Brut.* 89, 307. 90, 312. 91, 316.

⁵ Cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. der alex. Lit.* II. pp. 489-493.

younger rhetorician being referred to often as Apollonius or Apollonius Molo—for Plutarch's Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Μόλωνος¹ is in my judgment due to a misunderstanding of his Latin source, which probably contained the genitive *Apollonii Molonis*, he being ignorant of the fact that the Latin, unlike the Greek, does not express descent by the genitive case.

V^d. Of the writings of Cicero still to be discussed there remain only his poems *de consulatu* and *de temporibus suis*, the Greek *Memoir on his Consulship* and the *de consiliis suis* or ἀνέκδοτα. On general considerations, it is to the highest degree improbable that Plutarch utilized any of the poetic² effusions for his narrative, although certain items may be ultimately based upon them, as the following passage in Servius ad Verg. *Ecl.* VIII. 104 f. seems to show: hoc uxori Ciceronis dicitur contigisse, cum post peractum sacrificium libare vellet, in cinerem ex ipso cinere flamma surrexit quae flamma eodem anno consulem futurum ostendit eius maritum, sicut Cicero in suo testatur poemate. This same omen is related by Dio Cass. 37, 35 and with circumstantiality of detail in Plut. *Cic.* 20, Terentia's characterization being introduced by the words ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων. What more probable, than that the poem *de consulatu* is the original source of both Dio and Plutarch! A closer examination, however, reveals considerable objections to this assumption. In the first place, Servius, who, as the *dicitur* perhaps indicates, cites only at second hand, places the incident at an earlier time, when Cicero was again a private citizen, whereas Plutarch expressly informs us that the annual festival of the Bona Dea always took place in the house of the

¹ So again in Plut. *Caes.* 3, but not elsewhere. It is, however, significant to note in this connection that Suet. *Caes.* 4 also speaks of Apollonius Molo where Molo was meant.

² The one solitary allusion to a Latin poet, throughout all the voluminous writings of Plutarch, is found in *Lucull.* 39, where the reference to Horace (viz. *Epist.* I. 6, 40 ff.), if not an actual interpolation, as I still believe it to be, is in any case taken at second or third hand. Cp. *Transact.* p. 149 note 16.

consul,³ and that Cicero accordingly went to the residence of a neighbor, there to deliberate upon the best mode of dealing with the conspirators. In the second place, the interpretation of the omen, as well as the time of its occurrence, exhibits noteworthy divergences. If we are to believe Servius, Cicero himself spoke of it as having happened before he was elected; according to Plutarch and Dio (who, however, makes no mention of the Bona Dea or of Terentia) the miracle occurred shortly before the famous debate in the senate and was interpreted as justifying Cicero in insisting on the death penalty.⁴ Again, the deliberations of the consul in Plutarch follow the arrest of the conspirators, whereas in Sallust c. 46 they are made to precede the sensational exposure, and there is no allusion to the prodigy.

The narrative in Plutarch is homogeneous throughout and not marred by any irrelevant additions. Now, unless we gratuitously maintain that the authority of Cicero is specially invoked for the sole purpose of substantiating the parenthetical remark concerning Terentia, while the truth of the curious story immediately preceding was allowed to stand on its own merits, we must conclude that the entire passage was culled from one and the same source. But if so, this authority cannot have been the Ciceronian poem, even if we lay no stress upon the chronological difficulty in Servius for the reasons given above. The Greek Memoir, on the other hand, is no less out of the question, and that chiefly for two

³ Dio Cass. l.c. *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, but in c. 45 he speaks of these ceremonies as taking place *παρὰ τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*. May not this statement be ultimately due to some scholar, like Fenestella, who wished to reconcile the conflicting chronology in the traditional accounts of this incident?

⁴ Dio, however, places the incident early in the morning, Plutarch in the evening. In the former again *τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἶδος ἤρθη*, in the latter *ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοιῶν φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνήκε καὶ λαμπράν*. Plutarch and Dio, therefore, unquestionably followed different authorities.

reasons: In the first place, Cicero's own reflections⁵ could not have assumed the condemnatory form which Plutarch has given to them (*αὐτός τε δόξειν ἄνανδρος καὶ μαλακός* etc.); in the second place, the disparaging remarks concerning his wife could not well have been made at a time when their estrangement had not yet taken place, the *ὑπόμνημα* having been written in 60 B.C. In the *ἀνέκδοτα* published after the divorce they might, of course, have occurred, but then there is no evidence that this work rehearsed the story of the conspiracy from the beginning, nor are we justified in ascribing to Plutarch any first-hand acquaintance with the *ἀνέκδοτα* on the strength of so vague a reference as the *ἔν τιμι λόγῳ* etc. in his Life of Crassus.⁶

That the *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας*, on the other hand, cited in the same passage, had been read by Plutarch, it were no less rash to conclude from this solitary and incidental allusion; and yet, since the time of Heeren, scholars have with ever-increasing confidence maintained that we must indeed recognize in this Greek Memoir the principal, if not actually the only, source of Plutarch's information on this subject.⁷ We shall see subsequently that there is no satisfactory evidence for this assumption.

VI. Turning to a consideration of Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae*, it might be supposed that a comparison between the *extant* monograph and the account in Plutarch would definitely settle any question as to the indebtedness of the

⁵ These deliberations seem to be ultimately based upon a *suasoria*, possibly suggested by Sallust l.c., and entitled: *Deliberat Cicero an coniuratores interficiat*. See also p. 6⁸. If so, a post-Augustan origin for this chapter, probable on independent grounds, would be revealed.

⁶ See above p. 7.

⁷ So e.g. Weizsäcker, Schmidt in special treatises, Buresch, Willrich, and, preceding them all, Sibinga, whose discussion is, however, strangely ignored by the German advocates of the hypothesis. Heeren, as usual, merely postulates it as a fact. Peter, *Die Quellen* etc. p. 129 f., seems to be the only critic who denies Plutarch's indebtedness to the *ὑπόμνημα*, though he does so on insufficient grounds.

one to the other ; and, as a matter of fact, the great majority of scholars are convinced that Plutarch did make a more or less extensive use of the Sallustian narrative, a conclusion which rests solely on the unquestionably numerous coincidences between them. But the equally numerous divergences in matters of detail, certain chronological discrepancies, the different attitude of Sallust and Plutarch toward the principal actors in the drama, the noteworthy circumstance, finally, that they have not a single item of information in common which is either omitted or contradicted in all other extant sources, these are facts which certainly far outweigh in significance and argumentative validity the existing parallelisms, the more so as the latter reveal no peculiarities in style or substance which might seem incompatible with a non-Sallustian origin. Many of these dissimilarities have, of course, been noticed ; but so far from their leading to the only inference which is psychologically reasonable, namely that Plutarch could never have consulted Sallust, we are seriously asked to believe that Plutarch, while industriously appropriating Sallust's material, had from some unaccountable, capricious fancy repeatedly and suddenly abandoned his guide, in order to incorporate from other sources numerous items which partly contradict or modify or expand his previous basic narrative. That such a patchwork method, even if it were justly attributable to Plutarch, must have resulted in producing an incoherent mosaic instead of an admittedly consistent and homogeneous narrative, goes without saying ; and yet it is precisely some such conception which underlies many of the source analyses to which Plutarch's Lives have been subjected.

In order to establish the falsity of the current belief, it will only be necessary to enumerate some of the more flagrant contradictions between the two authors.¹

¹ For others see Schmidt, Lübeck Progr. l. c. pp. 2-7, who, wholly intent upon proving Plutarch's extensive indebtedness to Cicero's *ὑπόμνημα*, is of course compelled to eliminate Sallust as far as possible as one of his sources. See also notes in Appendix I.

In Sallust c. 23. 25. 28, we read how Q. Curius and Fulvia came to reveal to Cicero the secrets of the conspirators. In Plutarch, on the other hand, the name of Curius is conspicuous by its absence, and Fulvia's information is confined to the contemplated assassination of the consul at the hands of Marcius and Cethegus, for whom Sallust substitutes C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius.

In Sallust c. 30, L. Saenius, a senator, announces the suspicious movements of Manlius in Etruria, a few days *after* the famous decree *videant consules* etc. had been passed; in Plutarch c. 15 this information is given by Q. Arrius and it is immediately *followed* by the same decree.

In Sallust c. 30, Q. Metellus Creticus and Q. Metellus Celer are mentioned among a number of other generals as having been dispatched by a *decree of the senate* to prevent or quell any uprisings in other cities; in Plutarch c. 16 Q. Metellus, without the distinguishing cognomen, is appointed by Cicero himself as commander-in-chief (τὰ μὲν ἔξω πράγματα Κ. Μ. διεπίστευσε).

In Sallust c. 32, Catiline *cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est*; in Plutarch c. 16 μετὰ τριακοσίων ὀπλοφόρων . . . πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει. Neither can this passage nor Sall. c. 43, *Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent* etc., have been the source of Plut. c. 18, as already pointed out above (p. 13). We may add that the Greek author says that μία τῶν Κροιάδων was selected for the deed, whereas no date at all is given in the Latin.

The story of the arrest of the conspirators (Sall. c. 47 and Plut. c. 19) also exhibits noteworthy discrepancies. Thus the latter says that they were handed over to the praetors, but Sallust gives the names of all the custodians, and there is not a praetor among them; nor does he add the picturesque, albeit absurd, touch, that Lentulus on abdicating immediately exchanged his senatorial toga for a garb of mourning, ἐν τῇ

βουλῇ καταθέμενος, he having probably brought it with him for just such a contingency! Stress has been laid upon the phrases *abdicato magistratu* and *in liberis custodiis habeantur* as closely corresponding to ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν and παρέδοθησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν; but, even if the parallelisms were more exact than they are, how, we ask, could a verbal resemblance² in statements of this kind be avoided? The same holds true of other verbal similarities.

Plutarch c. 10, after attributing to Catiline two atrocious crimes which are not mentioned in Sallust, says ἄλλας τε πίστει ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. Sall. c. 22 also refers to these pledges, but speaks only of the drinking of a mixture of human blood and wine and then adds the significant remark: *nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab eis qui Ciceronis invidiam quae postea orta est leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum qui poenas dederunt. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.*

In the account of the memorable debate in the senate, Sallust c. 50 f. mentions Tiberius Nero³ as the one who first proposed the milder sentence and says nothing of the opposition of Lutatius Catulus; Plutarch on the other hand (c. 20) omits the name of Nero and maintains that all followed the first speaker Silanus in recommending the death penalty, until it came to Caesar.⁴

² So Dio XXXVII. 34 says of Lentulus: ἀπειεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν, Appian II. 5 ἡ βουλὴ Λέντλον παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς and Cic. *in Cat.* III. 6, 15, magistratu se abdicavit.

³ So also Appian II. 5, whose narrative is otherwise independent of Sallust and in closer agreement with Plutarch.

⁴ προσετίθεντο τούτῳ πάντες ἐφεξῆς μέχρι Γαίου Καίσαρος and *Cat. Min.* 22 οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐφεξῆς ἠκολούθησαν ἄχρι Καίσαρος Dio Cass. XXXVII. 36, ὁ Καίσαρ, πάντων πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισμένων ἀποθανεῖν σφᾶς, γνώμην ἔδωκε etc. So also Cic. *Cat.* IV. 4, 7, *duae dictae sunt sententiae: una D. Silani . . . altera C. Caesaris; ad Att.* XII. 21, 1, illud turpiter ignorat (sc. Brutus): Catonem primum putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant praeter Caesarem; et cum ipsius Caesaris tam severa fuerit, qui tum praetorio loco

It is needless to multiply illustrations. These discrepancies, when added to the well-known facts that Plutarch and Sallust do not agree in their chronology, that the Greek account is written from a decidedly Ciceronian standpoint with only an occasional unfriendly note, and, finally, that the whole creates the impression of being a consistent narrative and not a piece of patchwork made up of ill-assorted stones taken from numerous quarries,⁵ make it clear that Sallust cannot under any circumstances be regarded as a direct source of Plutarch's information regarding the conspiracy.

VII. The question as to Plutarch's possible indebtedness to *Livy*, though this is improbable for the reason given above (p. 8¹⁹), is intimately associated with the determination of the sources of Dio Cassius, whose acquaintance with the *libri ab urbe condita*, whether in the original or in the Epitome, is reasonably certain.¹ But the extent to which he consulted this authority must ever remain problematical, in view of the fact that Dio's first-hand knowledge of contemporary historical sources covering the period of Cicero's career (for it is with this that we are here alone concerned) is equally well established,² although we are not justified in crediting him

dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse Catuli, Servilii, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gellii, Volcatii, Figuli, Cottae, L. Caesaris, C. Pisonis, etiam M'. Glabronis, Silani, Murenæ, designatorum consulum, and Suet. *Caes.* 14, *senatu universo . . . ultimam statuente poenam, solus . . . censuit.*

⁵ The technical difficulty involved in such a process for an ancient investigator has been well pointed out by Nissen, *Ueber die Quellen der 4. u. 5. Dekade des Livius*, 1865, p. 78, although the famous One Source Theory which he deduces from it cannot be accepted without very considerable modifications and restrictions.

¹ Cp. e.g. M. Grasshoff, *de fontibus et auctoritate Dionis Cassii*, Bonn Dissert. 1867; W. Heimbach, *Quaeritur quid Dio . . . a libro 40 usque ad librum 47 e Livio desumpserit*, Bonn Dissert. 1878; Willrich l.c. pp. 43-52.

² E.g., the long speech put into the mouth of Cicero (Dio XLV. 18-45) exhibits a first-hand acquaintance especially with the second Philippic oration. Cp. L. G. Fischer, *de fontibus et auctoritate Cassii Dionis in enarrandis a Cicerone post Caesaris mortem . . . habitis orationibus*, Leipzig 1870. And the reply of Calenus (XLVI, 1-28) is probably very extensively indebted to Antonius's speech (Sept. 19, 43) and the pamphlet literature of the day.

with the extensive reading of the works of Cicero, Sallust, and others, attributed to him by many scholars.³ Under these circumstances it is impossible to say with any degree of confidence to what extent Dio was directly indebted to Livy for those events in which Cicero was a conspicuous participant. If Dio's strange hostility toward the man was in any way conditioned by the character of his sources, then Livy's alleged influence must be confined within still narrower limits, for his attitude toward Cicero was demonstrably favorable, though his admiration for the orator need not have blinded him to the defects of the statesman. But, be this as it may, if Livy must needs be regarded as a *fons primarius* of Dio, then Plutarch's Cicero could not also have been under obligations to him,⁴ the chiefly unavoidable coincidences with Dio here too not counterbalancing the significant divergences in matters of detail and in the general historical setting, so to speak, which an unprejudiced comparison brings to light.

VIII. *Appian*, especially in his account of the Conspiracy, contains some remarkable parallelisms¹ with Plutarch. Some scholars have accordingly maintained that the historian directly consulted the biographer, while others contended that they were both indebted to a common third source, such as Cicero's *ὑπόμνημα*, Sallust, Livy, or Asinius Pollio.² Appian's

³ Especially R. Wilmans, *De fontibus et auctoritate Dionis Cassii* (lib. 36-52), Berlin Diss. 1835; Peter and Besser ll.cc.

⁴ This is certainly true of the narrative of Cicero's death, as may be seen from Livy's account, preserved by Seneca Rhetor, *Suas.* VI. If what Val. Max. IX. 12, 7 says of Licinius Macer is based, like so much of his material, upon Livy, then Plut. c. 9, who deals with the same incident, is also quite independent of the historian.

¹ See notes to the text.

² Cp. Willrich l.c. pp. 38-42, with the literature there cited, to which may be added C. Peter, *Zur Kritik der Quellen der älteren röm. Gesch.*, 1879, pp. 132-138; Witte, *De Nicolai Damasceni fragmentorum Romanorum fontibus*, Berlin 1900; and E. Schwartz's article in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, s.v. According to Soltau, he made an extensive use of Asinius Pollio through the medium of Strabo, Nicolaus, and Socrates Rhodius, the same material being also transmitted to Plutarch by several Greek 'go-betweens.'

partiality for Augustus and his equally marked unfriendliness toward Cicero, combined with many palpable errors which Plutarch does not share with him, are sufficient to disprove the above hypotheses. Everything, on the contrary, goes to show that Appian's narrative is to a large extent a hasty and slipshod compilation, based upon sources which I do not venture to name, but which, unless all signs fail, betray a *post-Augustan* origin.

IX^a. *Tiro's* biography of his patron was unquestionably as exhaustive as it was authoritative, for it was based upon a most intimate knowledge of the orator's works and a deep familiarity with his character and conduct, acquired through life-long association in the capacity of literary executor, amanuensis, and friend. Nor can there be any doubt that considerable information came to him from the living lips of Cicero himself. That it long remained the standard authority on the subject may perhaps be inferred from the fact that a century later Tacitus cites Tiro for the date of Cicero's death.¹ Its eulogistic and apologetic character would certainly have attracted rather than repelled a man like Plutarch; and, as we find that Tiro is actually cited *twice*, the conclusion that he had been consulted directly may seem irresistible. Hence we are not surprised to find that scholars are well-nigh unanimous in regarding Tiro's *vita Ciceronis* as one of the chief sources of Plutarch.² And yet, an unprejudiced examination of the allusions in question is quite fatal to such an inference. In the first instance (c. 41), *Tiro* is cited in a merely parenthetical sort of way in defense of Cicero's conduct and the motives which led to the divorce from Terentia and to his subsequent marriage with his wealthy young ward. The account, which takes up an entire page, is distinctly unfavorable to Cicero, his own reasons

¹ *Dial.* 17.

² Heeren, Lagus, Sibinga, Peter, Graux, and others unhesitatingly assign all passages of a strictly biographical or personal nature to this source.

being regarded as at best plausible pretexts which his subsequent conduct stamped as such. The severe criticism of Antony, moreover, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἀναγραφαῖς, as well as similar references in later writers,³ show that we are here face to face with a chapter taken from the contemporary *chronique scandaleuse*, which some author, fond of gossip and conversant with the criticisms and explanations put forth on both sides, impartially welded together. That this was not done by Plutarch will not be seriously denied, nor can any contemporary biographer, such as Tiro, be responsible for so objective a *résumé*. The whole passage, in fact, not only has a suspicious post-Augustan look, but is quite in the manner of Suetonius.

The pathetic story of Cicero's proscription and assassination, told at length and in a most graphic manner in c. 46-49, contains, at its close, the other allusion to Tiro's biography. After relating the inhuman treatment of Cicero's body at the hands of Pomponia, and how she compelled Philologus, his alleged betrayer (c. 48), to eat of his flesh, Plutarch, habitually unable to reject a story, however incredible, so long as it points a suitable moral, tells us (as if to relieve his conscience for having accepted what ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν) that Tiro nowhere even so much as mentions this Philologus whose treacherous conduct forms an integral part of the preceding narrative. But if so, then Tiro cannot have been Plutarch's source for the closing period of Cicero's life. The grewsome character of the tale itself, the moral which it is made to point, and the very reference to ἔνιοι συγγραφεῖς, would alone show that contemporary authorities are out of question; for such apocryphal anecdotes could not arise until the real facts concerning Cicero had become obscured by time and thus brought

³ Quint. VI. 3, 75, obiurgantibus quod sexagenarius Publiliam virginem duxisset; Dio Cass. XLVI. 18, 3, τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν προτέραν τὴν τεκοῦσαν σοι δύο τέκνα ἐξέβαλες, ἑτέραν δὲ ἐπεσηγάγου πᾶρθενον, ὑπεργήρως ὦν, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς τὰ δανείσματα ἀποτίσῃς;

within the pale of the idealizing imagination, until a kind of legendary halo had formed about the historical individual. And, as a matter of fact, we know that the death of the great orator appealed powerfully to the sympathetic fancy of subsequent generations. But if the post-Augustan origin of the chapters under notice is thus established on general grounds, the correctness of this view may be concretely demonstrated by the following observation. In one of the *Controversiae* of Seneca, the title of which is given in full above (p. 6⁸), no fewer than sixteen rhetoricians are introduced who, each in his own way, discuss the ingratitude of one Popillius who, though acquitted of the charge of parricide through the efforts of Cicero, thereafter became the murderer of his benefactor. In the midst of this recital, Seneca inserts the following significant statement: *Popillum pauci ex historicis tradiderunt interfectorem Ciceronis et hi quoque non parricidii reum a Cicerone defensum sed in privato iudicio:⁴ declamatoribus placuit parricidii reum fuisse.* This passage, of course, admits of but one interpretation, to wit, that the connection of Popillius with the death of Cicero is unhistorical, being an invention of rhetoricians which was subsequently improved upon for epideictic purposes by making the alleged assassin a former client of Cicero in a *murder* trial, this circumstance naturally enhancing the pathetic features of his base ingratitude. Now when we read in Plut. *Cic.* c. 48, that among the assassins of Cicero there was one *Popillius* ὁ πατροκτοῦλας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνέειπεν ὁ Κικέρων, it will be at once manifest that the authority here followed had already abandoned the sober, unembellished facts of history in favor of the presumably more popular fiction of later *declamatores*, and Plutarch is so completely under its spell that he did not, as in the case of the Philologus incident, virtually stamp the story as apocryphal by the half-frank, half-naïve avowal that earlier, contemporary writers, such as

⁴ This is indirectly confirmed by Sen. *Suas.* VI. See the following note.

Tiro, had failed to record it. And yet the apparently insignificant circumstance that in this very narrative it is not Popillius, as we should expect, but Herennius who after pursuing and overtaking Cicero deals the fatal blow, has still preserved an unmistakable trace of the genuine account in which Popillius either played only a subordinate rôle or, what is more likely, did not figure at all.⁵

Finally, we cannot but recognize the handiwork of these same rhetoricians in the suicidal deliberations⁶ which Cicero is alleged to have indulged in on reaching Astyra in his flight. *Κάκεϊ διενυκτέρευσε ἐπὶ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων λογισμῶν, ὥστε καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος οἰκίαν διανοήθη κρύφα καὶ σφάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας ἀλάστορα προσβαλεῖν*, a passage which bears a most suspicious family likeness to the *suasoriae* of the *Deliberat Cicero* type.⁷

IX^b. But if Plutarch was independent of Tiro in the very chapters in which the latter is expressly quoted, any one of

⁵ It is also worthy of notice that neither the *historians* quoted by Sen. *Suas.* VI (and both Livy and Asinius are among them), nor the sources of *Appian* and *Dio Cassius*, seem to be acquainted with the parricide version. Cp. *Appian B. C.* IV. 20, ὁ δὲ Λαῖνας (so always in his account) καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτε κατωρθώκως etc., and *Dio XLVII.* 11, 1, Ἀρετῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐσεβείας τοσαῦτα τότε ἐπιφανῆ ἔργα ἐγένετο. Ποπίλιος δὲ δὴ Λαῖνας τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν Μάρκον ἀπέκτεινε καίπερ εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνηγορήματος *δντα*. The opening sentence, the quite gratuitous addition of τὸν Μάρκον, as well as the illustrations which follow, clearly point to a collection à la Valerius Maximus as the ultimate source of Dio. The narrative in *Val. Max.* V. 3, 4, however, appears to be based upon Livy, for just as Livy ap. *Sen. l.c.* declared, in cuius (sc. Ciceronis) laudes persequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit, so Valerius maintains that only another Cicero could adequately deplore the sad end of the orator; but he too seems as yet ignorant of the later story, unless the words, C. Popillium Laenatem defendit, eumque salvum ad penates suos remisit, and the frigid antithesis, se caput ferre quod pro capite eius quondam peroraverat, must needs be interpreted as covert allusions to a murder trial.

⁶ Cp. *Ps. Cic. ad Octavium*, a rhetorical exercise of an early date: una cum istis vitam simul fugere decrevi.

⁷ Cp. above p. 6⁸ and esp. the perfectly analogous conception underlying the advice given in *Sen. Suas.* VII. 3, fac moriendo Antonium nocentiorum; 8, sine durare post te . . . perpetuam Antonii proscriptionem.

the following criteria will justify us in still further eliminating his *vita Ciceronis* in numerous other passages of the Greek biography, where scholars have nevertheless on general principles, it would seem, postulated an extensive indebtedness to it.

Tiro, we contend, must be rejected as a direct source of Plutarch: (1) Wherever recorded items of information are distinctly *unfavorable* to Cicero; and, if such occur within an otherwise homogeneous narrative, it will follow as a necessary corollary that the *entire* chapter is equally non-Tironian. (2) All paragraphs of importance which clearly *contradict*, or are *inconsistent* with, the extant utterances of Cicero cannot possibly have emanated from the editor of his correspondence and speeches. (3) All details which manifestly betray, for one reason or another, a *non-contemporary* or *post-Augustan* origin, must naturally have been wanting in Tiro's *vita Ciceronis*.

Now in applying these principles to the work under investigation I must again emphasize the necessity of keeping steadfastly in mind that Plutarch cannot, on psychological grounds alone, have accumulated his biographical information by consulting one particular authority, only to abandon it at the next moment, then reverting to it in the succeeding paragraph, and so on with kaleidoscopic variation.¹

The very first chapter furnishes a number of variants concerning Cicero's father (*οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον — οἱ μὲν — οἱ δὲ*) which are mutually exclusive, one being unquestionably slanderous. Again, the reason given for the retention of the cognomen on the part of the first Cicero, and the refusal of his famous descendant to discard it in spite of the solicitation of his friends, absurdly imply that the Romans habitually regarded this appellative in the light of an opprobrious nickname. Plutarch's explanation must, therefore, have originated at a later time, when these cognomina had attracted

¹ See above pp. 4. 21.

the attention of philologists,² particularly as the alleged connotation of the term is due to a false etymology.³

Chapter 2. The prediction of Cicero's future greatness, though clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu*, may have been recorded by Tiro as well as the detailed account of his career at school. The statement, however, that he was taken *μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ* casts some doubts upon this assumption, for a similar story is told by Nepos of Atticus, Cicero's fellow pupil.⁴ In any case, Tiro cannot have been Plutarch's authority for the *ἐρρῦη πως προθυμότερον ἐπὶ ποιητικῆν* and for the estimate of Cicero's poetic productions. This paragraph, as well as the passage in c. 40, *τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποιήσιν εὐκολία παίζων ἐχρήτο. Δέγεται γὰρ, ὀπηνίκα ῥυεῖη πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῆς υικτὸς ἔπη ποιεῖν πεντακόσια*, is unquestionably post-Augustan,⁵ and in all probability the entire narrative was taken directly from Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis*.

Chapters 3-5, which are closely connected, deal with the life of the young Cicero up to the time of his quaestorship. They contain the following indisputable evidence of non-Tironian origin, although they are habitually attributed to this source. Not to lay stress upon the fact that Plutarch does not seem to have known that Cicero associated himself with both Mucii, the augur and the pontifex, the statement that he subsequently served under Sulla in the Marsian War is notoriously false, for according to Cicero himself⁶ he served under the consul Pompeius Strabo.⁷ Again, we learn that

² Cp. esp. Plut. *Coriol.* 11; *Public.* 11; *Fab. Max.* 1. On the Roman use of cognomina designating bodily defects, cp. Hor. *Sat.* I, 3, 48 ff.

³ Cp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 10, 3, iam Fabiorum, Lentulorum, *Ciceronum* ut quisque aliquod optime genus *severet*.

⁴ Nep. *Att.* 1. This seems to have been a usual mark of honor. Cf. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 57; Ovid *Fast.* V, 67.

⁵ Cp. *Transact.* pp. 148-150.

⁶ Phil. XII, 11, 27.

⁷ Perhaps we may recognize in this error a deliberate attempt to bring the two great men into synchronistic association, Pompeius Strabo being too obscure and unimportant a figure. To cite only Roman analogies, cp. the

immediately on leaving school Cicero *Φίλωνος ἤκουσε*, whereas his first teacher was Phaedrus,⁸ Philo not reaching Rome till after the death of Mucius, if the *augur* be meant. The account of the Roscian trial, to which we shall have occasion to refer again, is also full of errors which Tiro could not have committed.

Chapter 4, on the philosophical and rhetorical studies of Cicero, has been analyzed above (p. 17); and the same considerations which proved Plutarch not to have been indebted to the *Brutus* apply with equal force to Tiro's biography.

Chapter 5 is no less replete with errors and contradictions. That Tiro was well acquainted with the *de divinatione*, which contains a violent attack upon the Delphic oracle,⁹ goes without saying; but if so, it is difficult to understand how he could have spoken of Cicero's visit to the shrine and of the answer of the priestess recorded by Plutarch. Following the advice of Apollo to keep aloof from politics, Cicero, we are told, lived in retirement for a while, his scholarly seclusion earning for him the nicknames of Greekling and pedant. This is also demonstrably erroneous, as Cicero *immediately* on his return from Asia (77 B.C.) applied himself assiduously to forensic pleading,¹⁰ being elected unanimously to the quaestorship the year following. Surely an invention so palpably apocryphal — the chronological contradictions may well be attributed to Plutarch's notorious negligence in such matters — cannot have emanated from so trustworthy a source as Tiro.

The anecdote of the impassioned acting of Aesopus, the alleged teacher of Cicero, is an irrelevant addition, its

story of Sulla and the young Caesar (Suet. *Caes.* 1), of Accius and Pacuvius, Caecilius and Terence. If so, all early contemporaneous authorities would here be excluded as possible sources for Plutarch's statement.

⁸ Cf. Cic. *ad fam.* XIII. 1, 2, magis Phaedrus nobis cum pueri essemus, antequam Philonem cognovimus, ut philosophus . . . probabatur.

⁹ II. 56, 115.

¹⁰ *Brut.* 92, 318, Unum igitur annum cum rediissemus ex Asia, causas nobiles egimus cum quaesturam nos . . . peteret; *ad Att.* IV. 16^a, 1.

digressional character being plainly indicated by *ιστοροῦσιν*. That the story was still unknown to Cicero may be shown by a passage in the *Tuscul. Disput.*¹¹

Finally, the remark at the end of the chapter, that Cicero, by his excessive use of raillery and repartee *πολλοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοηθείας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν*, will certainly not be attributed to the author who carefully collected the *dicta Ciceronis*.¹²

Chapters 6-9, which bring the narrative down to the consulship of Cicero, are perhaps the most incoherent in the entire biography, being made up of anecdotes, witticisms, personal characteristics, and historical items, some of which are open to serious objections. In at least two instances a *post-Augustan* origin must be assumed, and in another we unexpectedly come upon a statement highly derogatory to the orator, although these chapters are otherwise extremely eulogistic.

After relating the story of Cicero's quaestorship, which culminates in the anecdote discussed above, Plutarch speaks of his hero's efforts to win popularity and then suddenly tells us of his moderate means, adding that people marveled at his not accepting legal fees. Now the *lex Cincia de donis et muneribus*, which forbade this, had, indeed, become virtually a dead letter even in Cicero's time;¹³ but it does not seem likely that any contemporary writers would have expressed their astonishment that the orator had failed to violate an existing statute. This was, however, entirely natural after the time of Claudius, who repealed the old law and substituted

¹¹ IV. 25, 55, *oratorem vero irasci minime decet . . . num egisse umquam iratum Aesopum?*

¹² Cp. also c. 27, τὸ δ' οἷς ἔτυχε προσκρούειν ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοίου πολὺ συνήγη μῖσος αὐτῷ 28 init., ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθῆς *Comp. Dem. et Cic. I, πολλαχοῦ τῷ σκωπτικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος* etc.

¹³ Cp. the interesting passage in *Verr. I. 13, 37*, where Cicero deplores the fact that so salutary a measure was falling into desuetude and severely arraigns Hortensius and others for its open violation. It was again enforced by Augustus. Cf. Dio LIV. 18 and Ovid *Am. I. 10, 39*, *turpe reos empti miseros defendere lingua*.

definite fees, the maximum being fixed at 10,000 sesterces.¹⁴ The remark of Plutarch, as may be observed in passing, also proves that he did not consult the speeches against Verres, a fact confirmed by the conflicting statements regarding the 'litis aestimatio,'¹⁵ the extremely low figure (750,000 sesterces) given by Plutarch being taken from some writer unfriendly to Cicero, as shown by the words which follow: *διαβολὴν ἔσχευ, ὡς ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ τὸ τίμημα καθυφειμένος*, an accusation all the more remarkable as he repeatedly emphasizes the scrupulous honesty of Cicero in these very paragraphs and elsewhere, e.g. c. 36, *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 3. The statement concerning the orator's precarious health is contradicted by Plutarch himself (c. 4) and by Asinius Pollio.¹⁶ Again, the purchase of three villas and a house on the Palatine cannot, of course, be reconciled with the remark touching his modest means above referred to, but seems in some way directly associated with the bribery charge immediately preceding. The confusion and misrepresentation here pointed out would be unaccountable had Plutarch in these chapters been following Tiro or any other contemporary biographer. This inference is still further confirmed by the observation that Cicero did not buy the house on the Palatine until after his consulship,¹⁷ and above all by the use of *ἐν Ἄρπυιαις*, for which we should certainly expect *ἐν Ἀρπίνουσις*, as *Ἄρπις* is a town of Apulia, where Cicero possessed no estate. All editors, from Xylander to Graux, accordingly agree that Plutarch here blundered. They strangely, however, overlooked the following passage in Martial, IV. 55, 3,

Luci, gloria temporum tuorum
Qui Gaium veterem Tagumque nostrum
Ἄρπις cedere non sinis *disertis*,

¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* XI. 6 f.

¹⁵ Cp. Sibinga l.c. p. 37.

¹⁶ ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 24 ad senectutem prospera permansit valetudo, but Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 16 says exactly the opposite: *τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἡρρώσκει!*

¹⁷ *ad fam.* V. 6, 2; *ad Att.* I. 16, 10.

an unmistakable allusion to Cicero. That the poet here committed the very same error,¹⁸ is quite incredible. The only plausible explanation of this coincidence is to assume that *Arpi* was an abbreviated form of *Arpinum* in use in Domitian's time or possibly earlier, but it is quite unlikely that Plutarch found it in any Augustan or pre-Augustan author.

The *ninth* chapter exemplifies by means of three illustrations the rigid integrity of Cicero as praetor. That these were not taken from a continuous narrative, such as Tiro's, but rather represent "clippings," is indicated by the introductory λέγεται, and by the virtually identical phrases at the beginning and the end of the Licinius anecdote,¹⁹ which have all the appearance of labels for collectanea or chapter headings in a commonplace book. This origin seems further strengthened by the observation that the description of Οὐατίσιος as χοιράδων δὲ τὸν τράχηλον περιπλέως again occurs in c. 26: Βατίσιον ἔχοντα χοιράδας ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, as if he had been here mentioned for the first time. That the two anecdotes in this chapter, the nineteen examples of wit and repartee which take up c. 25 and 26, and the batch of satirical sayings collected in c. 38 ultimately go back to one and the same source,²⁰ such as the collections of Tiro or Trebonius, is generally believed; but that Plutarch had himself consulted these is highly improbable,²¹ as he might have taken them

¹⁸ e.g. Friedländer ad loc.: "Arpis aus Versehen statt Arpinum, Cicero's Geburtsort, genannt"! Other editors also fail to cite the Greek parallel.

¹⁹ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς βραβεῦσαι — τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέρωνι δόξαν ἤνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ δικαστήριον.

²⁰ This seems clear from such phrases as γράψω δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα (c. 27) and βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα παραθέσθαι.

²¹ Cp. Leo l.c. p. 164: Die c. 24-27 kennzeichnen sich selbst deutlich als eine Einlage in den Zusammenhang der Erzählung. . . . Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass der Stoff der Einlage aus Tiro's de iocis Ciceronis stamme, aber nicht wahrscheinlich ist es, dass Plutarch selbst ihn daher entnommen hat. Die ἀποφθέγματα gehörten in die Biographie eines als witzig bekannten Mannes; Cicero's dicta brauchte man anderthalb Jahrhunderte nach seinem Tode wahrlich nicht an der Quelle suchen. Cp. note to text § 53¹.

more conveniently from Suetonius²² or from one of the numerous compilations of ἀποφθέγματα existing in his time.

Cicero's conduct in the Manilian affair,²³ with which the chapter closes, is related only in Plutarch and Dio (XXXVI. 44). According to Plutarch, Manilius was accused, in the praetorship of Cicero, περὶ κλοπῆς.²⁴ If this corresponds to *furtum* or *peculatus*, the case would not have come under Cicero's jurisdiction at all, but under that of his colleague, C. Orchivius, Cicero having charge of matters *de pecuniis repetundis*.²⁵ But even if the Greek could mean the latter, the difficulty would still not be removed, for Manilius had not at that time been the governor of a province. Again, when Plutarch says that in this alleged trial, περὶ κλοπῆς, there was considerable opposition to Manilius on the part of the nobility, we have an evident confusion with the *lex Maniliana*, so well known to us through Cicero's extant speech *pro imperio Cn. Pompei*. This preceded the defense of Manilius, here spoken of, which was not undertaken until after his term of office had expired. It is impossible, therefore, that Plutarch was indebted for this paragraph to an early and trustworthy authority.

The narrative of the Catilinian Conspiracy (c. 10-23) has, owing to the numerous extant accounts of this same episode, engaged the special attention of scholars who, though differing in details, have yet come to the unanimous conclusion that Plutarch here, if anywhere, drank deeply of the original fountains, making extensive use of Sallust and of Cicero's orations, his Greek Memoir, and the *de consiliis suis*. We have shown

²² To no Roman writer known to us is the σπείρειν ὄλω τῷ θυλάκῳ in the matter of bons mots so applicable as it is to him.

²³ Sibinga l.c. p. 43 f. discusses the subject, but his conclusions are quite erroneous.

²⁴ Dio l.c. does not state the nature of the charge (δικῆς τῆ τινος) and places it *after* the praetorship, Cicero *Cornel.* fragm. 1 agrees as to the date with Plutarch, while Ascon. Ped. *pro Corn.* p. 59, in a mutilated passage, says the charge was *de vi*.

²⁵ Cp. *pro Rab. Posth.* 4, 9; *pro Cluent.* 53, 147 quid C. Orchivii peculatus, quid mea de pecuniis repetundis?

that these assumptions are erroneous and that the entire story is not a mere mosaic of isolated facts pieced together capriciously from many sources, but is a consistent and coherent narrative, in spite of some unimportant chronological divergences, such as the enumeration of the Ciceronian speeches preceding the Catilinian,²⁶ and one undoubted ἔμβλημα which gives a fanciful explanation of Sura, the cognomen of Lentulus (c. 17).

But if so, the question at once arises, whether Tiro may not have been Plutarch's *fons primarius*, at least for this strictly *historical* portion.

That his narrative was based upon a *Latin* authority may perhaps be inferred from the occurrence of an evident Latinism in c. 14 which seems to have escaped observation. It is the phrase τοὺς πραγμάτων καιῶν ἐφιεμένους, which is exactly equivalent to the idiom *novarum rerum cupidus* or *rebus novis studere*. The expression is exceedingly common in Greek, but it seems to be always used with the *comparative*.²⁷ The only way to escape from the conclusion to which this remarkable departure from a well-established usage leads would be the assumption that the Latinism might have occurred in Cicero's

²⁶ The "orationes consulares," according to Cic. *ad Att.* II. 1, 3, followed in this order: Two speeches *de lege agraria*, *de Othone*, *pro Rabirio*, *de proscriptorum filiis*. Plutarch merely omits the fourth, and puts the last of these in first place. As they all belong in one year, the error is not very serious. Again, when Cicero in 63 B.C. defended Otho's *lex theatralis*, its author may well have been praetor (c. 13), although the law was passed in his tribuneship, in 67 B.C. The fact, however, that he is called *Marcus*, which was the praenomen of the emperor, instead of *Lucius*, if not a slip of the pen on the part of Plutarch himself, would certainly point to a source later than the reign of Nero.

²⁷ e.g. Herod. VII. 6 νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητής Xen. *Hell.* V. 2, 9 νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων, and similarly νεωτερίζειν. The only exceptions which I have been able to find, in spite of a long and diligent search, occur in Dio Cass. XXXVII. 50, curiously enough also in the account of the Catilinian conspiracy: καιῶν ἀέλ ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητής, and in Plut. *Ant.* 9 νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος, but both these passages were undoubtedly based upon Latin authors and the former, in particular, is not surprising in an author who exhibits so many Latinisms as Dio Cassius.

ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας, but this solution of the difficulty must be rejected on the strength of the following passage in Cic. *ad. Att.* I. 19, 10: *commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum nisi ad te, in quo, si quid erit quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur, non dico quod tibi . . . Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse idcirco barbara quaedam et σόλοικα dispersisse. Apud me si quid erit eiusmodi me imprudente erit et invito.* It is not likely that the man whose cognomen was *Atticus* would have allowed the *σόλοικον* in question to pass unnoticed.

The numerous differences between the Greek narrative and Cicero's speeches, and the distinctly derogatory remark in c. 19 already discussed, are, in my judgment, as incompatible with the assumption of direct indebtedness to Tiro's biography as we found them irreconcilable with a first-hand knowledge of Cicero's writings bearing upon this subject.

The 24th chapter, which constitutes a sort of sequel to the preceding story, leading up to the long string of Ciceronian *facetiae* collected in c. 25-28, is perhaps the most instructive ἔμβλημα in the entire biography, for in no other chapter is there such an ostentatious array of authorities, and yet nowhere is the second-hand character of the information more easily demonstrable.

Plutarch begins by saying that Cicero's excessive self-laudation and the exaggerated estimate which he, with nauseating reiteration, placed upon the achievements of his consulship²⁸ disgusted many and exposed him to attack. The fact is notorious and has found epigrammatic expression in Seneca.²⁹ But that the effect here attributed to Cicero's self-praise, however repugnant it may have seemed to some later

²⁸ Cp. also the still more emphatic censure of this failing in *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* c. 2.

²⁹ *de brev. vitae* 5, 1, quotiens illum ipsum consulatum suum non sine causa sed sine fine laudatum detestatur. Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 12 expatiates on the subject with his usual anti-Ciceronian bias.

Romans, reflects any actual contemporary feeling, must be seriously questioned, in view of the entire lack of a modest self-restraint which the ancients habitually exhibit when speaking of their own achievements.

Nay more, the very phrase which follows: τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα seems to me to reveal a *later* source, in that the juxtaposition of the two substantives would be intolerably tautological, unless we assume that the collocation was occasioned by the *post-Augustan* use of *liber* in the sense of *oratio*,³⁰ συγγράμματα³¹ appropriately designating the other *scripta* of Cicero. And, as a matter of fact, we find that of the numerous illustrations of Cicero's readiness to praise not only himself but others as well, which Plutarch introduces by the words ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι, not one, so far as we can still make out, occurs in an *oration*. The phrase itself, of course, no more proves that Plutarch had himself laboriously selected all these examples from the works of Cicero³² than the statement of Tac. *Germ.* 5, *est videre apud illos argentea vasa*, points to the author's personal presence in Germany.

The same conclusion must be drawn from the confident and sweeping statements contained in the succeeding words of this same chapter: τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπαίνων οἷς πολλαχοῦ³³ χρῆται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός and again τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων . . . οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς, ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἐκάστου. For if we were to accept the first on Plutarch's own responsibility, it would

³⁰ Cp. my note to Tac. *Dial.* 3 (p. 70) and Landwehr in *Archiv f. lat. Lexic.* VII pp. 223-235.

³¹ It is the very term which Cicero himself used for his essays and dialogues. Cp. *ad Att.* XVI. 6, 4, ex eo (sc. volumine prooemiorum) eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui.

³² The words immediately following πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύουσι (sc. οἱ περὶ Κικέρωνος γράψαντες) may, indeed, have been intentionally inserted here to forestall such an inference, for they are not necessary to the context.

³³ Some *twenty* eulogistic references to Demosthenes occur in Cicero's extant writings, and they are widely scattered at that.

involve an absolutely exhaustive knowledge of the *opera omnia* of Cicero, such as but few Romans could ever have boasted of, while the latter assertion would at the same time imply a most profound acquaintance with the posthumous reputation of the individuals in question, such as the Greek biographer certainly did not possess. Nevertheless scholars have had no scruples in attributing all these items concerning Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Demosthenes, as well as the information based upon the letters to Herodes, Gorgias, Pelops, and the young Cicero, to Plutarch's perusal of the original passages, though some are not averse to accepting an intermediary source, such as Tiro, as a possible contingency. But that Plutarch was indebted for this learned digression to some *later* authority — the chapter reminds us of Suetonius at every turn — is made evident by the allusion to certain pedantic critics of Cicero,⁸⁴ who took him to task for a disparaging remark concerning Demosthenes, found in his Letters, probably in one addressed to Calvus.⁸⁵ Plutarch refutes these *obtrectatores Ciceronis* by reminding them that they forget to cite or intentionally ignore the *μεγάλοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ ἔπαινοι οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρῆται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός*. Unless all signs fail, we possess in this defense a faint echo of the literary controversies of later scholars, of which Aper's attack upon Cicero in the Tacitean Dialogus may furnish an illustration. This seems to me at least to be a more reasonable supposition than to assume that Tiro had taken occasion to free

⁸⁴ Such as Didymus e.g., against whose attack upon Cicero, it will be remembered, Suetonius a hundred years later wrote a separate treatise. Cp. also Tac. *Dial.* c. 12 plures hodie invenies qui Ciceronis gloriam . . . detrectent and my notes ad loc. (p. 153).

⁸⁵ The reference seems to be to the lost correspondence of Cicero with Calvus and Brutus, cited by Quintilian and Tac. *Dial.* 18, 21 f., where see my note p. 204. That the letter was addressed to Calvus I am inclined to infer from the vagueness of the allusion *πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας*, for if it had been written to the "well-known" Brutus, his biographer would probably have said so, as in c. 43. Calvus's name occurs nowhere in Plutarch and was presumably unknown to him.

his hero of a charge, in reality too trivial and unjust to be dignified by serious refutation.

Having already discussed the sources of c. 25-27, we may now turn to what may be called the Clodian Episode, in c. 28-35. It is the other long and continuous narrative which, together with the account of the Catilinian Conspiracy, takes up one half of the entire biography. Here, as there, our sources of information are unusually full and varied, for, besides the works of Cicero, Appian³⁶ and, above all, Dio Cassius³⁷ have devoted considerable space to the narrative of these stirring times. To them we should add the more or less incidental discussions and references in Asconius Pedianus, Plutarch's *Cato Min.*, *Crassus*, *Pompey*, *Caesar*, and Suetonius's *Life of Caesar*, not to mention other more scattered allusions. Finally, of accounts now no longer extant, those of Tiro and Livy were probably the most valuable and exhaustive.

Plutarch's narrative, though full of details, is, with few exceptions to be noted presently, in remarkable agreement not only with the testimony of Cicero, but also with that of Dio, who, in the story of the Clodian episode, on the whole exhibits a sympathetic attitude toward the orator, in striking contrast with the almost Mommsenian hostility displayed toward him elsewhere in his history. This circumstance finds its only plausible explanation in the assumption that he did not hate Cicero less but Clodius more, and hence did not hesitate to base his account upon a writer who, though kindly disposed toward Cicero, appealed to him because of the exhaustive character of his treatment. Now Plutarch's account is no less eulogistic, and, in at least one instance, relating to Cicero's timid conduct in the Milonian affair (c. 35), clearly apologetic. This attitude, taken in connection

³⁶ *Bell. Civ.* II. 14-16. 20-22.

³⁷ XXXVII. 45 f. 51; XXXVIII. 10-17. 18-30 (Philiscus's speech to console the exiled Cicero); XXXIX. 6-11 (the return of Cicero). 13-24 (Clodiana); XL. 44-57 (Clodius and Milo).

with the unflattering rôle assigned to Terentia in c. 29 and 30, naturally suggests the probability that here at all events Tiro's biography was closely followed by Plutarch; for even the one unqualified censure which he directs against the unmanly conduct of Cicero in exile (c. 32) would not militate against this assumption, inasmuch as the author of the *Parallel Lives* may have designedly inserted so well-deserved a criticism,³⁸ in order to point the contrast with the laudable demeanor of Demosthenes under similar circumstances.³⁹ But the abundant evidence already adduced of Plutarch's independence of Tiro in cases where we should expect him to have been consulted above others, and the undoubtedly unhistorical statement that Terentia's jealousy, caused by her husband's alleged relations with the notorious Clodia, eventually led Cicero by way of exculpation to make an enemy of her equally profligate brother, a story which a Suetonius, we may be sure, would have seized upon with avidity — these considerations, I maintain, render Plutarch's indebtedness to Tiro for the Clodian episode far less plausible than it might seem on superficial analysis. But if any concrete confirmation of this view be thought necessary, it will be found in certain items dealing with Cicero's exile which either contradict the explicit testimony of Cicero or are objectionable on other grounds; for I regard it as self-evident that Tiro could not have erred in matters of detail with which he must have been as familiar as his patron.

Thus, we read in Plut. c. 32 that Cicero was forbidden to take shelter *ἐν τὸς μιλίων*⁴⁰ *πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας*, whereas we

³⁸ Certain curious resemblances between Plutarch and Dio may show that while the *consolatio* of Philiscus is undoubtedly a rhetorical composition of Dio himself, many of its ideas were not of his own invention.

³⁹ Cp. also *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 4.

⁴⁰ An evident Latinism, as may be observed in passing. Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 17, 6 practically agrees with Plutarch, when he says *τρισχίλους τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπερωρίσθη* (= ultra CCCCLXVIII millia passuum Roma exulare iussus est).

learn from Cic. *ad Att.* III. 4, *in qua* (sc. rogatione) *erat eiusmodi ut mihi ultra quadringenta milia liceret esse.* Again the statement ἐν δ' Ἰππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἣν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν καλοῦσιν, Οὐίβιος, Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ, who had been greatly benefited by Cicero, οἰκία μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, when compared with *ad Att.* I.c. a *Vibone . . . subito discessimus . . . statim iter Brundisium contuli . . . ne et Sicca, apud quem eram, periret,* reveal an amazing confusion which cannot be accounted for satisfactorily, if Tiro was Plutarch's source, for the two passages unquestionably relate to the same incident. In the first place, Vibo is a town of Bruttium, not of Lucania, and it was so called in Cicero's day. An individual Vibius, a Sicilian, nowhere occurs in Cicero's works; on the other hand, *Sicca*, an old friend, had an estate at Vibo, and he received the exile kindly. Finally, it were passing curious, if one Vibius had lived in a town Vibo which, according to Plutarch's explicit albeit demonstrably erroneous information, had not at the time in question borne that name! In all likelihood this Sicilian owes his existence to *Vibo* or one of its inflected forms being taken for the name of an individual. The description of Cicero's departure from Brundisium, his landing at Dyrrhachium, the portents which followed, their interpretation by οἱ μαντικοί, whose opportune presence is as miraculous as the σημεῖα themselves, — all these items not only constitute, as the λέγεται indeed foreshadows, an ἔμβλημα of different origin from the preceding, but, what is still more important, none of them are found in Cicero's itinerary as given in his Correspondence.

The brief paragraph which follows (c. 36) deals with Cicero's proconsulship in Cilicia. It is written in a tone of panegyric, and with the exception of two statements, one of which is significantly introduced by λέγεται, substantially coincides with the extant utterances of Cicero, the closing sentence making, indeed, the impression of a direct paraphrase

from one of his letters.⁴¹ Still, as this was written from Rome Jan. 4, 49, after Cicero had been on Italian soil again since Nov. 24, 50, it is incredible that Plutarch had capriciously selected a brief note to Tiro merely to borrow a metaphor, while he overlooked the earlier and more important letters to Atticus (e.g. VII. 4. 5), in which the writer with equal confidence predicts the Civil War. But if the second- or third-hand character of Plutarch's information needed any further confirmation, it would be furnished by the immediately preceding allusion to Cicero's facetious reply to the request of Caelius to send him some panthers; for not only does the answer not strictly coincide with the Latin original,⁴² but, what is far more significant, the orator's well known correspondent is styled *Caecilius*,⁴³ an amusing blunder which Plutarch cannot, of course, have found either in Cicero's letters or in Tiro, their editor.

The brevity and incidental character of the narrative of the Civil War, from its beginning to the proscription of Cicero (c. 37-47), was naturally due to the fact that throughout this period Cicero, with the memorable exception of the last year of his life, was condemned to complete political inactivity or played but a subordinate rôle, Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, Antony, and finally Octavianus occupying simultaneously or successively the center of the historical stage. The

⁴¹ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαρήλθεν, ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς περ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον = *ad fam.* XVI. 11, 2 (addressed to Tiro): ego ad urbem accessi . . . sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli.

⁴² Ср. γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρδάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πεφηνγέται γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν ἀγανακτούσας, ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων εἰρήνην ἐχόντων and *Cic. ad fam.* II. 11, 2, de pantheris . . . agitur mandatu meo diligenter, sed *mira paucitas est et eas quae sunt*, valde aiunt queri quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat; itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere, sed tamen sedulo fit et in primis a Patisco.

⁴³ That Κεκίλιου is not here, as occasionally elsewhere, e.g. *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* c. 1, 14, a mere slip of the pen for Κελίου or Καίλιου, is made evident by the addition τοῦ ῥήτορος which clearly identifies him with the famous critic, a younger contemporary of Cicero.

fascinating story of the death struggle of the Republic was told by many illustrious writers whose material, after passing through various channels, found its way into Plutarch's *Lives* of the protagonists. Only the biographers of Cicero would, therefore, have had any motive or occasion to pay particular attention to his part in the conflict which preceded the assassination of Caesar. Accordingly the chapters under notice are chiefly devoted to the *man* Cicero, to his personal traits and domestic affairs, only so much of the history of the times being given as was essential to an adequate understanding of his conduct. Hence also the anecdotal and digressive character of these paragraphs, one entire chapter (c. 38) being taken up, as we have seen, with the witticisms of Cicero in Pompey's camp,⁴⁴ favorable⁴⁵ and unfavorable⁴⁶ criticisms standing amicably side by side. Some of these items are not found elsewhere in extant sources, a comparatively late origin being, moreover, highly probable in most of them.

Thus the pleasant story (c. 40) — it is introduced by λέγεται — of the effect of Cicero's eloquence upon Caesar in the case of Ligarius, told with circumstantiality of detail and in Plutarch's best style, is undoubtedly a later embellishment, as may be seen from a comparison with Cicero's own account;⁴⁷ for if Caesar's deep emotion had actually manifested itself in the manner related by Plutarch, the orator would hardly have confessed his inability to describe it. In the Greek, Caesar

⁴⁴ Cp. Cic. *Phil.* II. 16, 39 ne de iocis quidem respondebo quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti etc.

⁴⁵ e.g. c. 39, 22 ff.; 45, 26 ff.

⁴⁶ e.g. c. 38, 32 f.; 39, 1 ff.; 41, 1 ff.; 42, 8 ff.; 43, 4 ff.; 45, 14 ff. 12 ff.; 46, 17 ff.

⁴⁷ *ad fam.* VI. 14, 2 (to Ligarius): non solum ex oratione Caesaris quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit, sed etiam ex oculis et vultu, ex multis praeterea signis quae facilius perspicere potui quam scribere, hac opinione discessi, ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset. It is hard for us moderns, who read the *pro Ligario* in cold print, to realize the emotional effect which it is said to have produced, for that it was a much admired oration is also confirmed by Cic. *ad Att.* XIII. 12, 2. 19, 2.

had fully made up his mind in advance to condemn Ligarius at all hazards, in the Latin speech he is represented as having been amenable to the pleas of mercy from the start.⁴⁸ Again, when Plutarch says *τέλος δὲ τῶν κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀφαιμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων ἐκπαθῆ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι* etc., neither he nor the author of the story can have had the extant speech before them, for the only direct allusion to the battle (which, at least to modern feeling, does not even rise to any great heights of pathos) occurs at the beginning rather than at the end!⁴⁹ Finally, *τὸν γοῦν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος*, unless interpreted as an acquittal on the spot, would spoil the effect of the anecdote; and yet, according to Cicero, Caesar reserved his decision, though the advocate left the court room convinced of the ultimate triumph of his client.

The determination of the sources in the closing chapters, which briefly touch upon events of the Civil War, does not fall within the scope of this investigation, as it involves the far larger question concerning the authorities which Plutarch followed in his Lives of Caesar, Pompey, Antony, Brutus, and Cato Minor.

The patient reader who has followed my analysis so far will, I hope, have carried away the conviction that all the evidence is strongly against the universal assumption of Plutarch's direct indebtedness to the numerous authorities belonging to the Ciceronian or early Augustan period; that, in other words, neither the works of Cicero nor the Catiline of Sallust nor the biography of Tiro nor the history of Livy, to mention only the most important, furnished him, at first hand, with any of the material accumulated in his life of the orator. But the foregoing examination has at the same time

⁴⁸ Cp. also *ad fam.* VI. 13, 2 (to Ligarius): *non fore in te Caesarem duriozem, nam et res eum cotidie et dies et opinio hominum et, ut mihi videtur, etiam sua natura mitiozem facit.*

⁴⁹ In § 9, there being 37 in all.

given abundant *positive* proofs that numerous details must, for one reason or another, be assigned to a *post-Augustan* origin, a contingency which Sibinga had timidly suggested in one or two instances, while Leo and Schwartz both seem to imply that the authors whom they postulate as Plutarch's principal source belonged to the same period.

X^a. But however strong the foundation may be upon which, as I believe I have shown, the above conclusion is based, we cannot as yet rest satisfied with it. We must still inquire, whether it be not also possible to give to this post-Augustan authority of Plutarch "a local habitation and a name."

If we carefully survey the passages in question, his characteristics will combine into the following picture: He was a scholar of exceptional erudition who had an exhaustive first-hand knowledge of the entire literature on his subject, who, though a warm admirer of Cicero, was impartial and objective enough not to exclude such unfavorable criticisms of his hero as he met with in his sources. He was extremely fond of anecdotes, scandalous gossip, and 'bons mots,' a firm believer in dreams and prodigies as premonitions of the future. Not over punctilious in matters chronological nor imbued with a desire to distinguish with scrupulous care the true and the false, he did not weigh the validity of conflicting evidence, everything being grist that came to his mill. Of a philological turn of mind, he had a predilection for certain details and loved to dwell upon the literary manifestations and intellectual characteristics of the individuals whose careers he had set himself to describe. Finally, he must have lived sufficiently far removed in time from Cicero to account on the one hand for the accidental discoloration of many incidents in the orator's life and for the erroneous interpretation of many facts, the usual result of a dimmed historical perspective, and, on the other, to allow for the ivy-growth of biographical fiction, the inevitable penalty which great men pay to posterity for the boon of immortality.

Now there is unquestionably no known scholar of the imperial age who so perfectly fulfills all the above conditions, none whose method of work, no less than the character of whose information, would be more likely to have attracted the author who professed to write *Lives* not *Histories*, than *Suetonius Tranquillus*. And if we further add that he not only wrote a defense of the orator against an attack of Didymus,¹ but also a *Life of Cicero*, the conclusion, that many of the items in Plutarch which have been shown to be post-Augustan were taken directly from this work of his contemporary, will acquire a very high degree of probability. It will become all but certain, however, if we finally succeed in establishing this indebtedness, so far inferred on internal grounds alone, on the basis of a number of passages in other Latin authors indubitably taken from the Suetonian biography.²

¹ Cp. Amm. Marcell. XXII. 16, 16, Chalcenterus Didymus . . . qui in illis sex libris ubi nonnumquam imperfecte [locutum] Tullium reprehendit, sillographos imitatus scriptores maledicos, iudicio doctarum aurium incusatur ut immania frementem leonem putidulis vocibus canis catulus longius circumlans; and *Suidas* s. v. Τραγκύλλος: περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας βιβλίον[ά]· ἀντιλέγει δὲ Διδύμῳ. See also the discussion in Macé, *Essai sur Suetone* pp. 284-287.

² See my paper in the *Transact.*, esp. pp. 151-158. Its results have been accepted by Christ, *Griech. Literat.*³ p. 652 note 1; 653, note 7, and Macé, *Essai sur Suetone* p. 244. 411. Other scholars who have had occasion to touch upon the sources of Plutarch's *Cicero* have ignored the article. Willrich l.c. p. 36-38, though he devotes a chapter to Suetonius, remains, in consequence, in blissful ignorance of the true state of affairs, as do Leo and Schwartz (ll. cc.). Their conclusions, however, deserve quotation on other grounds. The former (p. 165) says: "Die Biographie ist einheitlich gearbeitet, von einem Manne angelegt der Tiro und wenigstens einen anderen Biographen Cicero's, Cicero's Memoiren und Briefe und, ausser anderem, historische Gewährsmänner heranzog und seinen Standpunkt zwar auf der Cicero freundlichen Seite nahm, aber die Gegner zu Wort kommen liess und selbst tadelte. *Plutarch war es gewiss nicht, nennen können wir ihn nicht*," and Schwartz p. 602: "Der plutarchische Gewährsmann war kein Politiker und kein Historiker grossen Stils, es war ein sehr belesener Pedant, der keine Lesefrucht umkommen liess und aus Gutem und Schlechtem, aus Sallust und Cicero, sowie aus der Pamphlet- und Klatschlitteratur ein buntes Mosaik zusammenfügte, das bald werthvolles Detail, bald gleichgiltigen Kleinkram, bald giftiges Gerede zu einem seltsamen Bilde vereinigte." My own characterization above, though independently drawn

I refer, in particular, to the items on Roman Literature in *St. Jerome's* additions to the Chronicle of Eusebius and to the anonymous treatise *de viris illustribus*, usually printed with the *Caesares* of *S. Aurelius Victor* and attributed in the majority of MSS. to Pliny the Younger, while the scholars of the Renaissance, chiefly it would seem misled by the title, identified it with its famous namesake.³ St. Jerome's obligations to Suetonius are universally admitted, but it does not appear to have been noticed that, whatever the other sources of the *de viris illustribus* may have been,⁴ its eighty-first chapter at all events, which deals with the life of Cicero, was also drawn from the same fountain, though, like the rest of the treatise, it has come down to us only in a horribly epitomized form. I base this conviction not so much upon the identity of the titles or even upon the circumstance that Suetonius's *de viris illustribus* no less than his *Caesares* were demonstrably pillaged by later historians who had occasion to treat of the same topics,⁵ but rather upon the numerous coincidences existing between the anonymous writer and admittedly Suetonian fragments,⁶ in particular those passages

up, agrees in all essential particulars with the two sketches just cited. I was, therefore, all the more surprised to find that *Suetonius* had not sat for the portrait so well painted by the two Göttingen scholars. Suetonius had, indeed, drunk deeply from pure historical fountains, but at the same time he would cast his dragnet far into the murky and polluted waters of tradition, and its rich haul was no less palatable to him. Cp. also, Peck, *Suetonius' Lives of Caesar and Augustus*, New York 1889, p. x: He can only accumulate with patient industry a vast number of details. Nothing is too unpleasant, nothing too personal to be left unrecorded. He pins a scandal and adds it to his collection, as a naturalist would a butterfly, but at the same time he does not dwell upon these matters.

³ Cp. Macé l.c. p. 344.

⁴ H. Peter, *Die geschichtl. Literat.* etc. II. pp. 367-372. In spite of what has been written on the subject, the identity of the author of the unepitomized original and Aurelius Victor, the author of the *Caesares*, is a by no means improbable contingency. The indebtedness of Victor to the *Caesares* of Suetonius is well established. Cp. Peter l.c. II. 356 ff.

⁵ Macé l.c. p. 401-420; Peter l.c. II. 35.

⁶ E.g. *de vir. ill.* 2 = Suet. p. 318, 4 Rf.; *id.* 3, 2 = *id.* p. 319, 2; *id.* 5, 1 = *id.* p. 320, 5.

concerning Cicero which the Anonymus and St. Jerome have in common.

X^b. Remembering then that both these writers were alike indebted to Suetonius's *de viris illustribus*, we may now turn to c. 3 of Plutarch's biography, a paragraph, be it observed, so perfectly coherent, that it must needs have been taken in its entirety from one and the same source.

Now this passage contains at least *two errors*. The one consists in the implication that the *pro Roscio Amerino* was the earliest speech of Cicero, whereas it is known that he made his oratorical début with the *pro Quinctio* in 81 B.C., in the 26th year of his age, the former belonging to the next year.¹ As St. Jerome gives the correct date, it might be argued that Plutarch did not here follow Suetonius; but this inference is neutralized by the *second* error, to the effect that Cicero after the Roscian trial left for Greece *fearing the anger of Sulla*, though he alleged ill health as the cause for his sudden departure. This statement flatly contradicts the facts of history, for so far from leaving Rome out of any dread of the dictator the young orator remained in the city for nearly two years more, delivering in the meantime at least two speeches, one for L. Varenus and another in behalf of a

¹ That Plutarch did not purposely ignore the *pro Quinctio*, as relating only to a *causa privata*, is made clear by the fact that the very same error, as Gellius *N. A.* XV. 28, 1 informs us on the authority of Asconius Peditanus, was shared by Cornelius Nepos and Fenestella: in librorum primo quos de vita illius (sc. Ciceronis) composuit (sc. Nepos) errasse videtur cum eum scripsit tres et viginti annos natum primum iudicii publici egisse Sextumque Roscium . . . defendisse. In qua re etiam Fenestellam errasse Peditanus Asconius animadvertit quod eum scripserit sexto vicesimo aetatis anno pro Sextio Roscio dixisse. Longior autem Nepotis quam Fenestellae error est nisi quis vult in animum inducere Nepotem studio amoris et amicitiae adductum amplificandae admirationis gratiae quadriennium suppressisse ut M. Cicero orationem florentissimam dixisse pro Roscio admodum adulescens videretur. Cicero himself makes no distinction between the two *causae*, where he speaks of his first oratorical efforts. Cp. in *Verr.* II. 2, 65, 159, tum primum nos ad causas et privatas et publicas adire coepimus.

woman of Arretium.² It must be perfectly clear that such a calumny, or, if you will, misunderstanding, cannot well have arisen until post-Augustan times; and when I add that there are but *two* authors, besides Plutarch, who are guilty of the same misstatement, namely *Hieronimus* and the *Anonymus*,³ the conclusion that all three are equally indebted to Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis* will be irresistibly forced upon us,⁴ the more so as palpable errors shared in common often furnish a safer clue to interdependence than coincidences in matters of fact.

Plutarch's remarks concerning Cicero's father in c. 1, as the οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον and the οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ indicate, must have been based upon an author who was wont to collect such traditions, leaving the reader to select what suited his fancy; on the other hand, the calumny involved in ἐν κναφείῳ τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφήναι τὸν ἄνδρα excludes contemporary biographers and historians.⁵ The whole passage has,

² Cp. esp. *ad Att.* I. 19, 4 Arretinos quorum agrum Sulla publicarat neque diviserat, in sua possessione retinebam; *pro Caec.* 33, 97, (de eadem causa) atque hoc et contra dicente Cotta et Sulla vivo iudicatum est; *Brut.* 91, 314, sed cum censerem remissione et moderatione vocis et commutato genere dicendi me et periculum vitare posse et temperatius dicere, ut consuetudinem dicendi mutarem, ea causa mihi in *Asiam* proficiscendi fuit. Itaque cum essem *biennium* versatus in causis et iam in foro celebratum meum nomen esset, Roma sum profectus.

³ Hieronymus: Roscio contra Chrysogonum defenso Cicero Athenas secessit et inde post triennium Romam regreditur; *de viris illust.* 81: Adolescens Rosciano iudicio eloquentiam et libertatem suam adversus Sullanos ostendit ex quo veritus invidiam Athenas studiorum gratia petivit. It will be also noticed that all three authors speak of *Athens* or *Greece* (εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα) as Cicero's immediate destination, whereas he expressly says that it was *Asia*.

⁴ That no injustice is done to Suetonius by ascribing to him a slanderous statement of this nature is made evident by Suet. *Iul.* 4, composita seditione civili, Cornelium Dolabellam . . . repetundarum postulavit; absolutoque *Rhodum secedere* statuit et *ad declinandam invidiam* et ut per otium et requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret (cp. *Plut.* c. 4 and above p. 17). All the circumstances here afford an admirable parallel to the passage of Plutarch, and the motive given for Caesar's departure is as similar as it is unquestionably false.

⁵ The same reproach is made by Calenus ap. Dio Cass. XLVI. 4, but this rhetorical invective could at best be only an echo of some contemporary

in fact, the true *color Suetonianus*; and that this impression is not purely subjective is again shown by two passages in Hieronymus and the Anonymus⁶ concerning Cicero's alleged royal descent, the statement being also found in Plutarch, but nowhere else in extant sources,⁷ while the name of the orator's mother and that of *Herennius* as one of the murderers of Cicero⁸ are preserved only in St. Jerome and Plutarch.

We have already seen that c. 4 could not have been taken from an early authority and it was intimated that Suetonius may well be made responsible for it. This hypothesis will be rendered all but certain by the following consideration. At the close of the chapter, Plutarch relates that Apollonius (Molo), after listening in sullen silence to a Greek oration which Cicero had delivered amid the applause of his fellow pupils, finally, instead of also praising the effort, cried out that he pitied the fate of Greece, in that culture and eloquence, the only glory which still remained to her, would now also be transferred to Rome.⁹ This anecdote is nowhere even alluded to by Cicero;¹⁰ there is, indeed, but one other reference to it

slander which did not in any case reach Plutarch directly from such remote and early sources.

⁶ *Hieronymus*: M. Tullius Cicero Arpini nascitur Helvia, patre equestris ordinis ex regio Volscorum genere; *de vir. ill.* 81: M. Tullius genere Arpinas patre equite Romano natus genus a Tullo Attio rege duxit.

⁷ Unless, indeed, we except Sil. Ital. *Pun.* VIII. 406, Regia progenies et Tullo sanguis ab alto; XII. 175, Clarum Volscorum Tulli decus. Its origin may be due to a jesting remark of Cicero, *Tusc.* I. 16, 38, Pherecydes Syrius . . . antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili. Cp. *Brut.* 16, 62, ut si ego me a M. Tullio esse dicerem qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio consul anno X post exactos reges fuit.

⁸ In view of the numerous extant accounts, this is a very significant parallelism.

⁹ A similar story is told of John Reuchlin and his teacher Argyropolus. Cf. Raumer, *Gesch. der Paedag.* I. 65.

¹⁰ That it was, in fact, unknown to him appears from *Brut.* 91, 316: ibi me ad . . . Molonem applicavi . . . in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis . . . prudentissimum. Is dedit operam (si modo id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes . . . reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coereret.

in extant sources, and curiously it is found in none other than in the *vita* of the Anonymus, who mentions it, moreover, in precisely the same connection, for after speaking of Cicero's studies at Athens (cited above) he continues as follows: *Inde eloquentiae gratia Asiam, post Rhodum petiit, ubi Molonem . . . magistrum habuit qui flesse dicitur quod per hunc Graecia eloquentiae laude privaretur.* In view of the interdependence between the Anonymus, Plutarch, and Suetonius already established, this parallelism must be regarded as adding but another link in the chain of evidence for Plutarch's direct indebtedness to Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis*.¹¹

Plutarch's statement (c. 46, λέγεται) concerning the alleged reluctance of Octavian to sacrifice Cicero leads to the same conclusion. This transparent fiction, designed by apologists to clear the founder of the empire of one of the darkest stains in his entire career, is first met with in a famous passage of Velleius,¹² though it doubtless did not originate with him. Thereafter, excepting Plutarch, I have been able to find but *two* passages which imply a knowledge of this apology, for, strange as it may seem, neither Appian nor Dio make any allusion to it.¹³ The one occurs in our anonymous *vita: cum triumviros se fecissent Caesar, Lepidus Antoniusque concordia*

¹¹ An incidental remark in Suet. *de rhet.* 1, Cicero ad praeturam usque etiam Graece declamavit, Latine vero senior quoque et quidem cum consulibus Hirtio et Pansa, may show that he was not likely to have neglected a discussion of Cicero's rhetorical studies in his biography.

¹² II. 66, 1, repugnante Caesare sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum Sullani exempli malum, proscripio. Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit quam quod aut Caesar aliquem proscribere coactus est aut ab ullo Cicero proscriptus est etc.

¹³ Unless App. *B. C.* IV. 51, ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως . . . ὑπάτων (sc. ἀπέφηνε τὸν νῆδον τοῦ Κικέρωνος) be so construed. Their silence may either have been due to their well-known hostility to Cicero which blinded them to the reprehensibility of Octavian's conduct, or, what seems more probable, their sources were still ignorant of this particular attempt to whitewash the emperor. Livy's famous comment can, of course, be interpreted only as a quasi justification of *Antony*. Cp. Liv. ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 22, quae (sc. mors Ciceronis) vere aestimanti minus indigna videri potuit quod a *victore inimico* (sc. Antonio) nil crudelius passus est quam quod eiusdem fortunae compoti fecisset.

non aliter visa est inter eos iungi posse nisi Tullius necaretur, the other in — Suetonius *Aug.* 27, *in quo* (sc. triumvirato) *restitit quidem aliquamdiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit*. The latter statement is thereupon substantiated by numerous illustrations, whereas the tradition of Augustus's previous reluctance is allowed to stand by itself. This circumstance would be most plausibly explained by the assumption that Suetonius had already discussed it elsewhere; but this was most appropriately done in his narrative of the death of Cicero, the most noted victim of the proscription.

In the light of these passages, pointing as they all do in one and the same direction, another fact which a comparison between Plutarch and the anonymous *vita* reveals now at once assumes a peculiar significance. The latter contains *thirty-six* items of information. Of these *all* are met with in the Greek narrative,¹⁴ and, with two exceptions, in the *identical chronological order*.¹⁵ As an isolated observation, this coincidence

¹⁴ See Appendix II.

¹⁵ Quaestor — Aedilis — *Praetor Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit* — Consul. If the italicized sentence were sound, *praetor* would be absurd and the chronological sequence of events, otherwise strictly observed throughout, rudely destroyed. Two solutions of the difficulty suggest themselves. (a) Some words like *fuit eodem tempore quo Pompeius* dropped out after *praetor*, the temporal coincidence being sufficiently close (67, 66) to have caused the two to be mentioned together, particularly as Cicero's praetorship was not marked by any conspicuous achievement. (b) The allusion is to Cicero's *proconsulship* in Cilicia, in 51 B.C. This is rendered probable, because otherwise all reference to his victorious campaign would be wanting. It is also not without significance that Plutarch and the Latin *vita* would here again *alone coincide*, in that both speak of Cicero's *iusta victoria* as a defeat of a *band of robbers*. If so, the words *Ciliciam* etc. may have been accidentally omitted, then placed in the margin, opposite *Siciliam*, owing to its graphical similarity to *Ciliciam*. Subsequently they intruded into the text in the wrong place, causing a conflation of two passages, but the resulting blunder was not noticed, because the retention of *praetor* did not disturb the regular sequence of the *cursus honorum*. Whether the confusion was due to a later scribe or to the epitomator, whose condensation of the original has here, in fact, been so merciless as to leave little more than bald chapter-headings, I do not venture to determine. — The other disagreement

would possess no argumentative validity whatever ; but when it is taken in connection with the preceding discussion, the inference that the anonymous *vita* and Plutarch's biography were alike based upon Suetonius will appear not merely plausible, but unavoidable and convincing.

X^c. So far we were compelled to invoke the aid of authors under demonstrable obligations to Suetonius to prove Plutarch's indebtedness to him. In the following passage an extant utterance of Suetonius himself will, I hope, enable us to reach the same goal, although the road to it is a long one and obstructed with difficulties. I refer to the *Dream of Cicero*, related at length and with picturesque details by Plutarch in c. 44. It is a digression, abundantly marked as such by an ἔδοκει, a ὡς ἔοικε, and a φασί in two places. While Pompey and Caesar were still alive, the orator dreamed that the sons of senators had been summoned to the Capitoline hill, Jupiter intending to choose from out their number the future ruler of Rome. They all passed in review before him, whereupon he selected one boy and, taking him by the right hand, said : "This one, O Romans, as your ruler will put an end to the Civil Wars." Going down to the Campus Martius next day, among some boys at exercise Cicero's eyes fell first of all upon the very lad whom he had beheld in his dream. Amazed at this, he inquired about the boy's parents and learned that he was the son of one Octavius, a man not of noble descent, and of Attia, and that Julius Caesar was his uncle. By a curious coincidence also he was born in the very year of Cicero's consulship.¹ These circumstances prompted him to

occurs in a digression in c. 20. Plutarch there says that Cicero at an early date suspected Caesar of monarchical designs ; the same prescience is attributed to him in the *vita*, but in connection with the Clodian episode. The only other extant writer to confirm this is—*Suetonius* (Caes. 14) who cites a letter of Cicero to that effect. See note to text (§ 46^b).

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 94 and Dio Cass. XLV. 2, in placing the birth of Augustus not only in the same year, but on the very day and hour of the famous senate meeting which decided the fate of the conspirators, show that the synchronistic

pay assiduous court to the youth, and at a later period they were alleged as the reason, or rather the pretext, for Cicero's efforts to win the favor of Octavianus.

Now the question as to Plutarch's authority for this story, granting that it originally came from the living lips of Cicero and was not a transparent fiction *ex eventu*, might appear on first glance to be most satisfactorily answered by Tertull. *de anima* c. 46, M. Tullius Cicero civilium turbinum cultorem *de somnio*² narrat quod *in vitae illius commentariis conditum*, particularly as Plutarch expressly quotes these very Memoirs in one place³ and evidently alludes to them in another passage⁴ of his biography of Cicero. And yet, even if we were to admit, what is after all extremely doubtful,⁵ that Plutarch himself perused the thirteen books *de vita sua*,⁶ the statement that Octavian's father was τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν cannot well have been taken from this source, although the emperor did not, like some of his panegyric biographers, trace his descent back to Tarquinius Priscus.⁷ The real difficulties

method, so dear to the ancients, had as yet lost little of its fatal fascination. Cp. Vell. Pat. II. 36, 1, consulatui Ciceronis non mediocre adiecit decus natus eo anno divus Augustus, and above p. 31⁷.

² Cp. also Suet. *Aug.* 91 somnia neque sua neque *aliena de se* neglegebat.

³ *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 3, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικῆραν ὑπομνήμασιν εἶρηκεν.

⁴ *Cic.* 45 ἀμολόγει δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ὡς . . . χρήσαιτο τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ. Cp. also Plut. *Brut.* 27, 41; *Ant.* 20, ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν.

⁵ Cp. H. Peter, *Die Biographien* etc. p. 136 f.

⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 85, aliqua *de vita sua* quam tredecim libris, Cantabrico tenuis bello (27 B.C.) nec ultra exposuit.

⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 2 f. Sed haec *alii* (Plut. *Cic.* 1, οἱ δὲ εἰς Τύλλον Ἀττιον ἀνάγουσιν); *ipse Augustus* nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum *scribit* veterē ac locupletē et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit (αὐτὸς γε μὴν Κικέρων etc.). *M. Antonius* libertinum ei proavum *exprobrat*, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium (= οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ τιῶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν). Nec quidquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus *referri* (ταῦτα μὲν οὖν . . . ἰσθόρηται). C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit (ὁ μὲντοι πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς ἀξίως λόγου δοκεῖ γενέσθαι etc.) ut equidem *mirer* hunc quoque a *nonnullis* argentarium . . . *proditum*. I have cited this paragraph *in extenso* to show the remarkable

begin, however, when we examine the two other references to this incident, preserved in Suetonius and Dio Cassius. It will be necessary to cite them in full.

Suetonius *Aug.* 94: quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus *futura magnitudo eius* et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset.⁸ . . . *Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur* in curia . . . vulgata res est P. Nigidium . . . affirmasse *dominum terrarum orbi natum*.⁹ . . . *Q. Catulus* post dedicatum Capitolium *duabus continuis noctibus somniavit*: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse atque in eius sinum rem publicam quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tamquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero de quo somniasset. *Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt*, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum retulisset.

M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus *somnium*

family likeness between it and the opening chapter of Plutarch, which has already been proved on independent grounds to have been based upon Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis*. Here, as in the case of Augustus, evidently *περι τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πινθέσθαι μέτριον*. Cf. also Suet. *Vitell.* 1, Vitelliorum originem alii aliam et quidem diversissimam tradunt, partim veterem et nobilem, partim vero novam et obscuram atque etiam sordidam etc.; *Vesp.* 1.

⁸ Suetonius never loses an opportunity to report such predictions. Cp. also Serv. *ad Aen.* VI. 799, Suetonius ait in *vita Caesaris* (in the now lost opening chapter) responsa esse data per totum orbem nasci invictum imperatorem, and Suet. *Vesp.* 5. The similar passage in Plut. *Cic.* 2, τῇ δὲ τίτθῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς ὄφελος μέγα πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτρεφούση etc. has, therefore, like the rest of the paragraph, a strong Suetonian flavor.

⁹ It will be observed that the birth of Octavian in the year of Cicero's consulship is in Plutarch referred to in close connection with the dream.

pristinæ noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitolii constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit.

Dio Cass. XLV. 2 after relating four of the five 'prodigia' given by Suetonius, including the prediction of Nigidius, likewise continues with the story of the dreams:

Παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιουμένου ἔδοξε ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ, ἀλύσεισί τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμῆσθαι καὶ μάστιγα παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφέναι· καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅστις ἦν) περιέτυχέ τε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν διηγήσατο τοῖς παρούσι τὴν ὄψιν. ὃ τε Κατοῦλος, οὐδ' αὐτὸς που ἑωρακῶς τὸν Ὀκταούϊον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πρόσδοτον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου κόλπον ἐμβεβληκέναι. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀνήλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευξόμενοι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὀκταούϊον εὐρῶν ἄλλως ἀναβεβηκότα, τό τε εἶδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήρμοσε καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ὄψεως ἐβεβαιώσατο. He then proceeds, again precisely as in Suetonius,¹⁰ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀνδρικήν ἐνδύντος, ὁ χιτῶν περιεργάγη τε ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωμίδων καὶ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρήνῃ. τοῦτο αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ οὐχ ὅπως τέκμαρσίν τινα, ὡς καὶ ἀγαθόν τι προσημαῖνον, ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠνίασε τοὺς παρόντας. . . . ἐπελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ὀκταούϊῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου σχήσω . . . ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μεγάλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσας . . . ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσκει

¹⁰ *Aug.* 94, *Sument* virilem togam tunica lati clavi, resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur. . . . Another miracle is related, and then: illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet.

καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς . . . τηλικούτου κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν, ἀκριβῶς ἐξεπαίδευσε.

Dio, as is generally admitted, handles his borrowed material with considerable freedom, expanding or condensing to suit his purpose ; accordingly we meet with some items in the above narrative which he could not have found in Suetonius, although the coincidences between them are otherwise remarkably close and numerous. Now, unless we are prepared to regard all the accretions in question as emanating from Dio himself, the resemblance just pointed out must be attributed to a *common third source*, such as the Θεολογούμενα of Asclepiades Mendes perhaps, whom Suetonius expressly cites as one of his authorities, for it cannot be denied that the story of the dream might also have found an appropriate place in such a work. The further inference, however, that Plutarch may be likewise indebted to this "συναγωγή θαυμασίων," since all direct obligations to Augustus's ὑπομνήματα are out of the question, must be rejected the moment we analyze the passages in Dio, Suetonius, and Plutarch a little more closely. In the first place, it must be noted that the account of the last named differs in essential particulars and in the very setting from the narrative of the others. Then again, Plutarch omits Catulus altogether, though some of the details of Cicero's dream are incorporated by Suetonius and Dio in the dream which they attribute to Catulus, Dio, moreover, to make matters worse, in his turn combining some features of both dreams.

Tertullian unfortunately fails to inform us how the orator's dream was related in the emperor's Memoirs,¹¹ nor can we gather from his silence that no mention at all was made of the similar experience of Catulus. Now, as Suetonius demonstrably made a most extensive use of Augustus's autobiography

¹¹ Perhaps Tertullian's reference to Augustus as the man destined to put an end to the civil wars, the very prediction in which the vision of Cicero culminates, may point to the Memoirs as the *ultimate* source of Plutarch ; for in the other versions the civil wars do not figure at all.

and yet tells an essentially different story, two possible solutions suggest themselves. Either Plutarch, through an oversight or intentionally, substituted Cicero for Catulus who, if known to him at all, may have appeared too unimportant an individual for his purpose, or else Suetonius related the anecdote differently in his *Cicero* and in his *Augustus*. In the one, following some such authority as Asclepiades or Iulius Marathus,¹² he gave it as we read it in the extant biography; in the other, adopting the version of Augustus's own narrative, he told it as we find it in Plutarch. I believe that the latter alternative more accurately represents the actual state of affairs, a conviction confirmed by the remark of Suetonius l.c. *Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt* etc. For, just as we here learn that Catulus was credited with two dreams on the same subject during successive nights, but that tradition varied as to the contents of the first, so we may plausibly conjecture that a dream which some attributed to Catulus was by others assigned to Cicero, and that the latter version had been accepted by Suetonius in his Life of Cicero and thus transmitted to Plutarch; the interval of time which separated the two Latin biographies, as well as the various sources consulted by Suetonius, being quite sufficient to account for the divergences in question.

X^d. Having thus established Plutarch's indebtedness to Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis* with the aid of the Suetonian material still extant, we shall now be methodically justified in assigning to the same source those portions of Plutarch's biography for which in a majority of instances we were compelled on *internal* grounds to assume a *post-Augustan* origin, provided they at the same time clearly exhibit the well-known characteristics of Suetonius.

Now the items which completely satisfy the aforesaid conditions are above all those pertaining to the *personal* or strictly

¹² Cited by Suet. l.c. as one of his sources.

biographical traits of Cicero¹ for which, as we have seen, *Tiro* had hitherto, though on insufficient grounds or positively erroneous surmises, been regarded as the *fons primarius* of Plutarch. To be more specific, I maintain, and I hope the preceding discussion has justified the claim, that the following topics were taken by Plutarch directly from Suetonius's *vita Ciceronis*:

The information concerning the parentage, the name (c. 1), the birth and the early youth of Cicero, the statement about his poetic effusions (c. 2 and 40), the criticism passed upon them (c. 2), the entire contents of c. 5, the stray notes on Cicero's property (c. 5. 6) and on the state of his health (c. 8). Furthermore, the learned digression concerning Cicero's self-glorification and eulogy of others (c. 24), the alleged origin of his feud with Clodius (c. 27), the philological comment on Cicero's merits in enriching the Latin language by the coinage of philosophical terms (c. 40) and the remark on Cicero's design to write a Roman History (c. 41), the story of his matrimonial troubles (c. 41), and finally the narrative of his proscription and assassination (c. 46-49).

That the important events in the career of Cicero which in Plutarch are intimately associated with his *forensic* activity, such as the trial of Verres, the attack upon the agrarian legislation of Rullus, the affairs of Manilius and Milo, also received adequate treatment at the hands of Suetonius goes without saying. Now, as the Greek author in all these instances did not, as we have shown, draw from the original fountain, the inference, that he here too had recourse to the same authority whom he followed so extensively elsewhere, will not be rejected as intrinsically improbable.

¹ That a few of these may have reached Plutarch through oral channels or may represent the gleanings of his own casual reading, whether reproduced from memory or from his notebook, is all but certain (cp. e.g. c. 6. 49, *ἢ πυνθάρομαι* etc.), especially in the case of anecdotal topics. But the material collected from such quarters could not have been sufficiently extensive to invalidate the above contention. See p. 4.

For the strictly *historical* events, in particular the Catilinian conspiracy, I am rather inclined to postulate some post-Augustan authority whose attitude was distinctly favorable to Cicero and who was in possession of all the contemporary sources on the subject, but who made no attempt to reconcile the manifold differences or traditions which had arisen in the lapse of time. The Clodian episode on the other hand, though also of one piece and hence not to be distributed among several sources, may well have been treated in Suetonius; at least, the story of the origin of the feud and the rôle assigned to Terentia (c. 29), as well as the account of the exile and the return of Cicero, are quite in his manner, not to mention that Plutarch quite fails to grasp the deeper political significance of events, but merely chronicles, again *more Suetoniano*, the bald facts.

On the basis of two passages of Aulus Gellius² and Servius,³ Reifferscheid has with considerable ingenuity attempted to vindicate to Suetonius a work, entitled *Historia bellorum civilium*, which comprised the events from Pompey's defeat of the pirates (67 B.C.) to the battle of Actium (31 B.C.). This history, which, according to the same scholar, was also consulted by Dio Cassius and St. Jerome, would thus practically have included the entire career of Cicero, and as such might have been Plutarch's source for the historical portions just discussed, as well as for those relating to the Civil War proper (49-31), in which case Suetonius would have been relieved of the necessity of treating the same occurrences at length in his Life of Cicero. This enticing theory, however, stands and falls with the initial hypothesis of Reifferscheid. But, as he has unfortunately utterly failed to establish its

² *N. A.* XVI. 4, 4, Eundem Bassum Suetonius Tranquillus praepositum esse a M. Antonio . . . Parthos tribus ab eo proeliis fusos scribit, eumque primum omnium de Parthis triumphasse et, morte obita, publico funere sepultum esse.

³ ad Verg. *Georg.* IV. 127, per transitum tangit *historiam a Suetonio memoratam*. Pompeius enim victis piratis Cilicibus partim ibidem, partim in Graecia, partim in Calabria agros dedit.

verisimilitude,⁴ no inferences of any value can be drawn from it for the solution of the problem before us.

There is no reason to believe that Suetonius treated of these events at any greater length in his Life of Cicero, they being more or less incidental to it, than Plutarch felt called upon to do, particularly as historical narrative was not Suetonius's forte. There would, therefore, be no obstacle to the assumption that Plutarch here too was content to follow in the footsteps of the Roman biographer, were it not for the fact that the other Lives alluded to above (p. 41. 46) prove that he had secured and utilized an exhaustive account of the Civil Wars, it being unlikely that this was as yet unknown to him when he composed his Cicero which preceded them in time.⁵

But be this as it may, we shall at any rate be justified in contending on the strength of the foregoing analysis that Plutarch did not consult at first hand any of the works of Cicero or any pre-Augustan authorities, such as Sallust, Tiro, or Nepos, but that the *vita Ciceronis* of Suetonius constituted his *principal* source. In fact, I feel convinced that if the last named were extant we should discover that their interdependence was essentially similar to that which obtains between Plutarch's *Coriolanus* and the corresponding narrative of Dionysius, whom the biographer followed even in those cases where an *ἐπιτοὶ φασι* would naturally suggest some other sources of information.

⁴ The entire question has been fully dealt with by Macé, *Essai sur Suetone* pp. 346-354.

⁵ On the chronological sequence of Plutarch's Lives, see Michaelis, *de ordine vitarum parall. Plutarchi*, Berlin 1875. The *vita Ciceronis* is later than that of *Sulla*; but as this, according to c. 21, cannot have been published before 115 A.D., we have a *terminus post quem* for the Life of Cicero. Now Plin. *Epist.* V. 10 (105 A.D.), as is generally admitted, alludes to the *de viris illustribus* of Suetonius, and asks him not to withhold them any longer from the public. There will, therefore, be no chronological difficulty in the way of Plutarch's indebtedness to this work, even if we agree with Macé l.c. p. 66-72 on so late a date as 113 A.D. for its appearance, particularly as all of its five parts were not necessarily issued together.

APPENDIX I

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The division of the Greek text into paragraphs and sub-paragraphs is designed to distinguish more clearly than is done by the traditional chapter-numbers the constituent parts into which the biography may be resolved.

The foot-notes do not aim to give an even adequately complete Source Commentary, but are chiefly intended to refute by an accumulation of examples the opinion now generally held, and discussed in the preceding pages, that Plutarch directly consulted the *works of Cicero* or any other contemporary authority, such as Sallust, for *biographical* purposes.

The more important passages are cited under two rubrics. Those under (A) designate substantial *agreement* with Plutarch, those under (D) *disagreement* in whole or in part.

All source-references in the text are spaced.

The text is that of Sintenis, with the following exceptions:

- c. 2, 5 S. *ἡμέρα*. . . *Καλανδῶν* exhibits a hopeless confusion, primarily caused by Plutarch's misreading *novas* for *nonas*. *Καλανδῶν* is probably an explanatory gloss due to a misunderstanding of *ante diem III. Nonas*, the month having been omitted. See c. 2 note 4. The soundness of the text can be vindicated only on the supposition that Pl. followed the Greek method of reckoning and that *novae Kalendae* was used for the Kalends of January, but for this I can find no evidence.
- c. 4, 17. *καὶ πολλή* is bracketed because the words contradict c. 3, 29, *ἡ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὴ*. The double *πολλά* (ll. 18, 19) is probably responsible for the addition.
- c. 5, 23. The absurd *νοσήσας* has been changed to *νοήσας*. See my note, *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900) p. 62.
- c. 7, 25. *Βέρρην γὰρ . . . καλοῦσιν* clearly belongs after *ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων*.
- c. 23, 22. *ἐκείνων* with some MSS. for *ἐκείνου*, for the *ἐξουσία* of the *praetor* Caesar and the *tribune* Cato was not *ἴση*.
- c. 29, 16. I have introduced my emendation *διὰ Κατόλλου* for *διὰ Τόλλου*. Compare *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* XI pp. 316 ff.

Συγκρ. 1, 4. I write *Καίλιου* for *Κεκιλίου*, but retain the latter reading, though equally erroneous, in c. 36, for the reasons given on p. 44.

My thanks are due to my friend and colleague Prof. Wm. N. Bates for his kindness in reading the proof of these pages.

Feb. 1902.

A. G.

PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF CICERO

1. I. Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα¹ λέγουσιν Ἑλβίαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέναι. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ² τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφήναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς Τύλλον Ἄττιον ἀνάγουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους, βασιλεύσαντα λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐλοούσκοις³ καὶ πολεμήσαντα Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἀδυνάτως.

2. Ὁ μόντοι πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς ἄξιος λόγου δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, διὸ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ ἀπέρριψαν οἱ μετ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἠσπάσαντο, καίπερ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χλευαζομένην. Κίκερα γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν ἐρεβίνθον καλοῦσι, κἀκείνος ἐν τῷ πέρατι τῆς ῥίνος διαστολήν, ὡς εἰσικεν, ἀμβλεῖαν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ ἐρεβίνθου διαφνὴν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτίσαστο τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. Αὐτός γε μὴν Κικέρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε γέγραπται, τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν οιομένων δεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀρχὴν μετῆι καὶ πολιτείας ἤπτετο, φυγεῖν τοῦνομα καὶ μεταθέσθαι, λέγεται νεανιενσάμενος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀγωνιᾶται τὸν Κικέρωνα τῶν Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδείξει. Ταμείων δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάθημα ποιούμενος ἀργυροῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δύο τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπέγραψε, τὸν τε Μάρκον καὶ τὸν Τύλλιον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου σκόπτων ἐρεβίνθον ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τὰ γράμματα τὸν τεχνίτην ἐντορεῦσαι. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἰστορήται.

Jan. 3,
106 B.C.

3. II. Τεχθῆναι δὲ Κικέρωνα λέγουσιν ἀνωδίνως καὶ ἀπόνως λοχενθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νέων Καλιανδῶν†, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες εὗχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.

Τῇ δὲ τίτῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς ὄφελος μέγα πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτρεφούσῃ.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλως ὀνειράτα καὶ φλύαρον εἶναι δοκοῦντα ταχέως αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε μαντεῖαν ἀληθινήν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ μαθηταίνου γενόμενος, δι' εὐφύιαν ἐκλάμψας καὶ λαβῶν ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς παισίν, ὥστε τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ὄψει τε βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν ὑμνομένην αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς μαθήσεις δέξντητα καὶ σύνεσιν ἰστορήσαι,

Passages quoted verbatim or discussed in the foregoing analysis are marked with an asterisk (*).

¹ (A) * Hieron. in Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 168, 3(2).

² (A) * Calenus apud Dio Cass. XLVI. 4, 2, 5, 3.

³ (A) * Hieron. l.c.; de vir. illustr. 81 (Appendix II). (D) pro Mur. 8, 17.

⁴ (D) Cic. ad Att. XIII. 42, 2, diem meum scis esse III. Nonas Ianuarias; VII. 5, 3, III. Nonas, natali meo; Gell. N. A. XV. 28, 3.

τοὺς δ' ἀγροκοτέρους ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς νίεσιν ὀρώντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὸν Κικέρωνα μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ λαμβάνοντας.

4. Γενόμενος δ', ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων¹ ἀξιοῖ τὴν φιλομαθῆ καὶ φιλόσοφον φύσιν, οἷος ἀσπάζεσθαι πᾶν μάθημα καὶ μηδὲν λόγου μηδὲ παιδείας ἀτιμάζειν εἶδος, ἐρρήη πως προθυμότερον ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ. Καί τι καὶ ποιημάτων ἔτι παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετραμέτρῳ πεποιημένον. Προῦον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἀπτόμενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῆς ἄριστος εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα μέχρι νῦν διαμένει, καίπερ οὐ μικρὰς γεγενημένης περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας,² τὴν δὲ ποιητικῇ αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυνῶν ἐπιγενομένων, παντάπασιν ἀκλεῆ καὶ ἄτιμον³ ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν.

5. ΠΙ. Ἀπαλλαγὴς δὲ τῶν ἐν πασι διατριβῶν Φίλωνος ἤκουσε τοῦ^{88 B.C.} ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας,⁴ ὃν μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Κλειτομάχου συνήθων καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον ἐθαύμασαν καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἠγάπησαν. Ἔμα δὲ τοῖς περὶ Μούκιον ἀνδράσι συνῶν⁵ πολιτικοῖς καὶ πρωτεύουσι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν^{89-88 B.C.} νόμων ὠφελεῖτο.

6. καὶ τινὰ χρόνον καὶ στρατείας μετέσχεν ὑπὸ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν^{89 B.C.} πόλεμον.⁶

7. Εἴθ' ὀρῶν εἰς στάσιον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς στάσεως εἰς ἄκρατον ἐμπίπτοντα τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίαν,⁷ ἐπὶ τὸν σχολαστὴν καὶ θεωρητικὸν ἑλλῶν βίον Ἑλλησι συνῆν φιλολόγοις καὶ προσεῖχε τοῖς μαθήμασιν,⁸ ἄχρι οὗ Σύλλας^{82 B.C.} ἐκράτησε καὶ καταστάσιν τινα λαμβάνειν ἔδοξεν ἢ πόλις.

8. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Χρυσόγονος ἀπελευθέρους Σύλλᾳ προσαγγέilas τινὸς οὐσίαν ὡς ἐκ προγραφῆς ἀναιρεθέντος⁹ αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο δισχιλίῶν^{81 B.C.} δραχμῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥώσκιος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἤγα-^{80 B.C.} νάκτει καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπεδείκνυε πενήτηκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων οὐσαν ἀξίαν,¹⁰ ὃ τε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπήγε τῷ

¹ (A) Plato *de rep.* V. 466.

² (A) Cp. Tac. *Dial.* 19-23.

³ (A) Cp. Tac. *Dial.* 21, fecerunt enim et carmina . . . non melius quam Cicero sed felicius quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt, to which passage I have collected the numerous corroborative criticisms (p. 235).

⁴ (D) * Cic. *ad fam.* XIII. 1, 2.

⁵ (A) Cic. *de amic.* 1, 1.

⁶ (D) Cic. *Phil.* XII. 11, 27, Cn. Pompeius, S. F., consul, me praesente cum essem tiro in eius exercitu cum . . . duce Marsorum . . . collocutus est.

⁷ (A) These events had been related at length in the earlier Life of Sulla.

⁸ (A) To this period belong the *de inventione* and the translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. Cp. also *Brut.* 90, 308 ff.; *de off.* II. 24, 87.

⁹ (A) Cic. *pro Rosc. Am.* 11, 32, occisus in proscriptorum numerum rettu-
listis; I, 1-4, 2, 5; Quint. XII. 6, 3, summis audientium clamoribus dixerit;
Gell. *N. A.* XV. 28, 3, florentissimam orationem.

¹⁰ (D) Cic. *l. c.* 2, 6, duobus milibus nummum (= \$75, not \$370); 8, 21, imprudente L. Sulla facta esse certe scio etc.; 9, 25, 38, 110, 45, 130 f.

¹ Ρωσκήϊ, ¹ τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβόηθει δ' οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν χαλεπότητα δεδοκότες, οὕτω δὴ δι' ἔρημίαν τοῦ μερακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφνύγοντος οἱ φίλοι συμπαρώρων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν αὐθις ἀρχὴν πρὸς δόξαν ἑτέραν οὐδὲ καλλίω γενησομένην. ² Ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη.²

9. δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,³ διασπείρας λόγον, ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεομένου. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ἰσχνὸς καὶ ἄσαρκος, ἀρρωστίᾳ στομάχου μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα μόγις ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας προσφερόμενος.⁴ ἡ δὲ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὴ, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπλαστος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἔχοντος αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνω τόνων ἐλαυνομένη φόβον παρέιχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος.⁴

79-78
B.C.

10. IV. Ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντίοχον τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε,⁵ τῇ μὲν εἰροῖᾳ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἃ δ' ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐνεωτέριζεν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν.

11. Ἦδη γὰρ ἐξίστατο τῆς νέας λεγομένης Ἀκαδημείας ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τὴν Καρνεάδου στάσιον ἐγκατέλειπεν, εἴτε καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἴτε, ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διαφορᾷ πρὸς τοὺς Κλειτομάχου καὶ Φίλωνος συνήθεις τὸν Στωϊκὸν⁶ ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπέων λόγον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις.

12. Ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκεῖνα ἠγάπα κακέινους προσεῖχε μᾶλλον, διανοοῦμενος, εἰ παντάπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν, δεῦρο μετενεγκάμενος τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας καταζῆν.⁷

78 B.C.

13. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ Σύλλας τε προσηγγέληται τεθηγκῶς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀναρρωννύμενος εἰς ἕξιν ἐβάδιζε νεανικὴν, ἣ τε φωνὴ λαμβάνουσα πλάσιον ἤδεῖα μὲν πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἐτέθραπτο [καὶ πολλή], μετρίως δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν ἤρμωστο τοῦ σώματος, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης φίλων γραφόντων καὶ δεομένων, πολλὰ δ' Ἀντίοχου παρακελευομένου τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγμασιν, αὐθις ὥσπερ ὄργανον ἐξήρτηε τὸν ῥητορικὸν λόγον καὶ ἀνεκίνει τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, αὐτόν τε ταῖς μελέταις διαπονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους μετιῶν ῥήτορας.

¹ See note 10, p. 67.

² See note 9, p. 67; *pro Rosc. Am.* I, I, 21, 59; *Brut.* 90, 312.

³ (A) * Hieron. *in Euseb. Chron.* (= Sueton.) *Olymp.* 175, 1; *de vir. ill.* c. 81. (D) * *Brut.* 91, 314.

⁴ (A) *Brut.* 91, 313, erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis, procerum et tenue collum qui habitus et quae figura non procul abesse putatur a vitae periculo si accedit labor et laterum magna contentio.

(D) *Brut.* l. c.

⁵ (A) Cic. *de leg.* I, 21, 54; *Acad.* I, 4, 13.

⁶ (A) *Acad.* II, 43, 132, erat quidem . . . germanissimus Stoicus.

⁷ (D) These designs belong to a later period in Cicero's life. Cp. c. 40 and *ad Att.* II, 5, 2, 12, 4, 16, 3; IV, 16, 10; IX, 4, 2, 9.

14. Ὄθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ῥόδον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀσιανῶν ῥητόρων 78 B.C.
Ξενοκλῆ τῷ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ Μενίπῳ τῷ Καρὶ
συνεσχάλασεν, ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ ῥήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Μόλωνος,¹ φιλοσόφῳ
δὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ.²

Λέγεται³ δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐ συνιέντα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον
δεηθῆναι τοῦ Κικέρωνος Ἑλληνιστὶ μελετῆσαι· τὸν δ' ὑπακούσαι προθύμως,
οἴομενον οὕτως ἔσεσθαι βελτίονα τὴν ἐπανάρθωσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμελέτησε, τοὺς
μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ διαμυλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τὸν
δ' Ἀπολλώνιον οὐτ' ἀκρώμενον αὐτοῦ διαχυθῆναι καὶ παυσάμενον σύννου
καθέζεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπεῖν· “Σὲ μὲν, ὦ
Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτεῖρω τὴν τύχην, ὄρων, ἃ
μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοὺς διὰ σοῦ προσγεγόμενα,
παιδείαν καὶ λόγον.”

15. V. Ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων ἐλπίδων μεστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φερόμενος
ὑπὸ χρημοῦ τινος ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὁρμὴν. Ἐρομένη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν
Δελφοῖς θεόν, ὅπως ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο, προσέταξεν ἡ Πυθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἡγεμόνα ποιῆσθαι τοῦ βίου.⁴

16. Καὶ τὸν γε πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ χρόνον εὐλαβῶς διῆγε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς 77 B.C.
ὀκνηρῶς προσήει καὶ παρημελεῖτο,⁵ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς βαναυσότατοις
πρόχειρα καὶ συνήθη ῥήματα, Γραϊκὸς⁶ καὶ σχολαστικὸς ἀκοῦν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ φύσει φιλότιμος ὦν καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν
φίλων ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὸ συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτὸν, οὐκ ἤρεμα τῷ πρωτεύειν προσήγεν,
ἀλλ' εἰθὺς ἐξέλαμψε τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διέφερε πολὺ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπ'
ἀγορᾶς.

17. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἤττον νοήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς
τὴν ὑπόκρισιν,⁷ τοῦτο μὲν Ῥωσικῷ τῷ κωμωδῷ, τοῦτο δ' Αἰσιώπῳ τῷ
τραγωδῷ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς.⁸

18. Τὸν δ' Αἰσωπὸν τοῦτον ἱστοροῦσιν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸν
περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ Θυέστου βουλευόμενον Ἀτρεΐ, τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινος

¹ (D) * Cic. *Brut.* 91, 317.

² (D) * Cic. *Brut.* l.c.

³ (A) * *de vir. ill.* 81. Cp. also *Tusc. Disp.* II, 2, 5.

(D) * Cic. *Brut.* 91, 316.

⁴ (D) * Cic. *de div.* II, 56, 115 ff. (attack on the Delphic oracle).

⁵ (D) * Cic. *Brut.* 92, 318.

⁶ (A) Calenus ap. Dion. Cass. XLVI, 18, 1, ὦ Κικέρων ἢ Κικέρκουλε ἢ Κικεράκιε ἢ Γραϊκούλε ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ χαίρεις ὀνομαζόμενος *ad Att.* I, 15, 1.

⁷ (A) Cic. *de orat.* III, 56, 213; *Brut.* 38, 142; *Orat.* 17, 56, ut iam non sine causa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias actioni.

⁸ (A) Macrobian. *Satur.* II, 10, Roscio et Aesopo histrionibus tam familiariter usum ut res rationesque eorum sua sollertia tueretur.

(D) Cicero's friendship for these actors is attested by many passages, but he nowhere confirms the above statement.

ἄφνω παραδραμόντος, ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος¹ ὄντα τῷ σκῆπτρῳ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν.

19. Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ῥοπή τῷ Κικέρωνι. Καὶ τοὺς γε τῷ βοᾶν μεγαλυνομένους ῥήτορας ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ὡσπερ χωλοὺς ἐφ' ἵππον πηδᾶν.

20. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην εὐτραπέλιω δικανικὸν μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ γλαφυρόν, χρώμενος δ' αὐτῇ κατακόρως πολλοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοσθεΐας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν.

75 B.C. 21. VI. Ἀποδείχθεις δὲ τιμίας ἐν σιτοδείῃ καὶ λαχὼν Σικελίαν ἡνώχλησε² τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀρχῇ σίτον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν³ ἀναγκαζομένους. Ὑστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πραότητος αὐτοῦ πείραν λαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐδένα τῶν πώποθ' ἡγεμόνων ἐτίμησαν.⁴

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης νέων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γεγονότες καλῶς αἰτίαν ἔχοντες ἀταξίας καὶ μαλακίας περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Σικελίας, συνέπειν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κικέρων ἐπιφανῶς καὶ περιεποίησεν.

74 B.C. 23. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν μέγα φρονῶν⁵ εἰς Ῥώμην βαδίζων γελοῖόν τι παθεῖν φησι.⁶ Συντυχῶν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν φίλῳ δοκοῦντι περὶ Καρπανίαν, ἐρέσθαι, τίνα δὴ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τί φρονοῦσιν, ὡς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐμπεπληκώς· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν· “Ποῦ γὰρ ἦς, ὦ Κικέρων, τὸν χρόνον τούτον;” τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθνημῆσαι παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανές τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσῶν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν· ὕστερον δὲ λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑφέειλεν, ὡς πρὸς ἀόριστον πρᾶγμα τὴν δόξαν ἀμιλλώμενος καὶ πέρασ οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἔχουσαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τό γε χαίρειν ἐπαινούμενον διαφερόντως καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχειν ἄχρι παντὸς αὐτῷ παρέμεινε καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις τῶν ὀρθῶν ἐπετάραξε λογισμῶν.

24. VII. Ἀπτόμενος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας προθυμότερον αἰσχρὸν ἡγάτο τοὺς μὲν βαναύσους ὄργανοις χρωμένους καὶ σκεύεσιν ἀψύχοις μηδενὸς

¹ (A) Cic. *de div.* 37, 80, in te saepe vidi et . . . in Aesopo, familiari tuo, tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum ut eum vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu mentis videretur.

(D) * Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* IV. 25, 55.

² (D) Cic. *in Verr.* II. 3, 78, 182; *pro Planc.* 26, 63.

³ (A) Cic. *pro Planc.* 26, 64, frumenti in summa caritate maximum numerum miseram (sc. Romam).

⁴ (A) Cic. *pro Planc.* l.c. excogitati quidam erant a Siculis honores in me inauditi.

⁵ (A) Cic. l.c. hac spe decedebam ut mihi populum Romanum ultro omnia delaturum putarem.

⁶ (D) * Cic. l.c. See p. 14 f.

ἀγνοεῖν ὄνομα μὴδὲ χώραν ἢ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ πολιτικόν, ᾧ δι' ἀνθρώπων αἰ κοινὰ πράξεις περαίνονται, ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν γνώσιν.¹ Ὅθεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰθίζε μνημονεύειν αὐτόν,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τῶν γνωρίμων ἕκαστος οἰκεῖ, καὶ χωρίον, οὗ κέκτηται, καὶ φίλους, οἷσινσι χρῆται, καὶ γείτονας ἐγίνωσκε· καὶ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν Ἰταλίας διαπορευομένην Κικέρωνι πρόχειρον ἦν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπιδείξει τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις.

25. Οὐσίαν δὲ μικρὰν μὲν, ἱκανὴν δὲ καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπαρκῆ κεκτημένος ἐθανυμάζετο μῆτε μισθὸς μῆτε δῶρα προσιέμενος ἀπὸ τῆς συνηγορίας, μάλιστα δ' ὅτε τὴν κατὰ Βέρρου δίκην ἀνέλαβε.

26. Τοῦτον γὰρ στρατηγὸν γεγονότα τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηρευμένον τῶν Σικελιωτῶν διωκόντων εἶλεν, οὐκ εἰπών, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ μὴ εἰπεῖν.² Τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν τῷ Βέρρῳ χαριζομένων καὶ τὴν δίκην ὑπερθέσει καὶ διακρούσει πολλαῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστάτην³ ἐκβαλλόντων, ὡς ἦν πρόδηλον, ὅτι τοῖς λόγοις ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας³ οὐκ ἐξαρκείει χρόνος οὐδὲ λήψεται πέρας ἢ κρίσις,³ ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐπαγαγῶν τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπικρίνας ἐκέλευσε φέρειν τὴν ψήφον τοὺς δικαστάς.²

27. Ὅμως δὲ πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμνημονεύεται καὶ περὶ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην. Ὡς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ ἰουδαίῳ ὀνομα Κεκίλιος ἐβούλετο παρωσάμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου "Τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον;" ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων.⁴ Βέρρῳ γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκτετμημένον χοῖρον καλοῦσιν. Ἦν δὲ τῷ Βέρρῳ ἀντίπαις υἱὸς οὐκ ἐλευθερίως δοκῶν προϊστασθαι τῆς ὥρας. Λοιδορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κικέρων εἰς μαλακίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βέρρου "Τοῖς υἱοῖς," εἶπεν "ἐντὸς θυρῶν δεῖ λοιδορεῖσθαι."

Τοῦ δὲ ῥήτορος Ὀρτησιῶν τὴν μὲν εὐθεῖαν τῷ Βέρρῳ συνειπεῖν μὴ τολμήσαντος,⁵ ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμῆματι πεισθέντος παραγενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντος

¹ (A) [Q. Cicero] *de pet. cons.* 11, 41, *petitio desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, assiduitatem, benignitatem.*

(D) Cic. *ad Att.* IV. 1, 5, *ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatoris notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit.*

(A) Cic. *pro Mur.* 36, 77, *quid? quod habes nomenclatorem, in eo quidem fallis . . . nam si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi etc.*

² (A) *in Verr.* I. 10, 31 ff.; Ps. Ascon. *in Verr.* I p. 126 f.; Quint. VI. 6, 4.

³ (D) *in Verr.* l.c.

⁴ = *Quid Iudaeus cum Verre?* For other Ciceronian puns on Verres, cp. my note to Tac. *Dial.* c. 23 (p. 249).

⁵ (A) Cic. *in Verr.* II. 1, 7, 20; *Orat.* 37, 129; Ps. Ascon. *in Verr.* pp. 126, 153, *adeo stupefactus Hortensius dicitur ut rationem defensionis omitteret.*

ἐλεφαντίνην¹ Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἶπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν· “Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις.”

28. VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Βέρρον καταδικασθέντος² ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε μυριάδων τιμησάμενος³ τὴν δίκην ὁ Κικέρων διαβολὴν ἔσχεν, ὡς ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῳ τὸ τίμημα καθυφειμένους.⁴

69 B.C. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ οἱ Σικελιώται χάριν εἰδότες ἀγορανομοῦντος αὐτοῦ⁴ πολλὰ μὲν ἀγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰ δὲ φέροντες ἦκον, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο κέρδος, ἄλλ’ ὅσον ἐπευωνίσαι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

29. Ἐκέκτητο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἄρποις,⁵ καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἦν ἀγρὸς καὶ περὶ Πομπήϊους ἕτερος, οὐ μεγάλοι· φερνὴ τε Τερεντίας τῆς γυναικὸς προσεγένετο μυριάδων δέκα, καὶ κληρονομία τις εἰς ἐννέα δηναρίων συναχθεῖσα μυριάδας.

30. Ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγε μετὰ τῶν συμβιούτων Ἑλλήνων⁶ καὶ Ῥωμαίων φιλολόγων, σπάνιον, εἴ ποτε, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου κατακλινόμενος, οὐχ οὕτω δι’ ἀσχολίαν, ὡς διὰ τὸ σῶμα τῷ στομάχῳ μοχθηρῶς διακείμενον. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ περιττός, ὥστε καὶ τράψεσι καὶ περιπάτοις⁷ ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοις χρῆσθαι. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαπαιδαγωγῶν τὴν ξένην ἄνοσον⁸ καὶ διαρκῆ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ πόνους συνέχευεν.

61 B.C. 31. Οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρῶαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἔκει περὶ τὸ Παλάτιον⁹ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μακρὰν βαδίζοντας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτόν.

¹ (D) Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 48, 8 speaks of Corinthian bronze, in Quint. VI. 3, 98 it is a Sphinx aenea, and according to Plut. *Ἀποφθ.* 11 it was of silver. Otherwise the stories are identical.

² (D) Ps. Ascon. ll.cc. adeo perculsus Verres ut abiret in exilium sua sponte.

³ (D) Ps. Ascon. p. 152; Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 5, 19, abs te sestertium milies ex lege repeto.

⁴ (A) in *Verr.* I. 18, 56 and Ps. Ascon. p. 106 *frustra calumniantur* Ciceronem quidam homines et modo eum sestertium milies dicunt repetere, modo quadringenties. But cp. Plut. c. 7 *μήτε δῶρα ἀνέλαβε*.

⁵ (A) * Mart. IV. 55, 3.

⁶ (A) * Cic. *de nat. deor.* I. 3, 5, doctissimorum hominum familiaritates quibus semper domus nostra floruit.

⁷ (A) Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* III. 3, 1; *ad Att.* II. 23, 1.

⁸ (A) * Asin. Poll. ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 24.

⁹ (D) This house was purchased after his consulship. Cp. Cic. *ad fam.* V. 6, 2; *ad Att.* I. 16, 10; Gell. *N. A.* XII. 12, 1. The topics 29 ff. are disjointed and accumulated without reference to chronology. Plutarch had nothing to say about the aedileship, and these items are put in to fill the gap, as it were.

Ἐθεράπευον δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας φοιτῶντες οὐκ ἐλάττωτες ἢ Κράσσειον ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι δύναμιν, θανατοζόμενοι μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων καὶ μεγίστους ὄντας.

Πομπηῖος δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μεγάλη πρὸς δύναμιν αὐτῶ καὶ δόξαν ἢ Κικέρωνος συνέπραξε πολιτεία.

32. IX. Στρατηγίαν δὲ μετιόντων ἅμα σὺν αὐτῶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ^{66 B.C.} πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἀνηγορεύθη¹ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς βραβεῦσαι.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λικίνιος Μάκερ, ἀνὴρ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἰσχύων ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα καὶ Κράσσω χρώμενος βοηθῶ, κρινόμενος κλοπῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τῇ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ πεποθῶς, ἔτι τὴν ψῆφον τῶν κριτῶν διαφερόντων ἀπαλλαγείς οἰκαδε κείρασθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ὡς νεικηκῶς λαβῶν αὐτὸς εἰς ἀγορὰν προΐεναι· τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου περὶ τὴν αὐλεῖον ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῶ καὶ φράσαντος, ὅτι πάσαις ἐάλωκε ταῖς ψήφοις, ἀναστρέψας καὶ κατακλινεῖς ἀποθανεῖν.² Τὸ δὲ πράγμα τῶ Κικέρωνι δόξαν ἤνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ δικαστήριον.³

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐατίνιος, ἀνὴρ ἔχων τι τραχὺ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ὀλίγων ἐν ταῖς συνηγορίαις, χοιράδων δὲ τὸν τράχηλον περίπλεως, ἠτεῖτό τι καταστὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, καὶ μὴ διδόντος, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένου πολὺν χρόνον, εἶπεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς διστάσειε περὶ τούτου στρατηγῶν, ἐπιστραφείς ὁ Κικέρων “Ἄλλ' ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἔχω τηλικούτου τράχηλον.”⁴

Ἐτι δ' ἡμέρας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶ προσήγαγέ τις Μανίλιον εὐθύνων κλοπῆς.⁵ Ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος οὗτος εἵνοιαν εἶχε καὶ σπουδὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δοκίαν ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ Πομπηῖον· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἦν φίλος. Αἰτουμένου δ' ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ μίαν ὁ Κικέρων μόνην τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησεν εἰθισμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν δέκα τοῦλάχιστον ἡμέρας διδόναι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐτὸν διαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ κατηγορούντων, ἀκουσθῆναι δεηθεῖς εἶπεν, ὅτι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν αἰεὶ καθ' ὅσον οἱ νόμοι παρῆκουσι, κεχρημένους ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρωπῶς δεινὸν ἡγήατο τῶ Μανιλίῳ ταῦτα μὴ παρασχεῖν· ἧς οὖν ἔτι μόνης κύριος ἦν ἡμέρας στρατηγῶν,

¹ (A) Cic. *Brut.* 93, 321; *pro lege Man.* I. 2, ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum.

² (D) * Cic. *ad Att.* I. 4, 2; Val. Max. IX. 12, 7 (suicide before conviction).

³ (A) * Cic. I.c. nos incredibili ac singulari populi voluntati de C. Macro transegitimus. Cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione, illo damnato, quam ex ipsius si absolutus esset, gratia cepisset.

⁴ (A) Cic. *pro Sest.* 65, 135 strumam civitatis (cp. Schol. Bob. p. 310); *in Vat.* 4, 10 (cp. Schol. Bob. p. 316); *in Vat.* 2, 4, inflato collo, tumidis cervicibus intulisti. This particular retort is, however, not found elsewhere. Cp. Kurtz, *Philol.* 36, p. 569.

⁵ (D) * Dio Cass. XXXVI. 44.

ταύτην ἐπίτηδες ὀρίσαι· τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλον ἄρχοντα τὴν κρίσιν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ εἶναι βουλομένον βοηθεῖν. Ταῦτα λεχθέντα θυμαστὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ δήμου μεταβολήν· καὶ πολλὰ κατευφημοῦντες αὐτὸν εδῖοντο τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανλίου συνηγορίαν ἀναλιβεῖν. Ὁ δ' ὑπέστη προθύμως, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ Πομπηίων ἀπόντα· καὶ καταστάς πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐδημηγόρησε, νεανικῶς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ τῶ Πομπηίῳ φθονούντων καθαπτόμενος.

64 B.C. 33. X. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐχ ἤττον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν προσήχθη διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτῶ τοιαύτης συναγωνισαμένων.

63 B.C. Τῆς ὑπὸ Σύλλα γενομένης μεταβολῆς περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀτόπου φανείσης, τότε δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἤδη τιτὰ κατάστασιν ἔχειν οὐ φαύλην δοκούσης,¹ ἦσαν οἱ τὰ παρόντα διασεῖσαι καὶ μεταθεῖναι ζητοῦντες ἰδίων ἔνεκα πλεονεξίῶν,² οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐτι τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ πολεμοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μηδεμίᾳ ὑφεστῶσης πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας ἀξιωμαχῶν δυνάμεως. Οὗτοι κορυφαῖον εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος,³ Δεύκιον Κατιλίαν, ὃς αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρὶ,⁴ κτείνει δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.⁵ καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἔπεισε Σύλλαν ὡς ἐτι ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι.⁶ Τοῦτον οὖν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες ἄλλας τε πίστει ἀλλήλοις

The chief extant narratives of the Conspiracy (c. 10–23) are: Cic. *in Cat.*; Sallust; Appian *B. C.* II. 2–7; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 24–42; Florus IV. 1 ff. Cp. also the special treatises cited in the Bibliography and Sibinga l.c. pp. 48–143. In the following those passages will be preferably cited which show that neither Sallust nor Cicero was directly consulted by Plutarch, *noteworthy divergences* from Cicero's statements in the *Speeches* proving by implication that the lost *ὑπόμνημα* was also *not one of his sources*.

¹ (A) Cic. *Brut.* 90, 311, *leges et iudicia constituta, recuperata res publica; de proscrip. fil.* fragm.: *ita legibus Sullae cohaerebat status civitatis ut his solutis, stare ipsa non posset.*

² (D) Plutarch ignores the so-called first Catilinian conspiracy, so frequently referred to in Cicero's speeches, and narrated by Sall. 18; Dio XXV. 44.

³ (A) Sall. c. 5 *animus audax, subdolos, varius; in Cat.* II. 5; III. 17 *tam acer quam paratus, tam audax quam callidus etc.*

(D) *Cat.* I. 10, 26; II. 4, 7 ff.; esp. Sall. c. 15 *necato filio.*

⁴ (A) Cic. *in toga cand.* fragm.: *cum deprehendebare in adulteriis . . . cum ex eodem stupro tibi et uxorem et filiam invenisti; [Q. Cicero] de pet. cons.* 2, 9, *educatus est in stupro sororis.*

⁵ (D) Cic. *in Cat.* I. 16, 13 ff., *cum morte superioris uxoris . . . domum vacuefices, nonne etiam alio incredibili sceleri hoc scelus cumulasti; III. 17.*

⁶ Plut. *Sull.* 32, *ἔδοξε etc.* Not elsewhere mentioned.

ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον ἐγέυσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν.¹ Διέφθαρτο δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος,² ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας αἰεὶ προξενούντος ἐκάστω καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἀφειδῶς παρασκευάζοντος. Ἐπῆρτο δ' ἢ τε Τυρρηνία πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὅλη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἑλλείνων Γαλατίας. Ἐπισφαλέστατα δ' ἢ Ῥώμη πρὸς μεταβολὴν εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις ἀνωμαλίαν, τῶν μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ φρονήματι κατεπτωχευμένων εἰς θέατρα καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ οἰκοδομίας, τῶν δὲ πλούτων εἰς ἀγενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς συνερρηκῶτων ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ παντὸς εἶναι τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐκστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς νοσοῦσαν.³

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ὁ Κατιλίνας ἰσχυρόν τι προκαταλαβεῖν ὀρμητήριον ὑπατείας μετῆι· καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν⁴ ὡς Γαίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ συνυπατεύσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἡγεμονικῶ, προσθήκη δ' ἄγοντος ἐτέρου δυνάμεως ἰσομένῳ. Ταῦτα δὴ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν οἱ πλείστοι προαισθόμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα προήγον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν· καὶ τοῦ δήμου δεξαμένου προθύμως ὁ μὲν Κατιλίνας ἐξέπεσε, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Γαίος Ἀντωνίος ἠρέθησαν. Καίτοι τῶν μετιόντων ὁ Κικέρων μόνος ἦν ἐξ ἵππικῆς πατρὸς, οὐ βουλευτοῦ, γεγονώς.⁵

XII. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Κατιλίαν ἔμελλεν εἶτι, τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνοντα, προάγωνες δὲ μεγάλοι τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν ἐξεδέξαντο.⁶ Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ κεκωλυμένοι κατὰ τοὺς Σύλλα νόμους ἄρχειν,⁷ οὔτ' ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οὔτ' ὀλίγοι, μετιόντες ἀρχὰς ἐδημαγωγούν, πολλὰ τῆς Σύλλα τυραννίδος ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δίκαια κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ μὴν ἐν δέοντι

¹ (D) * Sall. *Cat.* 22; (A) Dio XXXVII. 30.

² (A) *in Cat.* I. 6, 13; II. 9, 20; Sall. *Cat.* 14, 5.

³ (D) Sall. *Cat.* 28, 40; Cic. *Cat.* I. 2, 5; II. 8 ff.; *pro Cael.* l.c. App. *B. C.* II. 2. Agreement in substance, but not in details.

⁴ (D) Sall. 14, Antonium quem sibi collegam speraret, has nothing in common with the Greek except the verb; nor is the epigrammatic characterization of Antonius suggested by anything in the Latin.

⁵ Ascon. *Ped. in toga cand.* p. 88 ff. solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus. Cicero attaches no importance to this, e.g. *de leg. agr.* I. 9, 27, equestri ortum loco consulem videt quae vitae via facillime viros bonos ad honorem . . . perducatur, but boasts that he was elected as a homo novus. Cp. esp. *de leg. agr.* II. 1, 3, me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporum nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis etc.; *pro Mur.* 8, 17; *pro Planc.* 27, 67.

⁶ *de off.* II. 23 ff.; *in Pis.* 2, 4; *de leg. agr.* II. 3, 8.

⁷ The speech *de proscriptorum filiis* (Cic. *in Pis.* 2) followed the *de lege agraria* and the *pro Rabirio*, here omitted. Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* II. 1, 3.

τὴν πολιτείαν οὐδὲ σὺν καιρῷ κινῶντες,¹ τοῦτο δὲ νόμους εἰσήγον οἱ δήμαρχοι πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν,² δεκαδαρχίαν καθιστάντες αυτοκρατόρων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἐφέιτο πάσης μὲν Ἰταλίας, πάσης δὲ Συρίας καὶ ὅσα διὰ Πομπηίου νεωστὶ προσώριστο κυρίου ὄντας πωλεῖν τὰ δημόσια, κρίνειν οὓς δοκοίη, φυγάδας ἐκβάλλειν, συνοικίζειν πόλεις, χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου, στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ καταλέγειν³ ὅπόσων δέοιτο. Διὸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσεῖχον ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος⁴ ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συνάρχων ὡς τῶν δέκα γενησόμενος.

Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Καπιλίνα⁴ νεωτερισμὸν εἰδὼς οὐ δυσχεραίνειν ὑπὸ πλῆθους δανείων· ὁ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον παρέιχε.

Καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον θεραπεύων ὁ Κικέρων ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἐπαρχῶν Μακεδονίαν,⁵ αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρηγήσατο, καὶ κατειργάσατο τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ ὑποκριτὴν ἔμμισθον αὐτῷ τὰ δεύτερα λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ὡς δ' οὗτος ἐάλωκε καὶ χειροθήης ἐγεγόνει, μᾶλλον ἤδη θαρρῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐνίστατο πρὸς τοὺς καινοτομοῦντας. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορίαν τινὰ τοῦ νόμου διατιθέμενος οὕτως ἐξέπληξεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰσφέροντας, ὥστε μὴδὲν ἀντιλέγειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον,⁶ οὐδὲν ὑποδείσας ὁ Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλήν ἔπεισθαι κελεύσας καὶ προελθὼν οὐ μόνον ἐξέβαλε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογνῶναι τοὺς δημάρχους ἐποίησε, παρὰ τοσοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

34. XIII. Μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον ἡδονῆς λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστίθῃσι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀήττητόν ἐστιν, ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγῃται, καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον αἰεὶ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος αἰρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. Δεῖγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ τὸ

¹ Cf. § 33¹, p. 74.

² oratt. III in *Rullum de leg. agr.*; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 25 f. I note the items which do not correspond with statements in these speeches.

³ These provisions of the law are not found in the extant speeches. Cp. esp. *de leg. agr.* II. 7, 16 ff. 13, 33 ff.

⁴ Neither of these is mentioned by Cicero.

⁵ Slightly inaccurate. Gaul had fallen to the lot of Antonius, Macedonia to Cicero. The latter remained in Rome, and secured his province for Antonius, Gaul for Q. Metellus Celer. Cp. e.g. in *Pis.* 2, 4 f.; *ad fam.* VI. 2, 3; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 33.

⁶ Refuted by *de leg. agr.* III. 1, 1, *commodius fecissent tribuni plebis, si quae apud vos de me deferunt, ea coram potius me praesente dixissent . . . sed quoniam adhuc praesens certamen . . . fugerunt, nunc . . . in meam cationem prodeant et quo provocati a me venire noluerunt, revocati saltem revertantur.*

περὶ τὰς θέας ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ γενόμενον. Τῶν γὰρ ἱππικῶν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀναμεμγμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου θεωμένων ὡς ἔτυχε, πρῶτος διέκρινεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν Μάρκος Ὄθων στρατηγῶν, καὶ διένειμεν ἰδίαν ἐκείνοις θέαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐξαίρετον ἔχουσι. Τοῦτο πρὸς ἀτιμίας ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε, καὶ φανέντος ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐφουβρίζων ἐσύριπτεν, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὑπέλαβον κρότῳ τὸν ἄνδρα λαμπρῶς. Αὐθις δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐπέτεινε τὸν συριγμόν, εἶτα ἐκείνοι τὸν κρότον. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο λοιδορίας, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἀκοσμία κατέχεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἦκε πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκκαλέσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερὸν ἐπετίμησε καὶ παρήνευσεν, ἀπελθόντες αὐθις εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐκρότου τὸν Ὄθωνα λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππέας ἄμιλλαν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ ἀνδρός.¹

35. XIV. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν συνωμοσία πτήξασα καὶ καταδείξασα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐθις ἀνεθάρρει, καὶ συνήγον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρεκάλουν εὐτολμότερον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων πρὶν ἐπαυελθεῖν Πομπηῖον ἤδη λεγόμενον ὑποστρέφειν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.² Μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ Σύλλα πάλαι στρατιῶται, διαπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας, πλείστοι δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ταῖς Τυρρηνικαῖς ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι πόλεσιν, ἀρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορήσεις πλούτων ἐτοιμῶν ὄνειροπολοῦντες.³ Οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατευσαμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ Κατιλίᾳ καὶ παρήσαν εἰς Ῥώμην συναρχαιρεσιάζοντες. Ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὐθις μετήει βεβουλευμένος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τὸν θόρυβον.⁴

36. Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμῶς καὶ κεραυνῶς καὶ φάσμασιν. Αἱ δ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων μηνύσεις ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, οὐπω δ' εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀποχρῶσαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυναμένου μέγα τοῦ Κατιλίνα.⁵

¹ Plutarch's authority, knowing that Cicero delivered a speech *pro Othone* in this year, erroneously connected it with the *promulgation* of Otho's *lex theatralis*, four years previous (67 B.C.). See p. 37²⁶.

² It has been supposed that this motive, not elsewhere attributed to the conspirators, was devised by Cicero, who in his *Memoirs* desired to compliment Pompey. But this view is refuted by his cold reception of the long account of the Conspiracy which Cicero sent to him (see p. 88), for Cicero would hardly have been more complimentary to Pompey in a treatise intended for the general public than in a personal letter addressed to him. Cp. *ad fam.* V. 7, 3.

³ (A) Sall. c. 26; Cic. *in Cat.* II. 8, 20; Appian *B. C.* II. 2; Dio XXXVII. 30, 4.

⁴ (A) Sall. c. 26; Dio XXXVII. 29, 2.

⁵ (A) *in Cat.* III. 8, 18 f.; *de div.* I. 11, 17; II. 21, 47; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 9, 1.

37. Διὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὑπερθέμενος ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὸν Κατιλίαν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀνέκρινεν. Ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς οἰόμενος εἶναι τοὺς πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐφιεμένους¹ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέρωνι μανικὴν ἀπόκρισιν. “Τί γάρ,” ἔφη, “πράττω δεινόν, εἰ, δυεῖν σωματῶν ὄντων, τοῦ μὲν ἰσχυροῦ καὶ κατεφθινηκότος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλῆν, τοῦ δ’ ἀκεφάλου μὲν, ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ μεγάλου, τούτῳ κεφαλῆν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι;”² Τούτων εἰς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠνιγμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ὁ Κικέρων ἔδεισε, καὶ τεθωρακισμένον αὐτὸν οἷ τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων πολλοὶ κατήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινε τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ὄρωσι τὸν κίνδυνον. Οἱ δ’ ἠγανάκτουν καὶ συνεστρέφοντο περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ τέλος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατιλίαν αὖθις ἐξέβαλον, εἶλοντο δὲ Σιλανὸν ὕπατον καὶ Μουρήναν.³

38. XV. Οὐ πολλῶ δ’ ὕστερον τούτων ἤδη τῷ Κατιλίαν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνερχομένων καὶ καταλοχιζομένων καὶ τῆς ὄρισμένης πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγυὸς οὖσης, ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ῥωμαίων, Μάρκος τε Κράσσος καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκηπίων Μέτελλος· κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν θυρωρὸν ἐκέλευον ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ φράσαι Κικέρωνι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν.⁴ Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦδε.⁴ τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ δειπνον ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ θυρωρός, ὑπὸ δὲ τίνος ἀνθρώπου κομισθείσας ἀγνώστου, ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. Ἦν μόνη ἀναγνὸς ὁ Κράσσος, ὡς ἔφραζε τὰ γράμματα φόνον γενησόμενον πολὺν διὰ Κατιλίαν καὶ παρήνει τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθεῖν, τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἤκεν εὐθύς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα πληγείς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ τι τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολούμενος, ἦν ἔσχε διὰ φιλίαν τοῦ Κατιλίαν. Βουλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων ἅμ’ ἡμέρᾳ βουλήν συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσας ἀπέδωκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπεσταλμένοι, κελύσας φανερώς ἀναγνώνας. Πᾶσαι δ’ ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλήν φράζουσαι.

¹ = novarum rerum cupidi. See p. 37.

² (A) Cic. *pro Mur.* 25, 51 ff. duo corpora esse rei publicae: unum debile infirmo capite, alterum firmum sine capite; huic si ita de se meritum esset, caput se vivo non defuturum.

³ (A) Cic. *l.c.*; *pro Sull.* 18, 51; Sall. c. 26 (very brief); Dio XXXVII, 29, 3, τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδεῖους συνεπήγαγε παρεσκευασμένους ἀμῦναι οἱ . . . καὶ θώρακα . . . ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, παραφαίνων δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες, ἐνεδύσατο . . . ὃ τε δῆμος δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησε . . . καὶ οὕτως ὕπατοί τε ἕτεροι ἠρέθησαν.

⁴ (D) Sall. c. 48 knows nothing of this nocturnal visit, but mentions the name of the informer (Tarquinius), and is at pains to exculpate Crassus of any complicity in the plot.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κοῖντος Ἄρριος,¹ ἀνὴρ στρατηγικός, ἀπήγγελλε τοὺς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ καταλοχισμούς, καὶ Μάλλιος ἀπηγγέλλετο σὺν χειρὶ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας αἰωρούμενος αἰεὶ τι προσδοκᾶν καινὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, γίνεται δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς παρακατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ πράγματα, δεξαμένους δ' ἐκείνους ὡς ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν. Τοῦτο δ' οὐ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι μέγα δείσῃ, ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ἡ σύγκλητος.²

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ Κικέρων τὰ μὲν ἐξω πράγματα Κοίντῳ Μετέλλῳ διεπίστευσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶχε διὰ χειρὸς³ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προΐει δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτων τὸ πλήθος, ὥστε τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολὺ μέρος κατέχειν ἐμβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς παραπέμποντας, οὐκέτι καρτερῶν τὴν μέλλησιν ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον⁴ ἐκέλευσε ξίφῃ λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἔωθεν ὡς ἀσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ διαχρήσασθαι προσπεσόντας. Τοῦτο Φουλβία,⁵ γυνὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐξαγγέλλει τῷ Κικέρωνι, νυκτὸς ἐλθοῦσα καὶ διακελευσαμένη φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κέθηγον. Οἱ δ' ἦκον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ κατεβῶν ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι.

Προελθὼν δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλεε τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στρηίου Διδῶς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησομένου, συγκαθίσει μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν,⁶ ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλθον. Ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβείτο, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.⁷ δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δ' in Cat. I
(Nov. 8)

¹ According to *Sall. c. 30 L. Saenius, a senator, gave this information. The chronological sequence of events in Sallust and Plutarch is also different. Cp. Sibinga l.c. 97-112.

² (A) Cic. *in Cat.* I. 2, 4; Sall. c. 29; Dio XXXVII. 31, 2; Liv. Perioch. 109; Caes. *B. C.* I. 5.

³ (A) Cic. *ad fam.* V. 2, 1, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in rei publicae salute retinenda, ut ego urbem a domesticis insidiis . . . tu Italiam et ab armatis hostibus et ab occulta coniuratione defenderes.

(D) *Sall. c. 30; App. *B. C.* II. 3.

⁴ (D) *Cic. *in Cat.* I. 4, 9; *pro Sull.* 6, 18, 19, 53; Sall. c. 28; App. *B. C.* II. 3; Dio XXXVII. 32.

⁵ (D) *Cic. *in Cat.* l.c.; Sall. l.c.; App. l.c.

⁶ (A) *in Cat.* I. 7, 16; II. 6, 12; Sall. c. 31 C. dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi . . . in senatum venit etc.

⁷ (A) *in Cat.* I. 5, 10, 9, 23; II. 1, 1; III. 1, 3; *in Pis.* 2, 5; but Dio XXXVII. 33 ἡ γερονσία τὸν Κ. μεταστῆναι ἐψηφίστατο.

Nov. 9 ὄπλοις πολιτευομένον μέσον εἶναι τὸ τείχος.¹ Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὄπλοφόρων² καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτῷ ῥαβδουχίας ὡς ἄρχοντι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ σημαίας ἐπαράμενος πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει.³ καὶ δισμυρίων ὁμοῦ τι συνηθροισμένων ἐπήει τὰς πόλεις ἀναπεῖθων καὶ ἀφιστάς, ὥστε τοῦ πολέμου φανεροῦ γεγονότος τὸν Ἄντωνιον ἀποσταλῆναι διαμαχομένον.⁴

XVII. Τοὺς δ' ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνας συνῆγε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε Κορνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκῶς δὲ φαύλως καὶ δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα.

39. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σούραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρεν. Ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως πᾶν καὶ καταφρονητικῶς λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔφη διδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κνήμην, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ παῖδες, ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἀμάρτωσιν. Ἐκ τούτου Σούρας παρωνομάσθη.⁵ σούραν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν κνήμην λέγουσι.

Πάλιν δὲ δίκην ἔχων καὶ διαφθείρας ἐνίοις τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐπεὶ δυσὶ μόναίς ἀπέφυγε ψήφοις, ἔφη παρανάλωμα γεγονέναι τὸ θατέρῳ κριτῇ δοθέν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ εἰ καὶ μῆ ψήφῳ μόνον ἀπελύθη.

Τοῦτον ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτον κεκινημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνας προσδιεφθειραν ἐλπίσαι κεναῖς ψευδομάντεις καὶ γόητες ἔπη πεπλασμένα καὶ χρησιμοὺς ἄδοντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων⁶ προδηλοῦντας εἰμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κορνηλίους τρεῖς μονάρχους, ὧν δύο μὲν ἤδη πεπληρωκέαι τὸ χρεῶν, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ λοιπῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἦκειν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ δεῖν πάντως δέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ διαφθεῖρειν μέλλοντα τοὺς καιροὺς ὥσπερ Κατιλίνας.⁷

¹ *in Cat. I. 5, 10, magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit* (and similarly *in Cat. I. 7, 16*); but the antithesis (λόγοις . . . ὄπλοις) is not found in the Ciceronian passages.

² * (D) *in Cat. II. 2, 4, parum comitatus; 12, 27; Sall. c. 32, cum paucis.* Plutarch throughout identifies the first and second Catilinian speeches!

³ (A) *App. B. C. II. 3; Dio XXXVII. 33.*

⁴ (A) *Cic. pro Mur. 39, 84; in Cat. II. 5, 11; Sall. c. 36; Dio XXXVII. 33, 3.*

⁵ The apocryphal character of the story is made evident by the fact that the name *Sura* occurs much earlier, e.g. *Liv. XXII. 31* (217 B.C.).

⁶ The same oracle is recorded in *Cic. in Cat. III. 4, 9; Sall. c. 47; Liv. Perioch. 102; Vell. Pat. II. 34; App. B. C. II. 2; Florus IV. 1, 8, and alluded to by Dio XXXVII. 34.*

⁷ Perhaps a reference to the first Catilinian conspiracy.

40. XVIII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενόει μικρὸν ὁ Λέντλος ἢ ἄσημον, ἀλλ' ἐδέδοκτο τὴν βουλὴν ἅπασαν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσους δύναίτο, τὴν πόλιν δ' αὐτὴν καταπιμπράναι, φεῖδασθαί τε μηδενὸς ἢ τῶν Πομπηίου τέκνων· ταῦτα δ' ἐξαρπασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὄμηρα τῶν πρὸς Πομπηίου διαλύσεων· ἤδη γὰρ ἐφοῖτα πολὺς λόγος καὶ βέβαιος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατιόντος ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας.¹ Καὶ νῦξ μὲν ὄριστο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν μία τῶν Κροναίων;² ξίφη δὲ καὶ Dec. 19π. στυππεῖα καὶ θεῖον εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυσαν.³ Ἄνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἑκατὸν καὶ μέρη τοσαῦτα τῆς Ῥώμης ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ διεκλήρωσαν,⁴ ὥς δι' ὀλίγον πολλῶν ἀψάντων φλέγοιτο παταχόθεν ἢ πόλις. Ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὄχετοὺς ἐμελλον ἐμφράξαντες ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς ὑδρευομένους.⁵

Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες Ἄλλοβρίγων⁶ δύο⁷ πρέσβεις, ἔθνος μάλιστα δὴ τότε πονηρὰ πράττοντος καὶ βαρυνομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Τούτους οἱ περὶ Λέντλον ὠφελίμους ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ κινήσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐποιήσαντο συνωμότας.⁸ Καὶ γράμματα μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ βουλὴν, γράμματα δὲ πρὸς Κατιλίαν ἔδωσαν,⁹ τῇ μὲν ὑπισχνούμενοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,¹⁰ τὸν δὲ Κατιλίαν παρακαλοῦντες ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς δούλους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν.¹¹ Συνἀπέστελλον δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Κατιλίαν Τίτον τινα Κροτωνιάτην

¹ Cf. § 35². This statement is also found only here. Both passages point to an authority very friendly to Pompey as the *ultimate* source of the narrative, possibly Livy.

² * (D) Cic. *in Cat.* III. 4, 10, Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur; 7, 17.

³ * (D) *in Cat.* III. 5, 10, Cethegus qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de *gladiis* et *sicis* quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset . . . se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse; 3, 8. There is nothing corresponding to this in Sall.

⁴ (D) * *in Cat.* I. 4, 9; III. 4, 8, 6, 14; *pro Sull.* 18, 52 f.; Sall. 43; App. *B. C.* II. 3; Dio XXXVII. 34, 1, καταπρήσαι τε τὸ ἄστυ (a corrupt passage).

⁵ This detail is found only here.

⁶ The Allobrogian incident is related by Cic. *in Cat.* III. 2, 4-5, 13; Sall. c. 40-47; App. *B. C.* II. 4. The coincidences are mostly quite unavoidable, and, in any case, completely neutralized by divergences in details.

⁷ Their number is not elsewhere recorded.

⁸ (A) Cic. *Cat.* III. 2, 4; Sall. c. 40 is very circumstantial, but the revolt of Gaul is not a part of the plan.

⁹ Cic. *l.c.*, but not in Sallust.

¹⁰ (D) No such promise is mentioned by Cic. or Sall., but perhaps implied *in Cat.* III. 9, 22.

¹¹ (D) Cic. *l.c.* III. 4, 8, se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut *servorum praesidio uteretur*, ut ad urbem . . . cum exercitu accederet. This

κομίζοντα τὰς ἐπιστολάς.¹ Ὅλα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθμῆτων καὶ μετ' οἶνον τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχανόντων βουλευμάτων πόνω καὶ λογισμῶ ἠθήοντι καὶ συνέσει περιττῇ διώκων ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκοποῦντας τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ συνεξιχνεύοντας αὐτῷ, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν μετέχεν δοκούντων τῆς συνωμοσίας διαλεγόμενος κρύφα καὶ πιστεύων, ἔγνω τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους κοινολογίαν² καὶ νυκτὸς ἐνεδρεύσας ἔλαβε τὸν Κροτωνιάτην καὶ τὰ γράμματα συνεργούντων ἀδήλως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων.

Dec. 3

XIX. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡμέρα βουλὴν ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ τῆς Ὁμοιοῖας ἱερὸν ἐξανέγνω τὰ γράμματα καὶ τῶν μηνυτῶν διήκουσεν.³ Ἐφη δὲ καὶ Σιλανὸς Ἰούνιος ἀκροῦμαι τινὰς Κεθήγων λέγοντος, ὡς ἔπατοί τε τρεῖς καὶ στρατηγὸι τέταρες ἀναρεῖσθαι μέλλουσι.⁴ Τοιαῦτα δ' ἕτερα καὶ Πείσων, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, εἰσήγγειλε.⁴ Γάϊος δὲ Σουλπίκιος, εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πεμφθεὶς τοῦ Κεθήγων πολλὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βέλη καὶ ὄπλα, πλείστα δὲ ξίφη καὶ μαχαίρας εὔρε νεοθήκτους ἀπάσας.⁵ Τέλος δὲ τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ ψηφισαμένης ἄδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς ἐξελέγχθεις ὁ Λέντος ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν (στρατηγῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε), καὶ τὴν περιπόμφρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καταθέμενος διήλλαξεν ἐσθήτα τῇ συμφορῇ πρόπουσαν.⁶ Οὗτος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.⁷

In Cat.

III

(Dec. 3)

41. Ἦδη δ' ἐσπέρας οὔσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμένοντος ἀθροῦν, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ προπεμφθεὶς, παρήλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιῶντος,⁸

is followed by details which Plut. had given earlier (§ 39 oracle, § 40 burning of the city), Lentulus being there represented as acting independently. In Cic. and Sall. c. 44 these facts are stated as the confession of Volturcius in Plut. the latter's evidence is associated only with the exposure of Lentulus.

¹ * (D) Cic. l.c. *T. Volturcius*; Sallust: *T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem*; Appian: Βουλτούρκιον ἄνδρα Κροτωνιάτην; Florus: Volturcius. The name given by Plut. is, therefore, not based upon Cic. or Sallust.

² * (D) This is also completely at variance with Cic. l.c. and Sall. c. 41 (and Appian). According to the latter, moreover, the ambassadors reveal the plot to Q. Fabius Sanga, who in turn informs Cicero, but Sanga is not mentioned either in Cic. or in Plutarch.

³ (D) According to Cic. *Cat.* III. 3, 7, he opened the letters in the presence of witnesses before submitting them to the Senate.

⁴ These details are not mentioned elsewhere.

⁵ * Agrees with Cic. *Cat.* III. 3, 6, 5, 10 except as to the νεοθήκτους ἀπάσας.

⁶ (D) See p. 22.

⁷ (D) * Sall. c. 47 Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Five custodians are mentioned, but there is no praetor among them!

⁸ This fact is not elsewhere mentioned.

42. ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκες κατείχον ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις ὀργιάζουσαι θεόν, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀγαθὴν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Γυναικείαν ὀνομάζουσι. Θύεται¹ δ' αὐτῇ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἢ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων παρουσῶν. Εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων καθ' αὐτόν, ὀλίγων παντάπασιν αὐτῷ παρόντων, ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως χρήσαιο τοῖς ἀνδράσι. Τὴν τε γὰρ ἄκραν καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀδικήμασι τηλικούτοις τιμωρίαν ἐξευλαβεῖτο καὶ κατώκνει δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἤθους ἅμα καὶ ὡς μὴ δοκοίη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν ἐμφορεῖσθαι καὶ πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γένει τε πρώτοις καὶ φίλους δυνατοῦς ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκτημένους· μαλακώτερόν τε χρῆσάμενος ὠρρώδει τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κίνδυνον. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσειν μετριώτερόν τι θανάτου παθόντας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἀναρραγήσεσθαι τόλμης τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν ὀργὴν προσλαβόντας· αὐτὸς τε δόξειν ἀνανδρὸς καὶ μαλακός, οὐδ' ἄλλως δοκῶν εὐτολμότατος εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

XX. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαπορούντος γίνεται τι ταῖς γυναῖξί σημεῖον θουόσαις. Ὁ γὰρ βωμός, ἤδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκοιμησθαι δοκοῦντος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοίων φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνῆκε καὶ λαμπράν. Ὑφ' ἧς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἱεραὶ παρθένοι τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ἢ τάχος χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν οἷς ἐγγωνκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς διδούσης.

43. Ἡ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πραεῖά τις οὐδ' ἀτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων,² τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδούσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ) ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας.³

¹ On this prodigy and the deliberations of Cicero, see p. 18. The latter are attributed to him by Sall. c. 46 on the *eve of the exposure*, and he ignores the alleged portent: *anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensus, quid factu opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum etc.* Sallust does not state the reason for this 'confirmatio animi.' Did he perhaps have in mind the alleged omen? If so, his well-known radical views on the subject of prodigia might have been the cause for not mentioning it.

² Wherever this remark may have been made, it cannot have occurred in the *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας* for the reasons given on p. 19 f. Hence the *entire* story cannot have been taken by Plut. from this source.

³ (D) On the other hand, Cicero (*in Cat. IV. 2, 3*) says she was *exanimata*.

44. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς¹ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἐταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος,² ᾧ τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐχρήτητο πράξεις.

Dec. 5 45. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γενομένων ἐν συγκλήτῳ λόγων περὶ τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν,³ ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Σιλανὸς εἶπε τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι προσήκειν ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Καὶ προσετίθεντο τοῦτῳ πάντες ἐφεξῆς μέχρι⁴ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα δικτάτορος γενομένου.

46. Τότε δὲ νέος ὢν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἔχων τῆς αὐξήσεως ἀρχάς, ἥδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμβεβηκώς, ἢ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε,⁵ τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς μὲν ὑποψίας,⁶ λαβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἔλεγχον παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόντων ἦν ἐνίων ἀκούειν, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀλῶναι διεκφύγοι τὸν ἄνδρα. Τινὲς δὲ φασι⁷ παριδεῖν ἐκόντα καὶ παραλιπεῖν τὴν κατ' ἐκείνου μὴνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· παντὶ γὰρ εἶναι πρόδηλον, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνοι γένοιτο προσθήκη Καίσαρι σωτηρίας ἢ Καίσαρ ἐκείνοις κολάσεως.

47. XXI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη περιήλθεν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀναστὰς ἀπεφώνητο μὴ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι δημοσίας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἀπαχθέντας εἰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἅς ἂν δοκῇ Κικέρωνι,⁸ τηρεῖσθαι δεδεμένους, ἄχρι ἂν οὐ καταπολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας.⁹ Οὔσης δὲ

¹ This is not confirmed by any extant utterances of Cicero and may have been based upon the *de petitione consulatus*.

² Cp. Plut. *An seni sit ger.* 27 Κικέρων αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν συμβουλευμάτων οἷς ὀρθῶς ἐνυπατεύων τὴν πατρίδα διέσωζε μετὰ Ποπλίου Νιγιδίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συνθεῖναι. This exaggerated eulogy of one of Cicero's collaborators in crushing the conspiracy is quite un-Ciceronian. Cp. *ad fam.* (ad Nigidium) IV. 13, 2, per me quondam te socio defensa res publica. The second-hand character of the passage seems indicated by the *imperfect*.

³ Cp. Cic. *in Cat.* IV; Sall. c. 50-52; Vell. Pat. II. 35, 1; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 22; App. *B. C.* II. 5 f.; Dio XXXVII. 35 f.; Florus IV. 1, 10.

⁴ Cp. p. 23.

⁵ Cp. Suet. *Caes.* 9, Cicero in quadam ad Axiium epistola referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de quo aedilis cogitabat.

⁶ Sall. c. 49 defends Caesars against the charge. It is repeated by Plut. *Crass.* 15; and Suet. *Caes.* 9 (the first conspiracy). 14. ⁷ (A) Plut. *Caes.* 7.

⁸ This is not expressly mentioned in Cic. or Sall. but in App. *B. C.* II. 6. On the other hand, they record some parts of Caesars's motion not found in Plutarch.

⁹ (A) App. *B. C.* II. 6 μέχρι Κατιλίνα καταπολεμηθέντος.

(D) Cic. *Cat.* IV vincula . . . et ea sempiterna etc.; Sall. c. 51 in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxime opibus valent, neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat etc.

τῆς γνώμης ἐπεικοῦς καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος εἰπῶν δυνατωτάτου, ῥοπήν ὁ Κικέρων προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν. Αὐτός τε γὰρ ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἐκάτερον, τὰ μὲν τῇ προτέρῃ, τὰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ Καίσαρος συνειπῶν, οἳ τε φίλοι πάντες οἴομενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέρειν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην (ἦττον γὰρ ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας) ἤρουντο τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην,¹ ὥστε καὶ τὸν Σιλανὸν αὖθις μεταβαλλόμενον παραιεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θανατικὴν γνώμην· ἐσχάτην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι δίκην τὸ δεσμοτήριον.² Εἰρημένης δὲ τῆς γνώμης πρῶτος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῇ Κάτλος Λουτάτιος.³ εἶτα δεξιόμενος Κάτων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σφοδρῶς συνεπερείσας ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν,⁴ ἐνέπλησε θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.⁵

in Cat.
IV
(Sec 5)

48. Περὶ δὲ δημεύσεως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀξίων τὰ φιλάνθρωπα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐκβαλόντας ἐνὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ. Βιαζομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπεκαλείτο τοὺς δημάρχους. Οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων αὐτὸς ἐνδοὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν περὶ δημεύσεως γνώμην.⁶

49. XXII. Ἐχώρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὐκ ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν.⁷ Καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἤγε⁸ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, τῶν μὲν ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν κύκλῳ περιεσπειραμένων καὶ δορυφορούντων,⁸ τοῦ δὲ δήμου φρίττοντος τὰ δρώμενα καὶ παριόντος σιωπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νέων, ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις ἀριστοκρατικῆς τινος ἐξουσίας τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους δοκούντων. Διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ

¹ (D) This passage shows that Plut. never read the 4th Catilinian.

² As the original could have left no doubt as to his meaning (cp. Sall. c. 51), this quibble cannot be authentic. It is again mentioned in Plut. *Cat. Min.* 22 and in Suet. *Caes.* 14, tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus . . . ut Decimum Silanum . . . non piguerit sententiam suam . . . interpretatione lenire velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam. Here, as in § 46⁵, Plutarch and Suetonius are the *only* authorities for these details. According to Sall. c. 50, Silanus merely changed his vote per motus oratione C. Caesaris.

³ He is mentioned at the head of a long list of men who advocated the death penalty before Cato. Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* XII. 21, 1.

⁴ So App. *B. C. I.* c. σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτων τὴν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπόνοιαν.

⁵ Cp. *ad Att.* l.c.; Sall. c. 53; Suet. *Caes.* 14.

⁶ This incident is related only in Plutarch.

⁷ The same error as in § 40⁷, p. 82. Sall. c. 55 says that the condemned conspirators, with the exception of Lentulus, were taken to prison *per praefatos*, but App. *B. C. II.* 6 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον μεταγαγών.

⁸ Sall. l.c. ipse, praesidiis dispositis, in carcerem deducit.

παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον καταγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ὅρων δὲ πολλοὺς ἐτι τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πράξιν ἀγνοοῦντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα προσμένοντας, ὡς ἐτι ζώντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπασθῆναι, φθεγξάμενος μέγα πρὸς αὐτοὺς "Ἐξῆσαν" εἶπεν.¹ Οὕτω δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν.

"Ἦδη δ' ἦν ἑσπέρα, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐκέτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φωναῖς καὶ κρότοις δεχομένων, καθ' οὓς γένοιτο, σωτήρα καὶ κτίστην ἀνακαλοῦντων τῆς πατρίδος.² Τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμπε τοὺς στενωπούς, λαμπάδια καὶ δᾶδας ἰστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεγῶν προῦφαινον ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ θέᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πομπῇ τῶν ἀρίστων μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνιόντος· ὧν οἱ πλείστοι πολέμους τε κατεργασμένοι μεγάλους καὶ διὰ θριάμβων εἰσεληλακότες καὶ προσκεκτημένοι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλοῦτον καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμειος χάριν ὀφείλειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ἀσφαλείας δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἐνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρωνι, τηλικούτον ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον.³ Οὐ γὰρ τὸ κωλύσαι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς πράττοντας ἐδόκει θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν οὗτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς ἄνευ στάσεως καὶ παραχῆς κατέσβεσε.⁴

¹ This graphic description is unquestionably of one piece and hence necessarily taken from one and the same authority, highly favorable to Cicero. But that this source was the *ὑπόμνημα*, as is universally assumed, is refuted by *ἔξῆσαν*, which clearly proves that Plutarch read the word *vixerunt* in a *Latin* narrative, in which he must also have found the explanation of the euphemism. That Appian, though he exhibits many noteworthy coincidences with Plutarch in these particular chapters, did not consult this biography or a common third source, is made evident by the words: *τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ παροδεύων ἐσήμησεν, ὅτι τεθνᾶσιν*.

² *ad Att.* IX. 10, 3, *me quem nonnulli conservatorem istius urbis, quem parentem esse dixerunt*; *Iuv.* VIII. 243 *Roma parentem, Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit*; *App. B. C.* II. 7 *ἐπὶ ἔργῳ διὰ στόματος ἦν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ἀπολλυμένη τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτες τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημαὶ ποικίλαι*.

³ *Esp. in Cat.* IV. 10, 21, *sit Scipio ille clarus . . . Paullus . . . Marius . . . Pompeius . . . erit inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriae etc.*

⁴ *E.g. Cic. in Cat.* III. 10, 23, *erepti estis ex crudelissimo . . . interitu, erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione, togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis.* 6, 15; *pro Flacco* 40, 102; *Phil.* XIV. 8, 24.

50. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κατιλίαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συνερρηκόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ πνέσθαι τὰ περὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἐγκαταλιπόντες ᾤχοντο.¹ καὶ μετὰ τῶν συμμαμενηκόντων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτός τε διεφθάρη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.²

51. XXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Κικέρωνα παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ τοῖσι καὶ ποιῆν κακῶς, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρχόντων Καίσαρα μὲν στρατηγούντα, Μέτελλον δὲ καὶ Βηστιάν δημαρχούντας.³ Οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀρχοντος, οὐκ εἶων δημηγορεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων βάρβαροι θέντες οὐ παρίεσαν οὐδ' ἐπέτρεπον λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευον, εἰ βούλοιο, μόνον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομόσαντα καταβαίνειν. Κακείνος ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὡς ὁμόσιον προῆλθε· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς ὤμνεν οὐ τὸν πάτριον, ἀλλ' ἰδίον τινα καὶ καινὸν ὄρκον, ἢ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ διατηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Ἐπώμνυε δὲ τὸν ὄρκον αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ δῆμος.⁴ Ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὃ τε Καῖσαρ οἷ τε δήμαρχοι χαλεπαίνοντες ἄλλας τε τῷ Κικέρωνι ταραχὰς ἐμηχανῶντο, καὶ νόμος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν Πομπήϊον μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὡς δὴ καταλύσοντα τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν.⁵

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¹ (A) Sall. c. 57 postquam in castra nuntius pervenit . . . de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque . . . supplicium sumptum, plerique quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur. Dio Cass. XXXVII. 39 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον τε ἀπολωλότα ἐπόθετο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχοῦς μεθισταμένους διὰ τοῦτ' ἦσθετο etc.

² Sall. c. 57-61; App. B. C. II. 7; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 39.

³ (A) *pro Sestio* 5, 11, tribunorum plebis novorum, qui tum extremis diebus consulatus mei res eas quas gesseram vexare cupiebant, and Schol. Bob. ad loc.

(D) Sall. c. 43 correctly speaks of the opposition of Bestia at an earlier period: L. Bestia, tribunus plebis, contione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis etc. The two tribunes for 62 were Metellus and Cato (see below). Bestia was tribune in 63, and had nothing to do with the incident of the oath.

(A) *ad fam.* V. 2, 6, quem (sc. Metellum) ego cum comperissem omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari.

⁴ *ad fam.* V. 2, 7, cum ille (Metellus) mihi nihil, nisi ut iurarem, permetteret, magna voce iuravi verissimum pulcherrimumque iusiurandum quod populus item magna voce me vere iurasse iuravit; *in Pis.* 3, 6, cum in contione abiens magistratu dicere a tribuno pl. prohiberer quae constitueram, cumque is mihi tantum modo ut iurarem permetteret, sine ulla dubitatione iuravi rem publicam atque hanc urbem mea unius opera esse salvam, populus Romanus . . . meum iusiurandum . . . approbavit; *de rep.* I. 4, 7; Dio XXXVII. 38, 1.

⁵ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 26 f. This law is not mentioned elsewhere, nor do we hear of Cæsar's opposition to Cicero at this time (cf. Dio XXXVII. 11), but cp. *pro Sull.* 7, 21, hic ait se ille regnum meum ferre non posse . . . consulatus,

Ἄλλ' ἦν ὄφελος μέγα τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει δημαρχῶν τότε Κάτων καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων πολιτεύμασιν ἀπ' ἴσης μὲν ἐξουσίας, μείζονος δὲ δόξης ἀντιτασσόμενος. Τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ῥιζίδιος ἔλυσε, καὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν οὕτως ἤρε τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην δημηγορήσας, ὥστε τιμὰς αὐτῷ τῶν πρότετε μεγίστας ψηφίσασθαι¹ καὶ προσαγορεύσαι πατέρα πατρίδος. Πρώτῳ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο καθυπάρξει, Κάτωνος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ προσαγορεύσαντος.²

52. XXIV. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἴσχυσε ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραίνόμενος. Οὐτε γὰρ βουλήν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίαν εἶδει θρυλούμενον ἀκούσαι καὶ Λέντλον.³

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων.⁴ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἡδιστον ὄντα καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην ἐπαχθῆ καὶ φορτικὸν ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις,⁵ ὥσπερ τινὸς αἰεὶ κηρὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀηδίας ταύτης προσούσης.

Ὅμως δέ, καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνῶν, ἀπήλλακτο τοῦ φθονεῖν ἑτέροις,⁶ ἀφθονώτατος ὢν ἐν τῷ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς καθ'

credo, mei etc.; in *Vat.* 9, 23, qui nos . . . tyrannos vocas; ad *Att.* I. 16, 10, quousque, inquit (sc. Clodius), hunc regem feremus? in *Cat.* I. 9, 22, 11, 28.

¹ ad *fam.* (ad Catonem) XV. 4, 11.

² Cp. § 49²; Plin. *N. H.* VII. 30, 31, Salve (M. Tulli) primus omnium parens patriae appellate. App. *B. C.* II. 7, Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος, ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἦδε ἡ εὐφηνία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξάμενη. According to Cic. *pro Sest.* 57, 121; in *Pis.* 3, 6, *Q. Catulus* bestowed the title upon him in the *senate*. He nowhere mentions Cato in connection with it, nor does he say that he was the first who was so honored. In *pro Rab.* 10, 27 it is applied to Marius, by Liv. I. 16 to Romulus, V. 49 to Camillus.

³ (A) Brut. ad *Att.* I. 17, 1, non omnibus horis iactamus Idus Martias, similiter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet; * Sen. *de brev. vit.* 5, 1; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 38; XXXVIII. 12.

⁴ (A) See p. 39 and e.g. *pro Sull.* 9, 26, 11, 33, 29, 82; in *Pis.* 1, 3, 3, 7; *Phil.* II. 5, 11; *pro Flacco* 40, 102; in *Cat.* III. 11, 26; IV. 10, 20 ff.; ad *Att.* I. 19, 6; *de dom.* 35, 93.

⁵ (A) Schol. Bob. *pro Planc.* p. 270 epistolam non mediocrem ad instar voluminis scriptam quam Pompeio in Asiam de rebus suis in consulatu gestis miserat Cicero, aliquanto, ut videbatur, insolentius scriptam ut Pompei stomachum non mediocriter commoveret quod quadam superbiore iactantia omnibus se gloriosis ducibus anteponeret.

⁶ (A) Cic. *Phil.* X. 1, 1, declarasti . . . quod ego semper sensi neminem alterius qui suae confideret, virtuti invidere.

(D) Tac. *Dial.* 25 et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livore . . . adfici.

αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι. Πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύουσιν· ὅλον περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι χρυσίου ποταμὸς εἴη ῥέοντος,¹ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς, εἰ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν, οὕτω διαλεγόμενον.² Τὸν δὲ Θεόφραστον εἰώθει τρυφήν ἰδίαν ἀποκαλεῖν.³ Περὶ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίνα δοκοῖη κάλλιστον εἶναι, τὸν μέγιστον εἶπε.⁴ Καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμένων δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἣν πρὸς τίνα τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας, ἐμαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη.⁵ τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπαίνων, οἷς πολλαχοῦ⁶ χρῆται πρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὓς μάλιστα τῶν ἰδίων ἐσπούδασε λόγων, τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου, Φιλιππικὸς ἐπέγραψεν, ἀμνημονοῦσι.

Τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς, ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμειῶς περὶ ἐκάστου.

Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν Ῥωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄρχοντος ἤδη, διεπράξατο δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι καὶ δεηθῆναι μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν πόλιν.

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁴
^{B.C.}
⁷ Ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδη, ἔτεραι δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν,⁷ ἐγκελευομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ.

Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἠδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν τὸ μεράκιον ἀπελευίνει τῆς συνουσίας αὐτοῦ.⁸

Καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὀργῇ τινὶ γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν⁸ αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως ἐπικόπτοντος, εἴπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ἢ περ ἔδοκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος

¹ (A) Cic. *Acad. Prior* II. 38, 119, veniet flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles.

² (A) Cic. *Brut.* 31, 121, Iovem sic, aiunt philosophi, si Graece loquatur, loqui.

³ Not found among the extant references to Theophrastus in Cicero.

⁴ (D) Plin. *Epist.* I. 20 applies this to Cicero himself: cuius oratio optima fertur esse quae maxima.

⁵ Cp. p. 40 and Quint. XII. 1, 22, neque ipsi Ciceroni D. videtur satis esse perfectus quem dormire interdum dicit; Cic. *Orat.* 29, 104, ut usque eo . . . morosi simus ut nobis non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes.

⁶ E.g. *Brut.* 9, 36. 37. 84; *Orat.* 2. 7. 26. 31. 70; *de opt. gen.* 2. 5; *Tusc. Disp.* V. 36; *ad Att.* XV. 1 b.

⁷ (A) Not extant, but cp. *ad fam.* XII. 16 (Trebonius ad Cic.); XVI. 21, 3 ff. (Cic. M. F. ad Tironem).

⁸ (A) *ad fam.* XVI. 21, 6, omnia postposui, dummodo praeceptis patris parerem, διαρρήδην enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim.

ὥσπερ ἀμελήσαντα τιμάς τινος αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζαντιῶν γενέσθαι.

XXV. Ταῦτά τε δὴ φιλότιμα, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις ἐπαιρόμενον τοῦ λόγου τῇ δεινότητι τὸ πρέπον προίεσθαι.

53. Μουνατίῳ μὲν γὰρ ποτε συνηγορήσας, ὡς ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην ἐκείνος ἐδίωκεν ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ Σαβίνον, οὕτω λέγεται προπεσεῖν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁ Κικέρων, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν· “Σὺ γὰρ ἐκείνην, ὦ Μουνατίε, τὴν δίκην ἀπέφυγες διὰ σαντόν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ πολὺ σκότος ἐν φωτὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ περιχέαντος;”¹

Μάρκον δὲ Κράσσον ἐγκωμιάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐημέρησε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας αὖθις ὀλίγας λαιδορῶν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκείνος εἶπεν, “Οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πρῶην αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπήνεις;” “Ναί,” φησι, “μελέτης ἕνεκεν γυμνάζων τὸν λόγον εἰς φαύλην ὑπόθεσιν.”

Εἰπόντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ Κράσσου μῆδενα Κράσσον ἐν Ῥώμῃ βεβιωκέναι μακρότερον ἐξηκονταετίας, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀρνούμενον καὶ λέγοντος, “Τί δ' ἂν ἐγὼ παθῶν τοῦτ' εἶπον;” “Ἥιδεις,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίους ἠδέως ἀκουσομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐδημαγώγεις.”

Ἀρῆσκεσθαι δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φήσαντος, ὅτι πλούσιον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν, “Ὅρα, μὴ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι πάντα τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι.” Διεβάλλετο δ' εἰς φιλαργυρίαν ὁ Κράσσος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τῶν παίδων ὁ ἕτερος Ἀξίῳ τινὶ δοκῶν ὁμοίος εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μητρὶ προστριβόμενος αἰσχυρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀξίῳ διαβολὴν εὐδοκίμησε λόγον ἐν βουλῇ διελθῶν, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων, τί φαίνεται [αὐτῷ,] “Ἀξίος,” εἶπε, “Κράσσου.”

XXVI. Μέλλων δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Συρίαν ἀπαίρειν ἐβούλετο τὸν Κικέρωνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φίλον ἢ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι· καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔφη βούλεσθαι δειπνήσαι παρ' αὐτῷ· κάκεῖνος ὑπεδέξατο προθύμως. Ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις περὶ Βατινίου φίλων τινῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὡς μνωμένον διαλύσεις καὶ φιλιάν (ἦν γὰρ ἐχθρός), “Οὐ δήπου καὶ Βατίνιος,” εἶπε, “δειπνήσαι παρ' ἐμοὶ βούλεται;” Πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράσσον τοιοῦτος.²

Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Βατίνιον ἔχοντα χοιράδας ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ λέγοντα δίκην οἰδοῦντα ῥήτορα προσεῖπεν.³ Ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τέθνηκεν, εἶτα

¹ (D) Quint. II. 17, Cicero se tenebras offudisse *in causa Cluentii* gloriatu est. Such divergences (see below p. 91³), the vagueness of *ἐν τινὶ δίκῃ* (three times), the censorious object which these witticisms are made to subserve (§ 54), and the fact that not one of them is found in Cicero's extant writings, seem to me to preclude Tiro's *de iocis Ciceronis* as Plutarch's source for c. 25-27. Cp. p. 35²¹.

² On Cicero's relations to Crassus and Vatinius see *ad fam.* I. 9, 19 f. V. 19 f.

³ (A) See above § 32.

μετὰ μικρὸν πιθόμενος σαφῶς, ὅτι ζῆ· “Κακὸς τοίνυν ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς ὁ ψευδόμενος.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καίσαρι ψηφισαμένῳ τὴν ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χώραν κατανεμηθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδυσχέρανον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, Λεύκιος δὲ Γέλλιος ὁμοῦ τι πρέσβυτάτος ὢν εἶπεν, ὡς οὐ γενήσεται τοῦτο ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, “Περιμείνωμεν,” εἶπεν ὁ Κικέρων, “μακρὰν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτέται Γέλλιος ὑπέρθεσιν.”¹

Ἦν δέ τις Ὀκταουῖος αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐκ Λιβύης γεγονόει· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐν τινι δίκῃ λέγοντα τοῦ Κικέρωνος μὴ ἐξακούειν, “Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἔχεις,” εἶπε, “τὸ οὖς ἀτρύπητον.”²

Μετέλλου δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος, ὅτι πλείονας καταμαρτυρῶν ἀνήρρηκε ἢ συνηγορῶν σέσωκεν, “Ὁμολογῶ γάρ,” ἔφη, “πίστεως ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον ἢ δεινότητος εἶναι.”

Νεανίσκου δὲ τινος αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ἐν πλακοῦντι φάρμακον τῷ πατρὶ δεδωκέναι θρασυνομένου καὶ λέγοντος, ὅτι λοιδορήσει τὸν Κικέρωνα, “Τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σοῦ βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλακοῦντα.”

Ποπλίον δὲ Σηστίου συνηγόρον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τινι δίκῃ παραλαβόντος μεθ’ ἐτέρων, αὐτοῦ δὲ πάντα βουλομένου λέγειν καὶ μηδὲν παριέντος εἰπεῖν, ὡς δῆλος ἦν ἀφιέμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἤδη τῆς ψήφου φερομένης· “Χρῶ σήμερον,” ἔφη, “τῷ καιρῷ, Σῆστιε· μέλλεις γὰρ αὔριον ιδιώτης εἶναι.”

Πόπλιον δὲ Κώνσταν νομικὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον, ὄντα δ’ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀφνῆ, πρὸς τινα δίκην ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρα. Τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰδέναι φάσκοντος, “Ἴσως,” ἔφη, “δοκεῖς περὶ τῶν νομικῶν ἐρωτᾶσθαι.”

Μετέλλου δὲ Νέπωτος ἐν διαφορᾷ τινι πολλακίς λέγοντος, “Τίς σοῦ πατὴρ ἔστιν;” ὁ Κικέρων, “Σοὶ ταύτην,” ἔφη, “τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ μήτηρ χαλεπώτερον ἐποίησεν.” Ἐδόκει δ’ ἀκόλαστος ἢ μήτηρ εἶναι τοῦ Νέπωτος, αὐτὸς δὲ τις εὐμετάβολος.

Καὶ ποτε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἄφνω πρὸς Πομπηῖον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Συρίαν, εἰτ’ ἐκέθειν ἐπανήλθεν ἀλογώτερον. Θάψας δὲ Φίλαγρον³ τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ κόρακα λίθινον. Καὶ ὁ Κικέρων “Τοῦτ’,” ἔφη, “σοφώτερον ἐποίησας· πέτεσθαι γάρ σε μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος Ἀππίος ἐν τινι δίκῃ προσημαζόμενος εἶπε φίλον αὐτοῦ δεδεῆσθαι παρασχέειν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ λογίτητα καὶ πίστιν, “Εἰθ’ οὕτως,” ἔφη, “σιδηροῦς γέγονας ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσοούτων ὢν ἡτήσατο φίλος παρασχέειν;”

54. XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἀντιδίκους σκώμμασι χρῆσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι· τὸ δ’ οἷς ἔτυχε προσκροῦειν ἔνεκα τοῦ

¹ For two similar jests of Cicero, cp. Quint. VI. 3, 68. 84.

² (A) Macrob. Satur. VII. 3, 7; Plut. Symp. 2, 4.

³ In Plut. *Apophth.* 7, Diodotus takes the place of Philagrus.

γελιόν πολὺ συνῆγε μῖσος αὐτῶ. Γράψω δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα.¹
Μάρκον Ἀκύνιον ἔχοντα δύο γαμβροὺς φυγάδας Ἀδραστον ἐκάλε.

Λευκίου δὲ Κόττα τιμητικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχὴν, φιλονοτάτου δ' ὄντος, ὑπατείας μετῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε, καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάτων, ὡς ἔπινεν, "Ὁρθῶς φοβεῖσθε," εἶπε, "μή μοι γένοιτο χαλεπὸς ὁ τιμητῆς ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνω."

Βωκωνίῳ δ' ἀπαντήσας ἄγοντι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἀμορφοτάτας θυγατέρας ἀνεφθέγγατο,

"Φαίβον ποτ' οὐκ ἔωντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα."

Μάρκου δὲ Γελλίου δοκούντος οὐκ ἐξ ἑλευθέρων γεγονέναι, λαμπρᾷ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξαναγνόντος, "Μὴ θαυμάζετε," εἶπε, "καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἔστι τῶν ἀναπεφωνηκότων."

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαῦστος ὁ Σύλλα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγράψαντος ἐν δανείοις γεγόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διασπαθήσας ἀπάρτιον προέγραψε, ταύτην ἔφη μᾶλλον αὐτῶ τὴν προγραφὴν ἀρέσκεν ἢ τὴν πατρῶαν.

55. XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθῆς·

καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίον συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες.²

^{62 B.C.} Ἦν Κλωδίου ἀνὴρ εὐγενής, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι θρασύς καὶ αὐθάδης. Οὗτος³ ἐρῶν Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρεσῆλθε κρίφα, λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας.⁴ ἔθνον γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ, καὶ παρῆν ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς· ἀλλὰ μειράκιον ὧν ἔτι καὶ μῆπω γενειῶν ὁ Κλωδίου ἠλπίζε λήσεσθαι διαδὺς πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίαν μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. Ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἠπορεύτο τῶν διόδων· καὶ πλανώμενον αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσα Αὐρηλίας θεραπευτὴς τῆς Καίσαρος μητρὸς ἤτησεν ὄνομα. Φθέγγασθαι δ' ἀναγκασθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλουθον Πομπηίας ζητεῖν Ἀβραν τοῦνομα, συνέϊσα τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικείαν οὔσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ συνεκάλει τὰς γυναῖκας. Αἱ δ' ἀποκλείσασαι τὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνώμεναι λαμβάνουσι⁵ τὸν Κλωδίον εἰς οἶκημα παιδίσκης,

¹ Some of these jests were probably spurious. Cp. Cic. *ad fam.* VII. 32, 2; IX. 3 ff.

² On the Clodian Episode (ch. 28-35) in general, cp. Cic. *ad Att.* I. II; *ad Quint.* I. II; *pro Mil.*, *pro Sestio*, *pro Caelio*, *de domo*, *orat. cum pop. grat.*; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 45 f. 51; XXXVIII. 12-30; XXXIX. 6-12. 19-23. 29-40. 44-57. I note only important divergences or such passages as are peculiar to Plutarch or significant.

³ *ad Att.* I. 12 f.; *de dom.* 40, 105; *de harusp.* 5, 8; Ascon. *in Mil.* p. 52; Dio XXXVII. 45. For the details Plut. is our only authority.

⁴ *pro Sest.* 54, 116, qui in mulierum coetum pro psaltria adducitur.

⁵ (D) Contradicted by Cic. *ad Att.* I. 12, 4, per manus servulae servatum et eductum; *de harusp.* 21, 44.

ἢ συνεισηλθε, καταπεφουγότα. Τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβόητου γενομένου Καῖσάρ τε τὴν Πομπηίαν ἀφήκε¹ καὶ . . . δίκην ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

56. XXIX. Κικέρων δ' ἦν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίαν πραττομένων ἐχρήτο προθυμοτάτῳ συνεργῶ καὶ φύλακι τοῦ σώματος,² ἰσχυριζομένου δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐγκλημα τῷ μηδὲ γεγονέναι κατ' ἐκείνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίοις διατρίβειν, κατεμαρτύρησεν ὡς ἀφιγμένοι πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε καὶ διειλεγμένοι περὶ τινων· ὅπερ ἦν ἀλήθες. Οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ^{61 B.O.} γυναικα Τερεντίαν ἀπολογούμενος.² Ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλωδίον ἀπέχθεια διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐκείνου Κλωδίαν, ὡς τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο διὰ Κατύλλου³ τινὸς πράττουσαν, ὅς ἐταῖρος μὲν ἦν καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, αἰεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Κλωδίαν φοιτῶν καὶ θεραπέων ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσαν ὑποψίαν τῇ Τερεντίᾳ παρέσχε.⁴ Χαλεπὴ δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔσα καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἄρχουσα παρώξυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεπιθέσθαι καὶ καταμαρτυρήσαι. Κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτορκίας, ῥαδιουργίας, ὄχλων δεκασμούς, φθορὰς γυναικῶν.

Λεύκουλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπεινίδας παρέιχεν, ὡς συγγένιοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὁ Κλωδῖος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνώκει. Πολλὴ δ' ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τὸν Κλωδίον, ὃν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἦν Κουαδραντίαν⁵ ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδραντήν ἐκάλουν.⁶ Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλωδῖος.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς καταμαρτυροῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεστῶτας ἀντιταττομένου φοβηθέντες οἱ δικασταὶ φυλακὴν περιεστήσαντο, καὶ τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλείστοι συγκεχυμένους τοῖς γράμμασιν ἤνεγκαν.⁷ Ὅμως δὲ πλείονες ἔδοξαν οἱ ἀπολύοντες γενέσθαι· καὶ τις ἐλέχθη καὶ δεκασμὸς διελθεῖν.

Ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτλος ἀπαντήσας τοῖς κριταῖς “Ὑμεῖς” εἶπεν “ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἠτήσασθε τὴν φυλακὴν, φοβούμενοι μὴ τις ὑμῶν ἀφέληται

¹ See below § 56 ext.

² This version is not found elsewhere and probably belongs to the same source as § 43. 86.

³ Cp. *Am. Jour. of Phil.* XI. 316 ff.

⁴ *pro Cael.* 20, 50, *obliscor iam iniurias tuas, Clodia, depono memoriam doloris mei, quae abs te crudeliter in meos me absente facta sunt, negligo.*

⁵ *pro Cael.* 26, 62, *mulier potens quadrantaria.*

⁶ This chapter from the *chronique scandaleuse* of the day is quite in the manner of Suetonius. The details, as here given, are not found elsewhere, but the charge is confirmed in a general way in many passages, e.g. *Cic. pro Sest.* 7, 15; *pro Caelio* 13, 32 ff.; *de dom.* 34, 92; *pro Mil.* 27, 73; *Vell.* II. 45, 1.

⁷ This fact is also given in *Plut. Caes.* 10.

τὸ ἀργύριον.”¹ Κικέρων δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος, ὅτι μαρτυρῶν οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς, “² Ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “οἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν δικαστῶν ἐπίστευσαν· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ σου καταψηφίσαντο· σοὶ δὲ τριάκοντα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν· οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἀπέλυσαν ἢ ἔλαβον τὸ ἀργύριον.”²

Ὁ μέντοι Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεμαρτύρησε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Κλωδίον, οὐδ’ ἔφη μοιχείαν κατεγνωκέναι τῆς γυναικός, ἀφαικέναι δ’ αὐτὴν ὅτι τὸν Καῖσαρος ἔδει γάμον οὐ πράξεως αἰσχροῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήμης καθαρὸν εἶναι.³

59 B.C. 57. XXX. Διαφνυγῶν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Κλωδῖος καὶ δήμαρχος αἰρεθεὶς εὐθὺς εἶχετο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πάνθ’ ὁμοῦ πράγματα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους συνάγων καὶ ταράττων ἐπ’ αὐτόν. Τὸν τε γὰρ δῆμον ὑπεκώσαστο νόμοις φιλανθρώποις,⁴ καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἑκατέρῳ μεγάλας ἐπαρχίας ἐψηφίσαστο, Πείσωνι μὲν Μακεδονίαν, Γαβινίῳ δὲ Συρίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων συνέτασεν εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ δούλους ὠπλισμένους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε.

Τῶν δὲ πλείστον δυναμένων τότε τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Κράσσου μὲν ἄντικρυς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος, Πομπηίου δὲ θρυπτομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, Καῖσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξίεναι μετὰ στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τούτων ὑποδὸς ὁ Κικέρων, καίπερ οὐκ ὄντα φίλον, ἀλλ’ ὑποπτον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Κατελίαν,⁵ ἠξίωσε πρεσβευτῆς αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν.⁶

Δεξαμένον δὲ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὁ Κλωδῖος ὄρων ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα προσποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ Τερεντίᾳ τὴν

¹ This bon mot of Catulus is also recorded by Cic. *ad Att.* I. 16, 5, quid vos, inquit, praesidium a nobis postulabatis? an ne nummi vobis eriperentur, timebatis? Sen. *Epist.* 97, 5; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 46, 3, τὴν φυλακὴν ἤτησαν οὐχ ἔν’ ἀσφαλῶς τοῦ Κλωδίου καταψηφίσωνται, ἀλλ’ ἔν’ αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἃ δεωροδοκῆκεσαν, διασώσωνται.

² Cic. *ad Att.* I. 16, 10, iuranti, inquit, tibi non crediderunt. Mihi vero, inquam, XXV iudices crediderunt, XXXI, quoniam nummos ante acceperant, tibi nihil crediderunt.

³ Plut. *Caes.* 10; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 45; Suet. *Caes.* 74 testis citatus negavit se quidquam comperisse . . . interrogatusque cur igitur repudiasset uxorem, “Quoniam,” inquit, “meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere.”

⁴ Cic. *pro Sest.* 25, 55; *in Pis.* 4, 9 and Ascon. ad loc.; Dio XXXVIII. 13.

⁵ Esp. *pro Sest.* 12, 27. 17, 39 and schol. Bob. ad loc; Vell. Pat. II. 45, 2, non caruerunt suspicione oppressi Ciceronis Caesar et Pompeius; Dio XXXVIII. 16 f.

⁶ (D) Clodius’s sudden change and Terentia’s alleged influence (cp. § 43) are not confirmed by extant sources. Regarding the position of legatus, Plut. is also at variance with the facts, as the offer was made by Caesar: cp. *ad Att.* II. 18, 3, a Caesare valde liberaliter inquit in legationem illam. II. 19, 4, esp. *de prov. cons.* 17, 42, postea me, ut sibi essem legatus, non solum suavit, verum etiam rogavit.

πλείστην ἀνατιθείς αἰτίαν, ἐκείνου δὲ μεμνημένος ἐπιεικῶς αἰεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώμονας ἐνδιδούς, ὡς ἂν τις οὐ μισῶν οὐδὲ χαλεπαίνων, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλῶν μέτρια καὶ φιλικὰ, παντάπασιν αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνῆκεν, ὡστ' ἀπειπὲν τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχεσθαι¹ τῆς πολιτείας. Ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθείς ὁ Καῖσαρ¹ τὸν τε Κλώδιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ Πομπήιον ἀπέστρεψε κομιδῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, αὐτὸς τε κατεμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ² καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως ἄνδρας ἀκρίτους ἀνηρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθγγον.

58. Αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ κατηγορία καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. Κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ διωκόμενος² ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε³ καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως περιῶν ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. Πανταχοῦ δ' ὁ Κλώδιος ἀπήντα κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, ἀνθρώπους ἔχων ὕβριστὰς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ θρασεῖς, οἳ πολλὰ μὲν χλευάζοντες ἀκολάστως εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πηλῶ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἐνίσταντο ταῖς ἰκεσίαις.³

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγον δέιν σύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἱππικῶν πλήθος συμμετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ δισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους νέων παρηκολούθουν κομῶντες καὶ συνικετευόντες· ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης, ὅπως ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεσι μεταβαλεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐναντιωθέντων, Κλωδίον δὲ σιδηροφορομένον περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐξέδραμον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν βουλευτικῶν καταρρηγνύμενοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ βοῶντες.³

59. Ὡς δ' ἦν οὗτ' οἶκτος οὔτε τις αἰδῶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ' ἔδει τὸν Κικέρωνα φεῖγαι ἢ βία καὶ σιδήρῳ κριθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον, ἐδίετο Πομπηίου βοθηεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκποδῶν γεγονότος καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν ἀγροῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανόν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμψε Πείσωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν δεησόμενον· ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη. Πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Πομπηῖος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς

¹ (A) *ad Att.* IX. 2 b, 1, repudiari se totum, magis etiam quam olim in *XXviratu* putabit. Ac solet, cum se purgat, in me conferre omnem illorum temporum culpam, ita me sibi fuisse inimicum, ut ne honorem quidem a se accipere vellem; but from *de prov. cons.* l.c. it would seem that Caesar's anger was occasioned by the previous refusal.

² (D) This Clodian law did not mention Cicero's name, though it was directed especially against him, nor was Cicero indicted in consequence as would appear from Plut. Cp. e.g. Vell. Pat. II. 45, 1, cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur Cicero, tamen solus petebatur; Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 14, 3, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν (sc. ὁ νόμος), ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα συνεγράφετο.

³ Esp. *pro Sest.* 10 ff.; *post red.* 3, 8, pro me praesente senatus hominumque praeterea viginti milia vestem mutaverunt etc. *de domo* 21, 55 ff.; but certain details in Plut. (*νέων, ἐξέδραμον* etc.) are not given in Cicero or elsewhere. App. B. C. II. 15, though agreeing so often with Plut., must have followed another and rather unfriendly authority: τὸ ἔργον, διὰ τὴν ἀπρέπειαν, ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα etc.

ᾧψιν ἔλθειν, δευῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰδῶς εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους ἠγωνισμένον ἄγωνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς χάριν ἐκείνῳ πεπολιτευμένον, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρι γαμβρὸς ὢν δεομένῳ προῦδωκε τὰς παλαιὰς χάριτας καὶ κατὰ θύρας ἄλλας ὑπέελθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε τὴν ἔντευξιν. Οὕτω δὴ προδοθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονῶς ἔρημος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους κατέφυγε.¹

Καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἦν χαλεπὸς αἰεὶ, Πείσιων² δὲ διελέχθη πρῶτερον αὐτῷ παραινῶν ἐκστῆναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ῥύμῃ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος ἐν στάσει καὶ κακοῖς δι' ἐκείνον οὔσης.

58 B.C. Τοιαύτης τυχὼν ἀποκρίσεως ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ Λεύκουλλος μὲν ἐκέλευε μένειν ὡς περιεσόμενον, ἄλλοι³ δὲ φεύγειν, ὡς ταχὺ τοῦ δήμου ποθήσιοντος αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐμπλησθῇ τῆς Κλωδίου μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας.⁴ Ταῦτ' ἔδοξε Κικέρωνι·

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ πολὺν χρόνον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἰδρυνόμενον ἐτίμα διαφερόντως, εἰς Καπιτώλιον κομίσας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιγράψας “Ἀθηνᾶ Ῥώμης φύλακι,”⁵ πομποὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαβῶν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὑπέξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεζῇ διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο λαβέσθαι Σικελίας βουλόμενος.

60. XXXII. Ὡς δ' ἦν φανερὸς ἤδη πεφευγῶς, ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ φυγῆς ψῆφον ὁ Κλωδῖος, καὶ διάγραμμα προῦθηκεν εἶργειν πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος⁶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ παρέχειν στέγην ἐντὸς μυλίων πεντακοσίων⁷ Ἰταλίας.

61. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐλάχιστος ἦν τοῦ διαγράμματος τούτου λόγος αἰδομένοις τὸν Κικέρωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτόν· ἐν δ' Ἰππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἦν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν καλοῦσιν, Οὐίβιος, Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ,⁸ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς Κικέρωνος φιλίας ἀπόδελαικῶς καὶ γεγονῶς ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τεκτόνων ἔπαρχος, οἰκία μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸ χωρίον δὲ καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ Γάϊος Οὐεργίλιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας

¹ (D) These details are not based upon extant utterances in Cicero, or elsewhere, but cp. *ad Att.* II. 20. 21. 24; III. 9, 2; *ad Q. fr.* I. 4, 4; II. 3, 3; *pro Sest.* 17, 39.

² (D) This contradicts Cicero's statements. Cp. *in Pis.*, e.g. 5, 12.

³ Cato and Hortensius. Cp. Dio XXXVIII. 17.

⁴ Concerning Cicero's reasons for yielding without a struggle, cp. e.g. *pro Planc.* 35, 86 ff.; *pro Sest.* 20, 45 ff., *servavi igitur rem publicam discessu meo . . . unus bis rem publicam servavi etc.*; *de domo* 36, 96.

⁵ Cp. Dio Cass. XLV. 17, τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς φυλακίδος, ὃ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνετίθει. It was struck by lightning and was restored by a decree of the senate. Cp. Cic. *ad fam.* XII. 25, 1.

⁶ Vell. Pat. II. 45, 1, *legem in tribunatu tulit: qui civem Romanum indemnatum intermisisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur.* ⁷ (D) **ad Att.* III. 4, 1.

⁸ (D) Cp. p. 43; *ad Att.* III. 2, 1. Büchsenstutz imagines that Plutarch changed *Sica Viboniensis*, which he found in his Cicero, to Οὐίβιος Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ!

στρατηγὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνι κεχηρημένος ἔγραψεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας.¹

Ἐφ' οἷς ἀθυμήσας ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, κάκειθεν εἰς Δυρράχιον ἀνέμψορῶ περιαιούμενος, ἀντιπνεύσαντος πελαγίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν, εἰτ' αὐθις ἀνήχθη.

62. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Δυρράχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποβαίνειν σεισμόν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ σπασμόν ἅμα γενέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. Ἀφ' ὧν συνέβηλον οἱ μαντικοὶ μὴ μόνιμον αὐτῷ τὴν φυγὴν ἔσεσθαι· μεταβολῆς γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα σημεῖα.²

Πολλῶν δὲ φοιτῶντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ὅμως ἀθυμῶν καὶ περιλύπος διήγε τὰ πολλά,³ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὡσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγονὸς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ἄνδρα παιδεῖε συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτῃ προσεδόκησε.

63. Καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἠξίου τοὺς φίλους μὴ ῥήτορα καλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ἤρησθαι, ῥητορικῇ δ' ὄργανῶ χρησθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας. Ἄλλ' ἡ δόξα δεινὴ τὸν λόγον ὡσπερ βαφὴν ἀποκλύσαι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνομόρξασθαι πάθη δι' ὀμλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν τοῖς πολιτευομένοις, ἂν μὴ τις εὖ μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἑκτός, ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμμεθέξων.⁴

64. XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος ἐξελάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἐλευθερίας ἐπιχωροδόμησε· τὴν δ' ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἐπώλει καὶ διεκήρυττε καθ' ἡμέραν, μηδὲν ὠνούμενον μηδενός.⁵ Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβερός ὦν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνεμιμένον εἰς ὕβριν πολλὴν καὶ θρασύτητα συνεφελκόμενος, ἐπεχείρει τῷ Πομπηίῳ, τῶν διωκημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἔνια σπαράττων. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Πομπηῖος ἀδοξῶν ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πρόεμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παντοῖος ἐγένετο πράττων κάθοδον αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. Ἐνισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου συνέδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν διὰ μέσον πρᾶγμα κυροῦν μηδὲ πράττειν δημόσιον, εἰ μὴ Κικέρωνι κάθοδος γένοιτο.⁶

¹ (A) *pro Planc.* 40, 95 ff.; Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 17.

² Cp. p. 43.

³ *ad Att.* III. 8–21. 22, 4.

⁴ Cp. the discussion between Cic. and Philiscus in Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 18–29.

⁵ E.g. Cic. *de dom.* 24, 62. 41, 108; *ad Att.* IV. 2.

⁶ *pro Sest.* 31, 67 f.; *in Pis.* 13, 29; *de dom.* 10, 25 ff.; *pro Mil.* 14, 37 and Ascon. ad loc.; Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 30; Plut. *Pomp.* 49.

Τῶν δὲ περὶ Λέντλον ὑπατεύοντων καὶ τῆς στάσεως πρόσω βαδιζούσης, ὥστε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους, Κόιντον δὲ τὸν Κικέρωνος ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς τεθνηκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν.¹

Ὁ τε δῆμος ἤρχετο τρέπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων Ἄννιος Μίλων πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς δίκην ἀπάγειν βιαίῳ, καὶ Πομπηῖω πολλοὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν περὶ πόλεω. Μεθ' ὧν προελθὼν καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλει τοὺς πολίτας. Καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσαύτης ὁμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον.

87 B.C. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμειλιμένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεθῆναι² τὰς πόλεις, ὅσαι τὸν Κικέρωνα παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐθεράπευσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἃς Κλώδιος διεφθάρκει,³ τέλει δημοσίοις⁴ ἀνασταθῆναι.

Aug. 11, 87 B.C. Κατ'ἔπειτα δὲ Κικέρων ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν· καὶ τοσαύτη τὰς πόλεις χαρὰ καὶ σπουδὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἶχεν, ὥστε τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κικέρωνος ὑστέρων ἐνδεέστερον εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐφ'ἣ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄμων τὴν Ἰταλίαν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν.⁵

Sept. 8, 87 B.C. Ὅπου καὶ Κράστος, ἐχθρὸς ὧν αὐτῶ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς, τότε προθύμως ἀπήντα καὶ διελύετο, τῷ παιδὶ Ποπλίῳ χαριζόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγε, ζηλωτῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὄντι.⁶

65. XXXIV. Χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν καὶ παραφυλάξας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἐπῆλθε μετὰ πολλῶν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τὰς δημαρχικὰς δέλτους, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν διψκημένων ἦσαν, ἀπέσπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν.⁷ Ἐγκαλοῦντος δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ Κλωδίου, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος, ὡς παρανόμως ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημαρχίαν παρέλθοι, καὶ κύριον οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,⁸ Κάτων ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ἀντέειπε, τὸν μὲν Κλώδιον οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχεραίνων τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, δεῖνόν δὲ καὶ βίβιον ἀποφαίνων ἀναίρεσιν ψηφίσασθαι

¹ *pro Sest.* 34, 74 ff. *occidunt nonnullos, vulnerant multos . . . caedem in foro maximam faciunt . . . fratrem meum . . . poscebant . . . seque servorum . . . corporibus obtexit . . . tum . . . corporibus civium Tiberim compleri.* Büchschütz ad loc., citing only a part of this passage, asserts that ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς is a mistranslation of *corpora* in the sense of *cadavera*! Plutarch's statement, however, proves that he did not consult this speech, in spite of numerous coincidences.

² *pro Sest.* 62, 129 ff.

³ *ad Att.* IV. 2, 2; Dio XXXIX. 11.

⁴ *in Pis.* 22, 52.

⁵ *post red.* 15, 39, Italia cuncta paene suis humeris reportavit. [Sall.] *in Cic.* 4, 7.

⁶ *ad fam.* V. 8, 4.

⁷ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 40; Dio XXXIX. 21-23.

⁸ *de dom.* 29, 77, in illa adoptione legitime factum est nihil.

δογμάτων καὶ πράξεων τοσούτων τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν αἷς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Βυζάντιον διοικήσιν. Ἐκ τούτου προσέκρουσεν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτῷ πρόσκρουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς προελθούσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαυρότερον.

66. XXXV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Κλώδιον μὲν ἀποκτίνουσι Μίλων· καὶ ^{Jan. 20, 52 B.C.} διωκόμενος φόνου Κικέρωνα παρεστήσατο συνήγορον.¹ Ἡ δὲ βουλή φοβηθεῖσα, μὴ κινδυνεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ θυμοειδοῦς τοῦ Μίλωνος ταραχὴ γένηται περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπέτρεψε Πομπηίῳ ταύτην τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κρίσεις βραβεῦσαι, παρέχοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀσφάλειαν. Ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων περιλαβόντος τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὁ Μίλων τὸν Κικέρωνα δέισας, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἀθραῖα διαταραχθεὶς χεῖρον διαγωνίσηται, συνέπεισεν ἐν φορείῳ κομισθέντα πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἠσυχάζειν, ἄχρι οὗ συνίασιν οἱ κριταὶ καὶ πληροῦται τὸ δικαστήριον.

67. Ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὄπλοις ἀθαρσής,² ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσήει, καὶ μόλις ἐπαύσατο παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος.³ Λικιννίῳ δὲ Μουρήνῃ φεύγοντι δίκην ὑπὸ Κάτωνος βοηθῶν, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος Ὀρτήσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν εὐημερήσαντα, μέρος οὐδὲν ἀνεπαύσατο ^{53 B.C.} τῆς νυκτός, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φροντίσαι καὶ διαγρυπνήσαι κακωθεὶς ἐνδεέστερος αὐτοῦ φανῆται.

68. Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος δίκην ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Πομπηῖον ἄνω καθεζόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τὰ ὄπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν ἀγορὰν, συνεχύθη καὶ μόλις ἐνήρξατο τοῦ λόγου κραδαινόμενος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνισχόμενος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ κόμην θρέψαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαῖνὰ ἀπαξιώσαντος· ὅπερ οὐχ ἤκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης.⁴ Ἄλλ' ὁ γε Κικέρων διὰ ταῦτα φιλέταιρος μᾶλλον ἢ δειλὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

69. XXXVI. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, οὓς Αὐγουρας Ῥωμαῖοι κα- ^{53 B.C.} λούσιν, ἀπὸ Κράσσου τοῦ νέου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πάρθοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν.⁵

¹ (A) Cp. on the Milonian affair: *pro Mil.* with Ascon.; Dio XL. 48 ff.

² Liv. *Perioch.* 111 vir nihil minus quam ad bella natus.

³ (A) E.g. Cic. *de orat.* I. 26, 121; *pro Deiot.* I, 1; *pro Cluent.* 18, 57; *Div. in Caec.* 13, 41; *Acad.* II, 20, 64.

⁴ (A) Ascon. *in Mil.* p. 31 exercitum in foro . . . non tantum ex oratione et annalibus sed etiam ex libro apparet qui Ciceronis nomine inscribitur de opt. gen. orat. (= c. 4, 10); p. 42 itaque non ea, qua solitus erat, constantia dixit; Schol. Bob. *in Mil.* p. 276 circumpositi iudicio milites . . . metu consternatus et ipse Tullius pedem rettulit; Dio Cass. XL. 54, 1.

⁵ (A) Cic. *Phil.* II. 2, 4; *Brut.* I, 1.

61 B.C. Εἶτα κλήρω λαχῶν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Κιλικίαν καὶ στρατὸν ὀπλιτῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἰππέων δὲ δισχιλίων ἑξακοσίων,¹ ἔπλευσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀριοβαρζάνη τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλα καὶ πειθήνια παρασχέιν.² Ταῦτά τε δὴ παρεστήσατο καὶ συνήρμωσεν ἀμέμπτως ἄτερ πολέμου, τοὺς τε Κίλικας ὄρων πρὸς τὸ Παρθικὸν πταῖσμα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπηρμένους κατεπράυνεν ἡμέρωσ ἄρχων.

70. Καὶ δῶρα μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων διδόντων ἔλαβε, δειπνῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπαρχικοὺς ἀνήκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς χαριέντας ἀνελάμβανεν ἐστίασσειν οὐ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλ' ἑλευθερίως. Ἡ δ' οἰκία θυρωρῶν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὤφθη κατακέκλιμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἔωθεν ἐστῶς ἢ περιπατῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου τοὺς ἀσπαζομένους ἐδεξιοῦτο.

Λέγεται δὲ μῆτε ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαι τινα μῆτ' ἐσθήτα περισχίσει μῆτε βλασφημίαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ ζημίας προσβαλεῖν μεθ' ὕβρεων. Ἄνευρῶν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων κεκλεμμένα τὰς τε πόλεις εὐπόρους ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς ἀποτίνοντας οὐδὲν τούτου πλεῖον παθόντας ἐπιτίμους διεφύλαξεν.³

Ἡφατο δὲ καὶ πολέμου, ληστῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀμανὸν οἰκούντων τρεψάμενος· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνηγορεύθη.⁴

71. Κεκλιῖον δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δεομένους παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα θέαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀποστέλλαι, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρδάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ· πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν ἀγανακτούσας, ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων εἰρήνην ἔχοντων.⁵

72. Πλέων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦτο μὲν Ῥόδῳ προσέσχε,⁶ τοῦτο δ' Ἀθήναις⁷ ἐνδιέτραψεν⁸ ἄσμενος πόθῳ τῶν πάλαι διατριβῶν. Ἀνδράσι δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπὸ παιδείας συγγενόμενος καὶ τοὺς τότε φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τὰ πρέποντα θαυμασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήλθεν, ἥδη τῶν πραγμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον.⁹

73. XXXVII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ψηφιοζομένων αὐτῷ θρίαμβον ἥδιον ἂν εἶφη παρακολουθήσαι Καίσαρι θριαμβεύοντι συμβάσεων γενομένων.¹⁰

¹ (D) E.g. *ad Att.* VI. 1; *ad fam.* XV. 1 ff. The number is incompatible with the statements of Cicero.

² (A) *ad Att.* V. 20, 1.

³ On Cicero's administration of the province, cp. e.g. *ad Att.* V. 21; VI. 2; *ad Quint. frat.* I. 1, 2: but Plutarch, as usual, gives details *not* found in Cicero.

⁴ (A) *ad fam.* II. 10, 2 f., *victoria iusta imperator appellatus sum*; *ad Att.* V. 20, 3.

⁵ (D) * *ad fam.* (ad Caelium) II. 10, 2.

⁶ (A) Cic. *Brut.* 1, 1.

⁷ (A) *ad fam.* XIV. 5, 1, *pridie Id. Oct. Athenas venimus . . . cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris . . . ad arma rem spectare.*

⁸ (D) *ad fam.* I.c. *circiter Id. Nov.* in Italia speramus fore.

⁹ * *ad fam.* XVI. 11, 2; *ad Att.* IX. 4.

¹⁰ (D) *ad fam.* XVI. 11, 3; *ad Att.* VI. 3, 3, 6, 4; VII. 1, 2. The decree was never passed.

ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευε¹ πολλὰ μὲν Καίσαρι γράφων, πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου δεόμενος, πρᾶντων ἐκάτερον καὶ παραμυθούμενος.² Ὡς δ' ἦν ἀνήκεστα καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπερχομένου Πομπηίος οὐκ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπε, ταύτης μὲν ἀπελείφθη τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε δὲ Καίσαρι προστίθεσθαι.

74. Καὶ δῆλός ἐστι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰ ῥιπτασθεῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα καὶ δυσπαθήσας. Γράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς³ διαπορεῖν, ποτέρωσθε χρή τρέπεσθαι, Πομπηίου μὲν ἔνδοξον καὶ καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντος, Καίσαρος δ' ἄμεινον τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένου καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους σώζοντος, ὥστ' ἔχειν μὲν ὄν φύγη, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ πρὸς ὄν φύγη.⁴ Τρεβατίου δέ, τινὸς τῶν Καίσαρος ἐταίρων, γράψαντος ἐπιστολήν, ὅτι Καίσαρ οἴεται δῆν μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν, εἰ δ' ἀναδύεται διὰ γῆρας, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βαδίζειν κακῆ καθήμενον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐκποδῶν ἀμφοτέροις γενόμενον, θαυμάσας ὁ Κικέρων, ὅτι Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγραψεν, ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὄργην, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι.⁵

75. XXXVIII. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀπάραντος εὐθὺς ὡς 49 B.C. Πομπηίου ἔπλευσε.⁶ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀσμένους ὤφθη, Κάτων δ' αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἰδίᾳ πολλὰ κατεμέμφετο Πομπηίῳ προσθέμενον· αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκείνων δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, εἰ μένων ἴσος ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γενέσθαι Καίσαρι καὶ τοσοῦτον μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεῦρ' ἦκειν. Οἱτοί τε δὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνέστοσεφον οἱ λόγοι τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ μέγα μῆδεν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι Πομπηίου.

76. Αἴτιος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀρνούμενος μεταμέλεισθαι, φλαυρίζων⁷ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν παρασκευὴν⁸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ βουλευμάτα δυσκολαίνων

¹ (A) *ad Att.* VII. 3, 4; IX. 5; *Phil.* II. 9, 22 ff.

² (A) E.g. *ad fam.* XVI. 12, 1, ut veni ad urbem non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere quae ad concordiam pertinerent etc.; *Plut. Caes.* 31; *Pomp.* 59; *App. B.C.* II. 36.

³ (A) E.g. *ad Att.* VII. 1 ff.

⁴ (A) *ad Att.* VIII. 7, 2, ego verò quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.

⁵ *ad Att.* VII. 17; X. 8 f. Cp. p. 10 f.

⁶ (A) *ad Att.* VIII. 3 ff.; IX. 2 ff.; *Dio Cass.* XLI. 4 ff.; *App. B. C.* II. 35 ff.; *Plut. Pomp.* 60 f.; *Caes.* 32 ff.; *Suet. Caes.* 31.

⁷ (A) *ad fam.* VI. 6, 10, causae, quam Pompeius animatus melius quam paratus susceperat; VII. 3, 2, cuius me mei facti poenituit . . . propter vitia multa quae ibi offendi quo veneram.

⁸ (A) *Macrob. Satur.* II. 3, 7, cum ad Pompeium venisset dicentibus sero eum venisse, respondit: Minime sero veni, nam nihil hic paratum video; *Cic. Phil.* II. 16, 40, ne de iocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti.

ἰπούλως, καὶ τοῦ παρασκώπτειν τι καὶ λέγειν χαριέν εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος ἀεὶ περιῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκυθρωπός, ἑτέροις δὲ παρέχων γέλωτα μηδὲν δεομένος.

77. Βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα παραθέσθαι. Δομίτιον τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τάξιν ἡγεμονικὴν ἀγοντος οὐ πολεμικόν καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς ἐπικλήσῃ τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶ καὶ σώφρων, "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν τοῖς τέκνοις φυλάσσει;"

Ἐπαινοῦντων δὲ τινῶν Θεοφάνην τὸν Λέσβιον, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τεκτόνων ἔπαρχος, ὡς εὖ παραμυθῆσταιτο Ῥοδίου τὸν στόλον ἀποβαλόντας, "Ἡλικόν," εἶπεν, "ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τὸ Γραικὸν ἔχειν ἔπαρχον."

Καίσαρος δὲ κατορθοῦντος τὰ πλείστα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦς, Λέντλῳ μὲν εἰπόντι πυνθάνεσθαι στυγροῦς εἶναι τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους, ἀπεκρίνατο, "Λέγεις αὐτοὺς δυσνοεῖν Καίσαρι."

Μαρκίον δὲ τινος ἦκοντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας νεωστὶ καὶ λέγοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ φήμην ἐπικρατεῖν, ὡς πολιορκοῖτο Πομπήϊος, "Εἴτ' ἐξέπλευσας," εἶπεν, "ἵνα τοῦτο πιστεύσῃς αὐτὸς θεασάμενος;"

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἦταν Νοννίου μὲν εἰπόντος, ὅτι δεῖ χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ἐπτά γὰρ αἰετοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ Πομπήϊου λελείφθαι, "Καλῶς ἂν," ἔφη, "παρήνεις, εἰ κολοιοῖς ἐπολεμοῦμεν."

Λαβρινθοῦ δὲ μαντείαις τισὶν ἰσχυριζομένου καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς δεῖ περιγενέσθαι Πομπήϊον, "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "στρατηγήματι τούτῳ χρώμενοι νῦν ἀποβεβλήκαμεν τὸ στρατόπεδον."¹

Aug. 9,
48 B.C.

78. XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον μάχης, ἧς οὐ μετέσχε δι' ἄρρωστίαν,² καὶ Πομπήϊον φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων³ καὶ στρατεύματα συχρὸν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν ἐκεῖνον ἠξίου στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα προῦχοντα.

Διωθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὄλως φεύγων τὸ συστρατεῦσθαι⁴ παρ' οὐδὲν ἤλθεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, Πομπήϊον τοῦ νέου καὶ τῶν φίλων προδότῃν ἀποκαλούντων καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασαμένων, εἰ μὴ Κάτων ἐνστάς μόλις ἀφείλετο καὶ διῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.⁵

48-47
B.C.

79. Κατασχὼν δ' εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε,⁶ Καίσαρα περιμένων βραδύνοντα διὰ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίας. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Τάραντα καθωρμισμένος ἀπηγγέλλετο καὶ πεζῇ περιῶν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βρεντέσιον,

¹ (D) This retort furnishes the irrefutable proof that it, and along with it this entire batch of witticisms, was not taken from Tiro's *de iocis Ciceronis*, for Labienus fell at Pharsalus while Cicero was at Dyrrhachium.

² (A) *ad fam.* IX. 16, 7, in acie non fui; Liv. *Perioch.* 111 Cicero in castris remansit.

³ (A) E.g. Dio Cass. XLII. 10 ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ . . . καταλειφθεὶς.

⁴ *ad fam.* VII. 3.

⁵ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 55.

⁶ (A) E.g. *ad fam.* XI. 27; XIV. 11; *ad Att.* XI. 15.

ἔωρθησε πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ πᾶν μὲν ὦν δύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν πείραν. Οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ πράξαι τι παρ' ἀξίαν ἢ εἰπεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶντα, κατέβη καὶ ἡσπάσατο καὶ διαλεγόμενος μόνῃ συχνῶν σταδίων ὁδὸν προήλθεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος,¹ ὥστε καὶ γράψαντι ^{46 B.C.} ^{Sept. 23,} λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ἀντιγράφων² τὸν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἑοικότα καὶ Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται.

80. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοῖντου Διγαρίου δίκην φείγοντος, ὅτι τῶν ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁴ ^{B.C.} ^{Sept. 23,} ^{46 B.C.} Καίσαρος πολεμίων εἰς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἰπεῖν τὸν Καῖσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους: "Τί κωλύει διὰ χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκοῦσαι λόγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλα κέκριται πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολέμιος;" ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρξάμενος λέγει ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει καὶ προὔβαινε αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστός ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἰέναι χρόας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καῖσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατὰδηλον εἶναι, τέλος δὲ τῶν κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀψαμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων ἐκπαθῆ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἕνα τῶν γραμματείων. Τὸν γοῦν ἀνθρώπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος.³

81. XL. Ἐκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστῶσης, ^{45 B.C.} ἀφέμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν⁴ ἐσχόλιζε τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοσοφεῖν⁵ τῶν νέων,⁶ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὄντας, αὐτοὺς ἴσχυεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον.

82. Αὐτῷ δ' ἔργον μὲν ἦν τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγους ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁴ ^{B.C.} καὶ μεταφράζειν,⁷ καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἢ φυσικῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον.⁸ ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ καὶ

¹ (A) E.g. *ad fam.* IV. 13, 2; IX. 16.

² (A) E.g. *ad Att.* XII. 40; *Topica* 25, 94; Tac. *Ann.* IV. 34; Schol. ad Iuv. VI. 338; Plut. *Caes.* 54, 3; App. *B. C.* II. 99; Dio Cass. XLIII. 13, 4; Suet. *Aug.* 85.

³ (D) * Cic. *ad fam.* VI. 14, 2.

⁴ (A) E.g. *ad fam.* V. 16; VI. 12, 5; IX. 1, 2, 2, 5, 20, 1; XII. 23; *de off.* II. 1, 2; III. 1, 2; *de div.* II. 2, 6; *Acad. Post.* I. 3, 11.

⁵ (A) *ad fam.* VII. 33, 2; IX. 16, 7, 18, 1, 20, 3; *Phil.* II. 8, 20; Sen. *Contr.* I. *prooem.* 11; Suet. *de rhet.* 1.

⁶ (A) E.g. Hirtius, Pansa, Dolabella, Cassius.

⁷ (A) *ad Att.* XII. 52, 3, ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fiunt, verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.

⁸ φαντασία = visum (*Acad.* I. 11, 40); συγκατάθεσις = assensio, approbatio (*Acad.* II. 12, 37); ἐποχή = retentio assensionis (*Acad.* II. 18, 59); κατάληψις = comprehensio, cognitio, perceptio (*Acad.* I. 11, 41; II. 10, 31, 47, 145; *de fin.* III. 5, 17); ἄτομον = individuum (*de fin.* I. 6, 17); κενόν = vacuum

τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἀμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ¹ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξονομάσας πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, τὰ μὲν μεταφοραῖς, τὰ δ' οἰκειότησιν ἄλλαις γνώριμα καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενος·

83. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποιήσιν εὐκολία παίζων ἐχρήτο. Λέγεται γάρ, ὀπηνίκα ῥυεῖη πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπη ποιεῖν πεντακόσια.²

84. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου τοῦτου περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐν χωρίοις αὐτοῦ διάγων ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους Λαέρτου βίον ζῆν, εἴτε παίζων, ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας σπαργῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀδημογῶν τοῖς καθεστῶσι.

Σπανίως δ' εἰς ἄστυ θεραπείας ἔνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος κατῆι, καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν συναγορευόντων ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λέγειν αἰεὶ τι καινὸν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα φιλοτιμονυμένω.³

Οἷόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πομπηίου λεχθέν εἰκόνων, ἃς ἀνηρημένας καὶ καταβεβλημένας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταθῆναι· καὶ ἀνεστάθησαν. Ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων, ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἴσθησι, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ πῆγγνυσιν ἀνδριάντας.

85. XLI. Διανοούμενος δ', ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν γραφῇ περιλαβεῖν⁴ καὶ πολλὰ συμμῖξει τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὅλως τοὺς συνηγμένους λόγους αὐτῷ καὶ μύθους ἐνταῦθα τρέψαι, πολλοῖς μὲν δημοσίοις, πολλοῖς δ' ἰδίους κατελήφθη πράγμασιν ἀβουλήτοις καὶ πάθεσιν, ὧν αὐθαίρετα δοκεῖ πλεῖστα συμβῆναι.

46-45
B.C.

86. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν⁵ ἀμεληθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφοδίων ἐνδεῖς ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ μηδ' ὅτε κατῆρην αὐθις εἰς Ἰταλίαν τυχεῖν εὐγνώμονος. Αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθεν, ἐν Βρεντεςίῳ διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐρχομένη δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ, παιδίσκῃ νέᾳ, τοσαύτην ὁδὸν οὐ πομπὴν πρέπουσαν, οὐ χορηγίαν παρέσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πάντων ἔρημον καὶ κενὴν ἀπέδειξε

(*ad Att.* IX. 1), but some of these had already been Latinized, e.g. by Lucretius. *ἀμερές*, with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the extant works of Cicero. See also *Acad.* I. 5. 14. 24 ff.; *de fin.* III. 2, 5. 15; *Tusc.* III. 8, 16; *de orat.* I. 34, 154.

¹ E.g. *essentia* = *οὐσία*, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 58, 6; *quantitas*, *qualitas* (*ποσότης*, *ποιότης*); *evidentia* (*ἐνάργεια*); *pronuntiatum* (*ἀξίωμα*); *appetitus animi* (*ὄρμηξ*).

² Cp. § 5 and p. 31.

³ (A) E.g. *ad fam.* IV. 4. 13; VI. 12; IX. 16.

⁴ (A) *Com. Nep. fragm.* (Peter, *Fragm. hist. Rom.* p. 223); *Cic. de leg.* I. 5; *Calen. ap. Dio Cass.* XLVI. 21 *προθέμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένα συγγράψαι, ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς . . . ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἦρξατο* *ad Att.* XIV. 14, 5.

⁵ *Divorce* 46 B.C.: *ad fam.* IV. 14; XIV. 11; *ad Att.* XI. 16. 17; XII. 22; *Dio Cass.* XLVI. 18, 3. Cp. Tyrrell and Purser, *Corresp. of Cic.* I p. 37 ff., IV p. XLV ff., and above pp. 19 f. 42.

ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις. Αὐτὰ γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ λεγόμεναι τῆς διαστάσεως εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις. Τῇ δὲ Τερεντίᾳ καὶ ταύτας ἀρνούμενη λαμπρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον γήμας παρθένον, ὡς μὲν ἡ Τερεντία κατεφήμιζεν, ἔρωτι τῆς ὥρας, ὡς δὲ Τίρων ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος γέγραφε, εὐπορίας ἔνεκεν πρὸς δίαλυσιν δανείων. Ἦν γὰρ ἡ παῖς σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐν πίστει κληρονόμος ἀπολειφθεὶς διεφύλαττεν. Ὀφείλων δὲ πολλὰς μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπέισθη τὴν παῖδα γῆμαι παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἀπαλλάξαι τοῖς ἐκεῖνης χρησάμενον.¹

Ἀντώνιος δὲ τοῦ γάμου μνησθεὶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν φησι γυναῖκα, παρ' ἣ ἔγηρασε· χαριέντως ἄμα τὴν οἰκουρίαν ὡς ἀπράκτον καὶ ἀστρατεύτου παρασκώπτων τοῦ Κικέρωνος.

Γῆμαντι δ' αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα παρὰ 45 B.C. Λέντῳ.² τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγμνήθη μετὰ τὴν Πείσιωνος τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς τελευτήν. Καὶ συνῆλλον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πανταχόθεν οἱ φιλόσοφοι.³ βαρέως δ' ἄγαν ἦνεγκε τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι δόξασαν ἡσθῆναι τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς Τυλλίας.⁴ 45 B.C.

XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατ' οἶκον οὕτως εἶχε τῷ Κικέρωνι.

87. Τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνισταμένης πράξεως οὐ μετέσχε, καίπερ ὢν ἑταῖρος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Βρούτου καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὰ πάλαι ποθεῖν πράγματα δοκῶν, ὡς ἕτερος οὐδεὶς. Ἄλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τὴν τε φύσιν ὡς ἐνδεᾶ τόλμης τὸν τε χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ταῖς ἔρρωμενστάταις φύσεσιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ θαρρεῖν.⁵

Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπέπρακτο τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κάσιον τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν 44 B.C. Καίσαρος φίλων συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτῆς ἦν δέος ἐμφυλίου πολέμοις περιπετῇ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπατειῶν τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγε καὶ βραχὰς⁶ διελέχθη περὶ ὁμονοίας, Κικέρων δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν οἰκείως διελθὼν ἔπεισε τὴν σύγκλητον Ἀθηναίους μνησάμενην ἀμνηστίαν⁷ τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι ψηφίσασθαι, νεύματι δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κάσιον καὶ

¹ *ad fam.* IV. 14; *ad Att.* XII. 22, 1. 32, 1.

² E.g. *ad Att.* XII. 15. 18^a ff.; *ad fam.* IV. 6; VI. 18, 5; *Ascon. in Pis.* 1 filiam post mortem Pisonis generi, P. Lentulo collocavit, apud quem illa ex partu decessit.

³ (A) Caesar (*ad Att.* XIII. 20), Brutus (*ad Att.* XII. 13), Luceius (*ad fam.* V. 13), Sulpicius (*ad fam.* IV. 5. 6). ⁴ (A) *ad Att.* XII. 32.

⁵ (D) *Phil.* II. 11 ff.; Dio Cass. XLIV. 20; XLVI. 22; *ad fam.* XII. 2.

⁶ (D) *Phil.* I. 1, 2. 13, 32.

⁷ (A) *Phil.* II. 35, 88; I. 1, 1, *ieci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum Graecum etiam verbum (sc. ἀμνηστία) usurpari etc.*; *Vell. Pat.* II. 58, 2; *App. B. C.* II. 126 ff. 142; Dio XLIV. 22. esp. 26. 33-34, 1, *Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γεροῦσαν μηδένα μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι ψηφίσασθαι* Zonaras X. 12; *Plut. Brut.* 19.

Βρούτων ἐπαρχίας. Ἔσχε δὲ τούτων τέλος οὐδέν. Ὁ γὰρ δῆμος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς οἶκτον ἐξαχθείς,¹ ὡς εἶδε τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκκομιζόμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς, Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα δεῖξαντος αὐτοῖς αἵματος κατὰ πλεον καὶ κεκοιμήνην πάντη τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκμανέντες ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔθεον ὡς ὑφάψοντες. Οἱ δὲ τούτων μὲν τῷ προπεφυλάχθαι διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ἑτέρους δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους προσδοκῶντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

XLIII. Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπήρτο, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν ἦν φοβερὸς ὡς μοναρχήσων, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι φοβερῶτατος.

88. Ἀναρρουνιμένην τε γὰρ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὄρων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Βρούτων ἐπιτήδειον εἰδὼς ἤχθετο παρόντι. Καί ποῦ τι καὶ προὔπηρχεν ὑποψίας αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων ἀνομοιότητα καὶ διαφοράν. Ταῦτα δέισας ὁ Κικέρων πρῶτον μὲν ὤρμησε πρεσβευτῆς Δολοβέλλα συνεκπεῦσαι εἰς Συρίαν·² ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες ὑπατεύειν μετ' Ἀντωνίου, Ἰρτιος καὶ Πάνσας, ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ὑποδεχόμενοι καταλίσειν Ἀντωνίων ἐκεῖνον παρόντος, ὁ δ' ^{44 B.C.} οὐτ' ἀπιστῶν παντάπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων Δολοβέλλαν μὲν εἶασε χαίρειν, ὁμολογήσας δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰρτιον τὸ θέρος ἐν Ἀθήναις διάξειν, ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖνοι παραλάβωσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν, αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξέπλευσε. Γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν διατριβῆς καὶ λόγων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οἱ φιλεῖ, καινῶν προσπεσόντων, μεταβεβλήσθαι μὲν Ἀντωνίων θαυμαστήν μεταβολὴν καὶ πάντα πράττειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐνδεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐκεῖνου παρουσίας τὰ πράγματα μὴ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχειν διάθεσιν, καταμεμφάμενος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀνέστρεφεν αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥώμην.³ Καὶ τῶν πρῶτων οὐ διημάργανεν ἐλπίδων· τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ πόθου πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἐξεχύθη, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμερήσιον ἀηλῶσαν χρόνον αἰ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὴν εἰσοδὸν αὐτοῦ δεξιῶσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύναι.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βουλῇν συναγαγόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ καλούντος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἦλθεν,⁴ ἀλλὰ κατέκειτο μαλακῶς ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου σκηπτόμενος. Ἐδόκει δὲ τάληθες ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι φόβος ἕκ τινος ὑποψίας καὶ μηνύσεως καθ' ὅδεν αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης. Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπεμψεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἢ καταπρῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν κελεύσας, ἐνστάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ δεηθέντων ἐνέχυρα λαβῶν μόνον ἐπαύσατο. Καὶ τὸ

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* XIV. 10 *laudatus miserabiliter; servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus inmissi; Phil.* II. 36, 90, *tua illa pulchra laudatio etc.*; III. 12, 30, *caedis et incendiorum causam quaesierit ex funere?* These seem to be the only direct allusions to the famous funeral speech in Cicero.

² (A) *E.g. Phil.* I. 2, 6; III; V; XI; — *ad Att.* XIV. 7 ff.; XV. 8; XVI. 3 f.

³ (A) *E.g. ad Att.* XVI. 7; *ad fam.* XII. 25; esp. *Phil.* I. 3, 7 ff.

⁴ (A) *Phil.* I. 5, 11, *solusne aberam . . . at ille, audiente senatu, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem;* V. 7, 19 f.

λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀντιπαρεξίοντες ἀτρέμα καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διετέλουν, ἄχρι οὗ Καίσαρ ὁ νέος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας παραγενόμενος τὸν τε κληρὸν ἀνεδέξατο τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκείνου καὶ περὶ τῶν δυσχιλίων πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἃς Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας κατέειχε, εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς αὐτόν.¹

89. XLIV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἔχων καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέθεντο, Κικέρωνα μὲν ἐκεῖνῃ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας δύναμιν ἐν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέχειν,² ἐκείνῳ δὲ Κικέρωνι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ὄπλων ἀσφάλειαν. Ἦδη γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσασμένων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε τὸ μειράκιον.

90. Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτία γερονεία τοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα δέξασθαι προθύμως τὴν Καίσαρος φιλίαν. Ἐπι γάρ, ὡς εἰοικε, Πομπηίου ζώντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους³ ὁ Κικέρων καλεῖν τινα τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν παῖδας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς μέλλοντος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓνα τοῦ Διὸς ἀποδεικνύειν τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνα· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέοντας ἴστασθαι περὶ τὸν νεῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς περιτοφύροις καθέζεσθαι σιωπῆν ἔχοντας. Ἐξαιφνης δὲ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν καθ' ἓνα τῶν παίδων ἀνίσταμένων κύκλω παρὰ τὸν θεὸν παραπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἀχθομένους. Ὡς δ' οὗτος ἦν προσίων κατ' αὐτόν, ἐκτεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ εἰπεῖν, “ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πέρασ ὑμῖν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων οὗτος ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος.” Τοιοῦτόν φασιν ἐνύπνιον ἰδόντα τὸν Κικέρωνα τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκμεμάχθαι καὶ κατέχειν ἐναργῶς, αὐτὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. Μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἦδη γεγυμνασμένους ἀπέρχεσθαι, κάκεινον ὀφθῆναι τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον οἷος ὤφθη καθ' ὕπνον· ἐκπλαγέντα δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι, τίνων εἴη γονέων. Ἦν δὲ πατρός Ὀκταοῦτιου τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, Ἀττίας δὲ μητρός, ἀδελφίδης Καίσαρος. Ὄθεν Καίσαρ αὐτῷ παῖδας οὐκ ἔχων ἰδίους τὴν οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἔδωκεν. Ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τῷ παιδί κατατὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελῶς, κάκεινον οἰκείως δέχεσθαι τὰς φιλοφροσύνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γερονεία συμβεβήκει Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος.⁴

91. XLV. Αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν προφάσεις ἦσαν λεγόμεναι· τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μῖσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἴτα ἡ φύσις ἡττων οὕσα τιμῆς προσεποίησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν.⁵ Οὕτω γὰρ ὑπῆει τὸ μειράκιον αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ πατέρα προσαγορεύειν.⁶

¹ (A) *Phil.* III. 2, 3; IV. 1, 3; V. 8, 23; *ad Att.* XVI. 8; *App. B. C.* III. 12; *Dio XLIV.* 12; *Vell. Pat.* II. 61, 1; *Liv. Perioch.* 117.

² (A) *ad Att.* XV. 12, 2; XVI. 11, 6; *ad fam.* XII. 23, 2; *Phil.* V. 16, 45; *Dio Cass.* XLV. 15, 4.

³ (D) * *Suet. Aug.* 94; *Dio Cass.* XLV. 2; *Tertull. de anima* 46. See p. 55 ff.

⁴ (A) * *Suet. and Dio II.* cc. ⁵ (A) *Dio Cass.* XLV. 15, 4; *Phil.* V. 16.

⁶ (A) *Cp. Brut. ad Att.* I. 17, 5, licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem.

43 B.C. Ἐφ' ᾧ σφόδρα Βρούτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἐπιστο-
λαῖς καθήλωτο¹ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπεῖον τὸν
Καίσαρα δῆλός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων, ἀλλὰ δεσπότην
φιλόανθρωπον αὐτῷ μνόμενος.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν γε παῖδα Κικέρωνος ὁ Βρούτος ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβοντα
παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀναλαβὼν ἔσχεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολλὰ χρώμενος
αὐτῷ κατώρθου.²

92. Τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἀκμὴν ἔσχεν ἡ δύναμις³ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μεγίστην,
καὶ κρατῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐξέκρουσε καὶ κατεστασίασε καὶ
πολεμήσοντα αὐτῷ τοὺς δύο ὑπάτους, Ἴρτιον καὶ Πάανσαν, ἐξέπεμψε, Καίσαρα
δὲ ῥαβδούχους καὶ στρατηγικὸν κόσμον,⁴ ὡς δὴ προπολεμοῦντι τῆς πατρίδος,
ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι τὴν σύγκλητον.

Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἠττητο, τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀποθανόντων
ἐκ τῆς μάχης⁵ πρὸς Καίσαρα συνέστησαν αἱ δυνάμεις, δείσασα δ' ἡ βουλή
νέον ἄνδρα⁶ καὶ τύχη λαμπρῇ κεχηρημένον ἐπειράτο τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀπο-
καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ περισπᾶν τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ δεομένη τῶν
προπολεμοῦντων Ἀντωνίου πεφευγότες, οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπεμπε
τῷ Κικέρωνι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πείθοντας ὑπατεῖαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοῦ
πράττειν,⁷ χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκε, παραλαμβάνοντα
τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ μεράκιον διοικεῖν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης γλιχόμενον.

93. Ὀμολόγει δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτός, ὡς δεδιὼς κατάλυσιν καὶ κινδυ-
νεύων ἔρημος γενέσθαι χρήσαιτο τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ,
προτραπέμενος αὐτὸν ὑπατεῖαν μετιέναι συμπράττοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συναρ-
χαίρεσιάζοντος.

XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι μάλιστα Κικέρων ἐπαρθεὶς⁸ ὑπὸ νέου γέροντος
καὶ φενακισθεὶς καὶ συναρχαίρεσιάσας καὶ παρασχὼν αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον
εὐθύς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ὀλίγω δ' ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἀπολωλε-
κὼς ἦσθετο καὶ τοῦ δήμου προέμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

¹ In the one extant letter (Brut. *ad Att.* I. 17, 2) some such censure is implied, but it is not so expressed. Cp. also Brut. *ad Cic.* I. 16; Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 15, 3.

² Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 5, 3; II. 7, 6; Brut. *ad Cic.* II. 3; Plut. *Brut.* 24.

³ Cp. the passages cited § 88¹ and Plut. *Ant.* 17; Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 3, 1, 10, 3, 15, 6; App. *B. C.* IV. 19 Κικέρων δὲ μετὰ Γατὸν Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγῶ μοναρχία.

⁴ *Phil.* III; V; VIII; *ad fam.* X. 28, 1; App. *B. C.* III. 50 ff.; Dio XLVI. 29 ff. — Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 15, 7, quis honos ei fuit non decernendus . . . decrevi etiam imperium . . . quid enim est sine imperio exercitus.

⁵ (A) *Phil.* XIV; App. *B. C.* III. 69 ff.; Dio XLVI. 36 ff.; Plut. *Ant.* 17.

⁶ (A) Dio Cass. XLVI. 41.

⁷ (A) *id.* XLVI. 42 f. (D) Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 10.

⁸ (A) This was foreseen by Brutus. Cp. *ad Cic.* I. 4, 4 f. 16, 7 f.

94. Αὐξήθεις γὰρ ὁ νεανίας καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν λαβὼν Κικέρωνα μὲν ^{Sept. 22,} _{43 B.C.} εἶσαε χαίρειν,¹ Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ φίλος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐνεργῶν ὡς περ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνεύματο πρὸς αὐτούς.² Καὶ κατεγράφησαν ἄνδρες οὓς ἔδει θνήσκεν, ὑπὲρ διακοσίους.

Πλείστην δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων αὐτοῖς ἔριν ἡ Κικέρωνος προγραφή παρέσχεν,³ Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντος, εἰ μὴ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἀποθνήσκῃ, Λεπίδου δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προστιθεμένου, Καίσαρος δὲ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀντέχοντος. Ἐγίνοντο δ' αἱ σύνοδοι μόνοις ἀπόρρητοι περὶ πόλιν Βονωνίαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ συνήεσαν εἰς τόπον τινὰ πρόσω τῶν στρατοπέδων ποταμῷ περιρρέομενον.

Λέγεται δὲ τὰς πρῶτας ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνδοῦναι τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ προσέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως οὕτως εἶχεν. Ἔδει Κικέρωνος ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα, Παύλου δὲ τὰδελφοῦ Λέπιδου, Λευκίου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιον, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός.⁴

Οὕτως ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ λύσσης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπέδειξαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου θηρίον ἐστὶν ἀγριώτερον ἐξουσίαν πάθει προσλαβόντος.

95. XLVII.⁵ Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἰδίῳ περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἔχων τὸν ἀδελφὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ· πυνθόμενοι δὲ τὰς προγραφὰς ἔγνωσαν εἰς Ἀστύρα μεταβῆναι, χωρίον παράλιον τοῦ Κικέρωνος· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς Βρούτον· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐφοίτα κρατούντος. Ἐκομίζοντο δ' ἐν φορείῳ ἀπειρηκότες ὑπὸ λύπης· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφιστάμενοι καὶ τὰ φορεῖα παραβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις προσωλοφύροντο. Μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Κόϊντος ἠθύμει, καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσήει τῆς ἀπορίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφη λαβεῖν οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι γλίσχρον ἦν ἐφόδιον· ἄμεινον οὖν εἶναι τὸν μὲν Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ, αὐτὸν δὲ μεταθεῖν οἴκοθεν συσκευασάμενον. Ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ περιλαβόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνακλαυσάμενοι διελύθησαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόϊντος οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν προδοθεὶς τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀνῆρέθη μετὰ τοῦ παιδός. Ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰς

¹ Cp. Brut. ad Cic. I. 4, 6, te consulem factum audivimus; App. B. C. III. 92 ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσῆγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπήρεν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

² (A) Liv. *Perioch.* 119. 120; Vell. Pat. II. 65 ff.; Plut. *Ant.* 19; *Brut.* 26; App. B. C. IV. 2 ff.; Dio Cass. XLVI. 54 ff.

³ (A) * Vell. Pat. II. 66, 1; Suet. *Aug.* 27; *de vir. ill.* c. 81; Plut. *Ant.* 19, 1.

⁴ (A) See § 94².

⁵ Flight and death of Cicero: * Liv. ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 17, 22; Asin. Poll. ap. eund. 15. 24; Val. Max. V. 3, 4; App. B. C. IV. 7 ff. esp. 19 f.; Dio Cass. XLVII. 1-10. 11; rhetores ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. VII. *Contr.* VII. 17. *Exc.* VII. 2.

* Ἀστυρα κομισθεῖς καὶ πλοῖον εὐρῶν εὐθὺς ἐνέβη καὶ παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκαίου πνεύματι χρώμενος. Ἐκείθεν δὲ βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἶρειν τῶν κυβερνητῶν, εἴτε δείσας τὴν θάλασσαν εἴτ' οὐπω παντάπασι τὴν Καίσαρος ἀπεγνωκῶς πίστιν, ἀπέβη καὶ παρήλθε περὶ σταδίου ἑκατὸν ὡς εἰς Ῥώμην πορευόμενος. Ἀθῆναι δ' ἄλυνον καὶ μεταβαλλόμενος κατῆε πρὸς θάλασσαν εἰς Ἀστυρα.

Κακεῖ διενυκτέρευσεν ἐπὶ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων λογισμῶν, ὥστε καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος οἰκίαν διανοήθη κρύφα καὶ σφάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας ἀλάστορα προσβαλεῖν.¹

² Ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπέκρουσε τῆς ὁδοῦ δέος βασάνων· καὶ τᾶλλα ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλευήματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἑαυτὸν εἰς Καπίτας κατὰ πλοῦν κομίζειν, ἔχων ἐκεῖ χωρία καὶ καταφυγὴν ὥρα θέρου φιλόανθρωπον, ὅταν ἦδιστον οἱ ἐτησίαι καταπνέωσιν.

³ Ἐχει δ' ὁ τόπος καὶ ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀρθέντες ἀθροὶ κόρακες² ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς προσεφέροντο τῷ πλοίῳ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ γῆν ἐρεσσομένῳ· καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κεραίαν ἑκατέρωθεν οἱ μὲν ἐβῶν, οἱ δ' ἔκοπτον τὰς τῶν μηρυμάτων ἀρχάς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι πονηρόν. Ἀπέβη δ' οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενος κατεκλίθη. Τῶν δὲ κοράκων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος διεκάθηγον φθεγγόμενοι θορυβῶδες, εἰς δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπήγε τῷ στόματι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ ἱμάτιον. Οἱ δ' οἰκέται ταύτ' ὀρῶντες καὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτούς, εἰ περιμένουσι τοῦ δεσπότη φονεομένου θεαταὶ γενέσθαι, θηρία δ' αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ καὶ προκίηδεται παρ' ἀξίαν πράττοντος, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνουσι, τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ βίβη λαβόντες ἐκόμιζον ἐν τῷ φορείῳ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

96. XLVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ σφαγεῖς ἐπῆλθον, ἑκατοντάρχης Ἑρένιος³ καὶ Ποπίλλιος χιλιάρχος,³ ᾧ πατροκτονίας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνείπεν ὁ Κικέρων, ἔχοντες ὑπηρέτας.

⁴ Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θύρας κεκλεισμένας εὐρόντες ἐξέκοψαν, οὐ φαινόμενον τοῦ Κικέρωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἔνδον εἰδέναι φασκόντων,⁴ λέγεται νεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίοις καὶ

¹ See p. 29.

² Val. Max. I. 4, 5; App. B. C. IV. 19; *de vir. ill.* c. 81.

³ * Hieronymus (i.e. Suetonius) is the only other writer who mentions Herennius as an assassin of Cicero: in Formiano suo ab Herennio Pompilio (sic!) occiditur. See p. 27 ff.

⁴ (D) App. B. C. IV. 19 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι . . . πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἦδη· σκυτότομος δὲ, πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ἄλλοις ὅστι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἐδειξεν.

μαθήμασιν, ἀπελεύθερον δὲ Κοΐντου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, Φιλολόγον τοῦνομα, φράσαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ φορεῖον κομιζόμενον διὰ τῶν καταφύτων καὶ συσκιῶν περιπάτων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχος ὀλίγους ἀναλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιέθει πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον, τοῦ δ' Ἐρεννίου δρόμῳ φερομένου διὰ τῶν περιπάτων ὁ Κικέρων ἤσθητο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνταῦθα καταθέσθαι τὸ φορεῖον. Αὐτὸς δ', ὡσπερ εἴωθει, τῇ ἀριστερῇ χειρὶ τῶν γενεῶν ἀπτόμενος ἀτενὲς ἐνεώρα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν, αἵχμου καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλευς καὶ συντετηκῶς ὑπὸ φροντίδων τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ἐγκαλίψασθαι τοῦ Ἐρεννίου σφάζοντος αὐτόν.¹ Ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορεῖου προτεινας, ἔτος ἐκεῖνο γεγωνῶς ἐξηκοστὸν καὶ τέταρτον. Τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος, αἰς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἔγραψεν.² Αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοὶ καλοῦνται.

Dec. 7,
43 B.C.

XLIX. Τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων ἔτυχε μὲν ἀρχαιρεσίας τελῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεβόησεν, ὡς νῦν αἰ προγραφαὶ τέλος ἔχουσιν.³

Τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος θεῖναι, θέαμα Ῥωμαίοις φρικτόν,⁴ οὐ τὸ Κικέρωνος ὄραν πρόσωπον οἰομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίου ψυχῆς εἰκόνα.

Πλὴν ἐν γέ τι φρονήσας μέτριον ἐν τούτοις Πομπωνία τῇ Κοΐντου γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλολόγον παρέδωκεν. Ἡ δὲ κυρία γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄλλαις τε δειναῖς ἐχρήσατο τιμωρίαις, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὅπταν, εἴτ' ἐσθίειν ἠνάγκασεν.⁵ Οὕτω γὰρ ἐνιοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν· ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλολόγου προδοσίας.

97. Πυνθάνομαι δὲ Καίσαρα χρόνοις πολλοῖς ὕστερον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἓνα τῶν θυγατριδῶν· τὸν δὲ βιβλίον ἔχοντα Κικέρωνος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκπλαγέντα τῷ ἱματίῳ περικαλύπτειν· ἰδόντα δὲ Καίσαρα λαβεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἐστῶτα μέρος πολὺ τοῦ βιβλίου, πάλιν δ' ἀποδιδόντα τῷ μερακίῳ φάναι, “Λόγιος ἀνὴρ, ὦ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλόπατρις.”

¹ (D) See above § 95⁵.

² This agrees with Liv. ap. Sen. l.c.; the traditional account is given by Plutarch in *Ani.* c. 20, 1, ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν, ἢ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἔγραψε.

³ (A) Cremutius Cordus ap. Sen. *Suas.* l.c. 19 quibus visis laetus Antonius cum peractam proscriptionem suam dixisset esse.

⁴ Cp. § 95⁵; Florus IV. 6, 5.

⁵ (D) Dio Cass. XLVII. 8, 3.

- 30 B.C. 98. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι τάχιστα κατεπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύων αὐτὸς εἶλετο συνάρχοντα τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὸν νιόν,¹ ἐφ' οὗ τὰς τ' εἰκόνας ἢ βουλλὴ καθέλειν Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἠκύρωσε τιμὰς καὶ προσεψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων ὄνομα Μάρκον εἶναι. Οὕτω τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὸν Κικέρωνος οἶκον ἐπανήνεγκε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀντωνίου κολάσεως.²

COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

99. I. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἱστορουμένων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀφίκειται γνῶσιν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

Ἄφεικὸς δὲ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕξιν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ μὴ παρήσειν ἄρρητον, ὅτι Δημοσθένης μὲν εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ἐνέτεινε πᾶν, ὅσον εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως λόγιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐναργεῖ μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ τῶν δικῶν συνεξεταζομένους, ὄγκῳ δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς, ἀκριβεῖά δὲ καὶ τέχνη τοὺς σοφιστάς.

100. Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ποικίλος τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδῇ γενόμενος συντάξεις μὲν ἰδίας φιλοσόφους ἀπολέλοιπεν οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας γραφομένων λόγων δῆλός ἐστιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ γραμμάτων παρεπιδεικνυσθαι βουλόμενος.³

Ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ τοῦ ἠθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκατέρου δίοψις. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθενικὸς ἕξω παντὸς ὠραϊσμοῦ καὶ παιδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ σπουδῆν συνηγμένος οὐκ ἔλλυχνίων ὄδωδεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πυθίας ἔσκωπτεν, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου καὶ στυγνότητος,

101. Κικέρων δὲ πολλαχοῦ τῷ σκωπτικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος καὶ πράγματα σπουδῆς ἄξια γέλῳτι καὶ παιδιᾷ κατειρωνεύμενος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις εἰς τὸ χρεῖῳδες ἠφείδει τοῦ πρέποντος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Καιλίου συνηγορίᾳ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ

¹ (A) Sen. *de benef.* IV. 30, 1; App. *B. C.* IV. 51; Dio LI. 19, 3.

² (A) Dio I.c. τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθέλειν, τὰ δ' ἀπήλειψαν . . . τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπέειπον μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι . . . τοῦτό τέ τινες ὡς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὴ συμβὰν ἐλάμβανον etc.

³ This statement is unjust and must be attributed to some post-Augustan Ciceromastix. For Plutarch it would, moreover, imply too exhaustive a knowledge of the works of Cicero. Cp. p. 39 f.

τρυφή καὶ πολυτελεία ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρώμενον· τὸ γὰρ ὦν ἕξεστι μὴ μετέχειν, μανικὸν εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡδονῇ τὸ εὐδαιμον τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων φιλοσόφων τιθεμένων.¹

102. Λέγεται² δὲ Κάτωνος Μουρήναν διώκοντας ὑπατεῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάωνα κωμωδεῖν τὴν Στωϊκὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτοπίας τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων δογμάτων· γέλωτος δὲ λαμπροῦ κατιόντος ἐκ τῶν περιστώτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἡσυχὴ διαμειδιάσας [ὁ Κάτων*] πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους εἰπεῖν· “Ὡς γελοῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔχομεν ὑπατον.” Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γέλωτος οἰκείος ὁ Κικέρων γεγονέναι καὶ φιλοσκώπτῃς, τὸ ἕτερόν αὐτοῦ μειδίαμα καὶ γαλήνην παρεῖχε.³

Τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένους αἰεὶ τις ἐπὴν σπουδὴ, καὶ τὸ πεφροντικὸς τοῦτο καὶ σύννον οὐ ῥηδίως ἀπέλιπεν· ὅθεν καὶ δύσκολον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ δύστροπον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ἀπεκάλουν.

II. Ἐπι τοῖν ἕν τοῖς συγγράμμασι κατιδεῖν ἔστι τὸν μὲν ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπτόμενον ἐγκωμίων, ὅτε τούτου δεῖσαι πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μείζον, τὰλλα δ' εὐλαβῆ καὶ μέτριον·

103. Ἡ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμετρία τῆς περιαντολογίας ἀκρασίαν τινὰ κατηγόρει πρὸς δόξαν βοῶντος, ὡς τὰ ὄπλα ἔδει τῇ τηβέννῳ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπέεικεν δάφνην.⁴

Τελευτῶν δ' οὐ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὡς περ Ἴσοκράτης καὶ Ἀναξίμενει τοῖς σοφισταῖς διαμειρακιενόμενος, αὐτὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄγειν ἀξίων καὶ ὀρθοῦν,

βριθύν, ὀπλιτοπάλαν, δάϊον ἀντιπάλοισ.

Ἰσχύειν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀγαπᾶν δ' ἀγενεὲς καὶ λιχνεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν. Ὅθεν ἐμβριθέστερος ταύτῃ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ὁ Δημοσθένης, τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ πολλῆς δεομένην τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀκρωμένων εὐνοίας ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀνελευθέρους δὲ καὶ βαναύσους, ὡς περ εἰσί, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φουσωμένους ἡγούμενος.

¹ Probably refers to 12, 28 ff., but 17, 39 f. is sufficient to show that Pl. never read this speech. See also p. 65.

² (A) Cp. also Plut. *Cat. Min.* 21, 2.

³ (A) Pollio ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 24 facies decora.

⁴ = Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae (Cicero: *laudi*). This line, ridiculed by contemporaries and later writers, is energetically defended by Cicero himself (*in Pis.* 29, 72-30, 75; *Phil.* II. 8, 20; *de off.* I. 22, 77). Plutarch cannot, therefore, have read these works. It is, moreover, the only quotation of a Latin verse in his writings. See also p. 182. The reading *linguae* (Quint. IX. 4, 41; Ps. Sall. *Invect. in Cic.* 3, 6) seems to be the emendation of a rhetorician. If so, it would furnish another proof against a pre-Augustan origin of Plutarch's information.

III. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεῦσθαι δύναμις ὁμαλῶς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄπλων καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίως δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείθην καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπήϊον καὶ Καίσαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν. Ὁ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ λέγεται τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδεικνύου καὶ βασανίζου, ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶν πάθος κινουσα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκαλύπτουσα κακίαν, Δημοσθένει μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, οὐδ' ἔδωκε τοιαύτην διάπειραν ἑαυτοῦ μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀρεῶν, ὅς οὐδὲ τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ συντεταγμένης ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ἐστρατήγησε δυνάμεως.

104. Κικέρων δὲ ταμίης εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀνθύπατος εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀποσταλείς, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀκμαζούσης, καὶ τῶν πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, ὡς τοῦ κλέπτειν ἀγεννοῦς ὄντος, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρπάζειν τρεπομένων, οὐ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐδόκει δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὁ μετριῶς τοῦτο ποιῶν ἡγαπάτο, πολλὴν μὲν ἐπίδειξιν ὑπεροφίας χρημάτων ἐποιήσατο, πολλὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος.¹

105. Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπατος, ἐξουσίαν δὲ λαβὼν αὐτοκράτορος καὶ δικτάτορος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Κατιλίαν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἅμα τῷ Πλάτωνι μαντευομένῳ παῦλαν ἕξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, ὅταν εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιβλέψῃς τε μεγάλην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐκ τινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης.

Χρηματίσασθαι τοῖνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένους μὲν ἐπιφώγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκους, καὶ διαβληθεὶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλικαῖς χρήμασιν, ὀφλὼν δὲ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς γράφοντας (οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι) ψεύδεσθαι φαίμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθένους οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπου δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμήχανον ἀντειπεῖν· περὶ δὲ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι καὶ Σικελιωτῶν ἀγορανομοῦντι καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν ἀνθυπατεύοντι καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, ὅτ' ἐξέπιπτε τῆς πόλεως, δωρουμένων πολλὰ καὶ δεομένων λαβεῖν ἀντέσχειν, εἴρηται.

IV. Καὶ μὴν ἢ γε φυγὴ τῷ μὲν αἰσχυρὰ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι συνέπεσε, τῷ δὲ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ἀλιτηρίους ἐκκόψαντι τῆς πατρίδος. Διὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐκπίπτοντος, ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἡ σύγκλητος ἐσθῆτά τε διήλαξε καὶ πένθος ἔσχε καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἐπέστη προτέρων ἢ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι.

106. Τὴν μέντοι φυγὴν ἀργῶς ὁ Κικέρων διήνεγκεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενος,

τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἡ φυγὴ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. Συναγωνιζόμενος γάρ, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων

¹ See §§ 25, 28, 70.

πρέσβεις ἐξελαύνων ἐπήρχετο τὰς πόλεις, πολὺ βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τύχας φανεῖς πολίτης· καὶ μέντοι κατελθὼν αὐθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν καὶ διετέλει πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας.

107. Κικέρωνα δ' ὠνείδισεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λαίλιος αἰτουμένου Καίσαρος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι παρὰ νόμον, οὐπω γενειῶντος, σιωπῇ καθήμενον. Ἐγραφε δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος¹ ἐγκαλῶν ὡς μείζονα καὶ βαρντέραν πεπαιδοτριβηκῶτι τυραννίδα τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ καταλυθείσης.

108. V. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τις ἄν, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην δι' ἀγένειαν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενον καὶ περιφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἀποκρυνπτόμενον τοὺς οὐ πολλὰ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἤκοντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἶτ' ἀποσφαγέντα·² τοῦ δ', εἰ καὶ μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἰκετείαν ἐνέδωκεν, ἀγαστὴ μὲν ἢ παρασκευὴ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τήρησις, ἀγαστὴ δ' ἢ χρήσις, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσυλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μείζονα βωμὸν καταφυγῶν, ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ᾤχετο, τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου καταγέλαστος ὠμότητος.

¹ Brut. *ad Cic.* I. 16; *ad Att.* I. 17.

² Cp. Iuv. X. 118 ff.; Ps. Quint. *Decl.* 268; Tac. *Dial.* c. 40 ext. (see my note p. 374).

APPENDIX II

M. TULLIUS CICERO

(Anon. *de viris illustribus* c. 81)

M. Tullius Cicero, genere Arpinas, patre equite Romano natus, genus a Tullo Attio rege duxit.¹ Adolescens² Rosciano iudicio³ eloquentiam et libertatem suam adversus Sullanos ostendit,⁴ ex quo veritus invidiam⁵ Athenas studiorum gratia petivit,⁶ ubi Antiochum⁷ Academicum philosophum studiose audivit.⁸ Inde eloquentiae gratia⁹ Asiam,¹⁰ post Rhodum petiit,¹¹ ubi Molonem, Graecum rhetorem, tum disertissimum, magistrum habuit¹² qui flesse dicitur quod per hunc Graecia eloquentiae laude privaretur.¹³ Quaestor Siciliam habuit.¹⁴ Aedilis C. Verrem repetundarum damnavit.¹⁵ Praetor¹⁶ *Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit.*¹⁷ Consul coniuratos capite punivit.¹⁸ Mox invidia P. Clodii¹⁹ instinctuque Caesaris et Pompei²⁰ quos dominationis suspectos eadem qua quondam Sullanos libertate perstrinxerat, sollicitatis Pisone et Gabinio consulibus qui Macedoniam Asiamque provincias in stipendium opera huius acceperant,²¹ in exsilium actus; ²² mox ipso referente Pompeio²³ rediit²⁴ eumque civili bello secutus est.²⁵ Quo victo²⁶ veniam a Caesare ultro accepit; ²⁷ quo interfecto²⁸ Augustum fovit,²⁹ Antonium hostem iudicavit.³⁰ Et cum triumvros se fecissent Caesar, Lepidus Antoniusque,³¹ concordia non aliter visa est inter eos iungi posse, nisi Tullius necaretur,³² qui immissis ab Antonio percussoribus,³³ cum forte Formiis quiesceret, imminens exitium corvi auspicio³⁴ didicit et fugiens occisus est.³⁵ Caput ad Antonium relatum.³⁶

1 Plut. <i>Cic.</i> c. 1	10 c. 4	19 c. 28 f.	28 c. 42
2 c. 3	11 c. 4	20 c. 30	29 c. 44
3 c. 3	12 c. 4	21 c. 30	30 c. 45
4 c. 3	13 c. 4	22 c. 30 f.	31 c. 46
5 c. 3	14 c. 6	23 c. 33	32 c. 46 f.
6 c. 4	15 c. 7 f.	24 c. 33	33 c. 47 f.
7 c. 4	16 c. 9	25 c. 37 f.	34 c. 47
8 c. 4	17 See p. 54 ¹⁵	26 c. 39	35 c. 48
9 c. 4	18 c. 10-23	27 c. 39	36 c. 48 f.

